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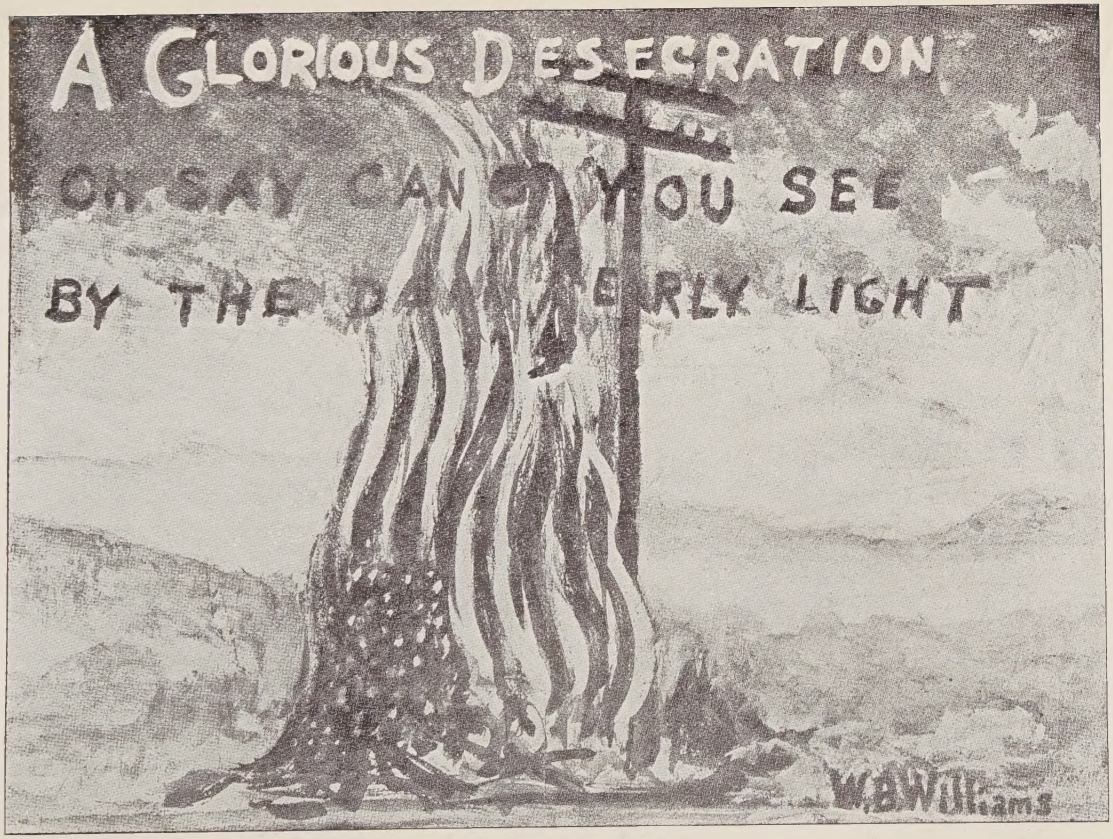

THE MOB VICTIM.

A cartoon appearing in the July, 1919, *Messenger* evidently intended to convey the idea that the American flag is the symbol of the lynch law

REVOLUTIONARY RADICALISM

ITS HISTORY, PURPOSE AND TACTICS

WITH AN EXPOSITION AND DISCUSSION OF THE STEPS BEING TAKEN AND REQUIRED TO CURB IT

BEING THE

REPORT OF THE JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING SEDITIOUS ACTIVITIES, FILED APRIL 24, 1920, IN THE SENATE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

PART I

REVOLUTIONARY AND SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENTS ABROAD AND AT HOME

VOLUME II

EVERY STRIKE IS A SMALL REVOLUTION AND A DRESS REHEARSAL FOR THE BIG ONE

—The Labor Defender, (I. W. W.) Dec. 15, 1918

ALBANY
J. B. LYON COMPANY, PRINTERS
1920

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SUB-SECTION V

PROPAGANDA

INTRODUCTION

A study of the tactics and methods employed by revolutionary groups and organizations makes it clear that the present social unrest, with its revolutionary implications, is not the spontaneous development of economic causes. The growth of the radical and revolutionary movement is due largely to the effect of propaganda. False ideas respecting government and the present social order are being sold to the people of this country, as well as other countries, in much the same manner as a manufacturer or merchant sells his wares through the medium of advertising.

Propaganda may be defined as the methods employed to form, influence, guide and direct public opinion, with a view to controlling public sympathy and action. It falls into two principal classes: First, propaganda by the use of words, that is to say, through the employment of written and spoken argument; and, second, propaganda by deed, namely, some sort of action, either individual or organized, calculated to affect public sympathy or conduct. Typical examples of the latter may be found in bomb outrages, arson, the general strike, sabotage, or, in milder form, in public demonstrations.

The propaganda of words is generally employed to add to the recruits of the movement which employs it. On the other hand, propaganda by deed is generally used to force concessions from employers or from the government. Both classes of propaganda are the result of organization and have, in general, clearly defined purposes.

In this section of the report the committee deals with both subjects. It believes that it may best indicate the nature and the volume of propaganda employed by the subversive groups at work in this state and in the United States, by presenting excerpts from the several publications which are issued by vari-

ous revolutionary organizations or their sympathizers, together with such data respecting their circulation and distribution as the Committee has been able to gather. Typical examples of speeches made by agitators that have been recorded by the agents of this Committee are also given in the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER I

Newspapers and Periodicals

In this chapter the Committee seeks, by a selection of articles from various newspapers, magazines and periodicals, to indicate in a measure the forces at play on public opinion in this State. The publications from which quotations are made are either frankly revolutionary and seditious, or those which show an apologetic attitude towards all subversive movements. The articles chosen to indicate the policy of these various papers are not given for purposes of exhibiting seditious utterances, but simply to indicate, in a measure, the various arguments used in appealing to various classes of society. The reasons for the attitude of these various papers may be more readily determined from a reading of the preceding sections of this report. Many of the publications cannot possibly be classed as violating any law or exceeding the rights of freedom of the press granted by the Constitution of this State or the United States, nor is it sought to indicate by their inclusion in this report that the Committee feels that they should be suppressed or any curb put upon them. The Committee, however, feels it its duty to point out that whatever the motives may be which lead some of the publications here referred to to assume their present policy, their attitude inevitably has the effect of giving aid and comfort to those frankly revolutionary groups that seek to undermine and destroy our government, and also to confuse the public with respect to the solution of the difficult problems raised in our industrial relations through the unbridled agitation of seditious groups and organizations.

That the attitude of certain of these publications has the effect of encouraging revolutionary anarchistic groups is clearly indicated by a leading article appearing in the June issue of "Freedom," an anarchist journal published by the Ferrer group of anarchists at Stelton, N. J., called the Freedom Publishing Group, from which we quote the following:

"Beginning with this issue, 'Freedom' will appear under the editorship of Harry Kelly with Leonard Abbot as associate editor and Comrade J. Isaacson as business manager. The paper, as heretofore, will advocate the principles of Anarchist Communism and its columns will be open to those advocates of

other schools of thought who have the courage to write for us. We invite the aid and co-operation of all those striving for a society based upon voluntary Communism and trust the following will give some idea of the aims and principles we stand for.

"It may well be asked, 'Why another paper?' when the broadly libertarian and revolutionary movement is so ably represented by Socialist publications like the 'Revolutionary Age,' 'Liberator,' 'Rebel Worker,' 'Workers World,' and many others, and the advanced liberal movement by 'The Dial,' 'Nation,' 'The World Tomorrow,' and to a lesser degree, the 'New Republic' and 'Survey.' These publications are doing excellent work in their several ways, and with much of that work we find ourselves in hearty agreement. They are, however, either liberal in the best sense of the word, Bolshevik, or Socialist, and we are none of these, even if we look with a kindly eye on all of them. We are anarchists because we see in the state an enemy of liberty and human progress, and we are Communists because we conceive Communism as the most rational and just economic theory yet proposed. By Communism, however, we do not mean a disguised Collectivism but one based upon the well known principle 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.'

"Our task is to help make the world ready for such ideas and if it is one that seems Utopian let it be remembered that syndicalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat were considered equally so three or four years ago and they are now being tried out in probably half of Europe. Also let it be remembered that the situation in the countries where these theories are being tried can not last and it is more than probable the people will be driven forward to Communism or back to capitalism. Europe is bankrupt and stands half-way across the threshold of the new social order and on every hand opinions are expressed that the one thing that will save civilization is some form of Communism. The question now is not so much the saving of the present system with its misery, poverty and slavery, as what will take its place and the best method to attain the desired end.

"As anarchists we seek the abolition of the State or organized government and would substitute for it a society founded upon the principles of voluntary association and free Communism. The Left Wing Socialists now advocate the same thing, so our differences are merely in the tactics pursued. They wish to seize con-

trol of the State and then destroy it; we seek the same end by organizing voluntary groups outside the State atrophying its functions, and at the same time giving the workers the training and experience necessary to enable them to function after it is overthrown."

---

1. THE COMMUNIST

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Office of Publication, 1219 Blue Island Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Editor: Louis C. Fraina; Acting Editor: Isaac E. Ferguson.

Circulation: Weekly.

GOMPERISM[1]

The power of the state has been used to break the coal miners' strike. This is a challenge to the whole labor movement, to the whole working class. A challenge of this sort should call forth the instant and aggressive answer of the organized labor movement. It is a challenge that, together with the proposed measures in Congress to prohibit strikes, is a threat to the working-class movement and particularly to the unions.

But the American Federation of Labor does not answer the challenge.

The executive council of the American Federation of Labor met just before the miners' officials decided to obey the injunction, and issued a protest against the government using the injunction in the strike. The protest was solemn, vigorous, almost radical. But there it ended. It was simply a pious protest. It was simply an effort to "save the face" of the A. F. of L. The protest was made — but the government pursued its policy of ruthless suppression.

In the face of all this suppression, the answer of the A. F. of L. is to hold another conference and pass some more resolutions, instead of using the strike power of the workers to end the suppression.

Gompers, the evil flower of craft unionism protests against the use of injunctions against the miners. But his protests are urbanely answered by the government officials, and the work of breaking the strike goes on. Gompers speaks feelingly of labor's

[1] The Communist, Nov. 22, 1919.

loyalty during the war — but now the government wants loyalty during peace and will get loyalty through bayonets if necessary.

Never was the weakness of the A. F. of L. evident as it is now. Never was Gomperism more blisteringly exposed as an enemy of the working class. Never was craft unionism more adequately characterized as a fetter upon the action of the workers.

A challenge is issued to unionism — and Gompers issues words of protest. A challenge is issued to labor — and Gompers holds conferences with the enemy. The state mobilizes its forces to crush the workers — and Gompers speaks of loyalty.

Gomperism, accustomed to the small time stuff of craft strikes, of petty struggles with the employers, breaks down and reveals its utterly reactionary and impotent character when it meets the test of a crisis.

Gomperism, craft unionism, is caught in the vicious circle of its own policy. It believes in co-operation between labor and capital, and thereby breaks the class conscious spirit of the workers. It harps upon loyalty to the state, and thereby prepares the workers to accept the brutal repression of the state. It represents the petty interests of the aristocracy of labor, and thereby betrays the militant workers of unskilled labor, such as the steel workers and the miners.

There is a strike crisis. Never was there a finer opportunity to mobilize the workers against Capitalism, to initiate an aggressive labor movement. But the A. F. of L. has neither the courage nor the initiative, the intelligence nor the organization. So the strikes are beaten, the workers discouraged.

Gomperism, the A. F. of L., is a bulwark of Capitalism. It is an enemy of the workers. It must be destroyed — that is, split, the militant workers of unskilled labor being separated from the aristocracy of labor.

The struggle for industrial unionism is a vital phase of revolutionary development — not only because industrial unionism is more effective than craft unionism in the immediate struggle, not only because industrial unionism becomes a starting point of Communist reconstruction after the conquest of political power — but more, because by means of the campaign for industrial unionism we may break the power of the A. F. of L.

The workers are awakening under the impulse of bitter experience. It is our task to use this awakening for our revolutionary purposes.

RESIST THE TERROR![1]

The workers must rally to the cause of their comrades in Gary, to the cause of their comrades in every city where the steel strike prevails.

The defeat of the steel strike would make all the more difficult victory for other strikers.

The victory of capitalism and the state in Gary means victory again in the days to come.

Armed force must not prevail!

The workers must conquer!

They can conquer by means of solidarity, by means of using their mass power against Capitalism and the state, by rallying in mass strikes to the cause of their comrades in Gary.

Bring pressure to bear upon the state by means of mass strikes.

The class struggle is becoming acute. Terror is in action against the workers. The workers must resist the terror.

The process of the proletarian revolution consists in weakening the class power of the capitalists as against strengthening the class power of the workers. Victory for Capitalism and the state in Gary means strengthening the class power of the capitalists. Victory for the workers in Gary means strengthening the class power of the proletariat.

Workers, act! Out of your mass strikes to aid the Gary workers will come the impulse and the action for establishing a state of the workers, proletarian dictatorship which will crush the capitalists as the capitalist state now crushes the workers.

MAGNIFICENT![1]

Occasionally man rises to the heights of epic magnificence. One of these occasions was at the Industrial Conference when Samuel Gompers, ill and weak, in trembling, hoarse tones, "eloquently repudiated the insinuation that the American workers were embracing Bolshevism." Gompers recalled that three weeks before Wilson declared war a conference of 136 labor leaders had pledged to back the government to the limit; that labor loyally kept its pledge during the war; that labor had never used the war for its own advantage; that union labor was willing to co-operate with capital; and that the organized workers, far from contemplating revolution, loved their government and were the most patriotic and loyal in the world: "Gompers shook with emotion

[1] The Communist, Dec. 6, 1919.

and his voice quavered as he violently defended the loyalty and patriotism of organized labor." The gentleman making the insinuation apologized.

It was magnificent! An aged, ill man defying calumny and compelling an apology, heroically securing a victory for labor in spite of terrible odds.

But what Gompers actually said was this:

> "You can depend upon organized labor; we as its leaders are loyal to capitalism. We are always ready to mobilize the workers as cannon-fodder in your wars. We shall prevent the workers from becoming radical, from initiating revolutionary measures. You and I are part of the governing system of things; and we shall defend our privileged status. You must cease your attacks upon the labor leaders: your interest and theirs are identical."

Gompers condemned labor to industrial slavery, oppression and wars. It was magnificent — for capitalism.

BREAK THE BLOCKADE OF SOVIET RUSSIA![1]

The first great campaign undertaken by the Communist Party is the struggle to arouse the workers to action against the blockade of Soviet Russia.

The central executive committee calls upon all units of the organization to celebrate the beginning of the third year of the existence of the workers' government of Russia by wide-spread agitation against the blockade. It is the work of the Communist Party to furnish the leadership that will lead to action. From November 7th to 9th all branches should arrange mass meetings and adopt resolutions against the blockade. Use your local speakers for this purpose as the nationally known speakers will be used for great mass meetings that will be held in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis and in other cities.

Our meetings, however, will be only the minor effort of this campaign. We must reach more people than will attend our mass meetings, be they ever so large. We must speak with a million voices and to millions of people.

We can do this through a literature distribution. The national organization has prepared a leaflet, "Break the Blockade of Russia," that will stir the workers of this country to action. We

[1] The Communist, Oct. 25, 1919.

must distribute this leaflet by the millions during the first week in November. The presses are already running, printing the first big edition, and will be kept running until every party organization is supplied.

Every party unit must act at once. Call a meeting. Decide how many leaflets you can distribute in your city and send in your order. The leaflets will sell at $1.50 per thousand.

Comrades, agitation must come before the work of organization which will make possible the use of the mighty powers of the workers. This is a campaign to stir the workers to come to the rescue of our comrades in Russia whom the international financial pirates are seeking to strangle to death.

Communists, ours is a party of action. Let us show by our first major campaign that already we have power, we can influence the masses. Let us speak in a million voices in the interests of our comrades whose shining example has inspired us all.

ON WHICH SIDE OF THE BARRICADE ARE YOU?[1]

By GEORGE ANDREYTCHINE

(Reprinted from "The Industrial Worker")

In reprinting the article of Fellow-Worker Andreytchine, also that of Fellow-Worker Davidson which appeared in "The Communist" last week, the editor takes sharp issue with the characterization of the Communist Party as among the "adversaries" of the I. W. W.

The opposition voiced in this paper and on the public platform has been to the official propaganda which Fellow-Worker Andreytchine himself attacks, citing the support of 100 other members of the I. W. W. whom he has personally interviewed.

In so far as there are differences in theoretical understanding between the I. W. W. and Communist Party, these do not represent an opposition of the Communist Party against the I. W. W. The members of the Communist Party are among the most ardent supporters of revolutionary industrial unionism of the I. W. W. character. Indeed, the two articles respectively reprinted show every prospect of approach to a single, unified propaganda by these two organizations.

[1] The Communist, Dec. 6, 1919.

YOU MUST UNITE — WORKINGMEN![1]

WORKINGMEN, YOU MUST UNITE!
YOU MUST STRIKE TOGETHER!

The capitalist system is breaking down. Its contradictions are of such a character that it becomes increasingly difficult to make it work. In place of supplying food, clothing and homes to live in for the workers, it is producing misery and hardships. It is the capitalist system which is responsible for the high cost of living. It is the greed of the capitalists that threatens us with the suffering from cold because no coal is being mined. It is capitalism that is responsible for the threatened railroad strike, which may bring hunger and even starvation to the whole country.

The capitalist control of industry will result in more and more strikes, more and more struggles of the workers to force from the capitalists the means and opportunity to live happy, healthy lives.

These strikes can only succeed if the power of the workers is united. The workers must strike together. The capitalists can beat the strikes of sections of the working class. They are powerless against the united working class.

The conservative and reactionary union officials who stand in the way and betray the workers, who block united action must be swept aside. Strike councils with delegates from every industry, whether the workers are organized or unorganized, must be united in a district council and the district councils in a national council.

Create your own organs for the struggle against capitalism, workingmen!

Send men who work with you and strike with you to the strike councils. They will represent you. They will not betray you. They will unite all the workers locally, in the district, and nationally. Then you can act together. Then you are invincible.

ORGANIZE THE STRIKE COUNCIL!
STRIKE TOGETHER!

Your power will be greater than that which the capitalists have through their control of the government. You will have your own organs of working-class government.

Then you will beat the capitalists; and victory, and good food

[1] The Communist, Dec. 6, 1919.

good clothes, good homes, a voice in the management of the shop, and the opportunity for happy, healthy lives will be yours.

UNITE THE STRIKES!

THE PARTY ORGANIZATION [1]

C. E. RUTHENBERG, *Executive Secretary,* 1219 Blue Island Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Again Comrade Ruthenberg is held away from office by the writs this time on a Criminal Anarchy extradition warrant from New York! Think of the outrageous hounding — the New York prosecutors trying to improve on the work of those of Ohio. Also those of Illinois where Comrade Ruthenberg has been openly engaged in Communist work, in his office and on the platform, for several months.

Comrade Ruthenberg was in New York but once in his life; at the time of the Left Wing Conference when he made a speech in Madison Square Garden — the same speech, in substance, which figured in the recent trial and acquittal in Cleveland.

This outrageous persecution of our executive secretary must be met by a vigorous response in organization activity, as well as immediate boosting of the defense fund.

No individual in the labor movement in the United States has been more shamelessly hounded than Comrade Ruthenberg.

Comrades, show your response in his defense, not only by donation of funds, but even more by effective effort in the building of the party organization and in extending its influence.

Long live Communism!

TACTICAL PROBLEMS [2]

To participate in all elections for all offices of the capitalist state is to rob Communist parliamentary action of its class and revolutionary significance. A Communist Party must have nothing to do with elections for judges and sheriffs, and for the executives of the capitalist state generally. To elect executives is to assume responsibility for the capitalist state, and to prepare for a repetition of all the evils of the old Socialist parliamentarism.

The Communist Party, on the contrary, adopted a realistic and revolutionary policy. Its program states that nominations

[1] The Communist, Dec. 6, 1919.
[2] The Communist, Sept. 27, 1919.

"shall be limited to legislative bodies, such as municipal councils, state legislatures, and national congress." This is the Communist position. In the legislative chambers we meet the legislative representatives of the capitalist class, and fight them on the political issues of the class struggle. We do not assume responsibility for the capitalist state; in fact, our attitude makes it clear that our purpose is to destroy the bourgeois parliamentary state through the mass action of the revolutionary proletariat. To participate in elections for all offices is to strengthen the dangerous idea that we can gradually transform the capitalist state into an organ of the proletariat, gradually "grow into" Socialism.

THE PARTY CONSTITUTION[1]

1. NAME AND PURPOSE

Section 1. The name of this organization shall be THE COMMUNIST PARTY of America. Its purpose shall be the education and organization of the working class for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the abolition of the capitalist system and the establishment of the Communist society.

[2] The Communist Party is now a fact. It calls upon every conscious worker to rally to its support. Our first requirement is to build a solid, disciplined, while (so in original) organization. Then — the revolutionary struggle. Comrades — act!

CZARISM AND AMERICAN FREEDOM[3]

And will the Communists be dismayed by the deportations and the raids and the terrorism of the minions of profit?

It is the time-honored recourse of decadent power. It is another such historical episode as that of Louis XVI declaring his absolute power and the inviolability of the feudal rights before the State-General on June 23d — when the Bastile was about to fall on July 14th!

Go on with your petty persecutions if you dare. It is within your hands to determine the mode of the class conflict in the United States. Deporting and jailing a few hundred agitators — the teachers of the masses — will only breed blind fury. But the mass life will have its say!

The day of the people has arrived! Czarism is doomed — everywhere. Freedom must prevail — everywhere. The free-

[1] The Communist, Sept. 27, 1919.
[2] The Communist, Sept. 27, 1919.
[3] The Communist, Nov. 15, 1919.

dom of Communism, of a society rid of profit oppression, of a society of freely co-operating workers!

The answer of the Communists to the White Terror: Long live the Social Revolution! On to the Federated Soviet Republic of the world!

PROGRAM OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE[1]

The Communist Propaganda League of Chicago came into existence on November 7, 1918, first anniversary of the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, and the very day of the German revolution.

A group of Socialist Party officials and active party members came together for consulation as to ways and means for giving the American Socialist movement a revolutionary character in harmony with all the significance of November 7th, the most glorious date in all history. At the hour of that little meeting bedlam reigned in the streets of Chicago by premature celebration of peace. The calling of this meeting during the mass tumult of November 7th is prophetic of the revolutionary vision which brought these comrades together. On that day the seething proletariat ruled Chicago by sheer force of numbers. One thing alone was needed to give this mass expression identity with the proletarian uprisings of Europe — one thing; the revolutionary idea!

THE COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE is an organization for the propagation of the revolutionary idea. The civilization of tomorrow is with unorganized masses who greeted the news of peace and revolution in Germany with what may safely be described as the greatest spontaneous expression of mass sentiment ever witnessed in America. To give direction and inspiration to the advancing and irresistible army of the proletariat is the mission to which this league is dedicated..

PROGRAM

We speak as members of the Socialist Party to other Socialists, primarily in the interests of the party itself; fundamentally in the interest of a truly revolutionary proletarian movement in the United States.

Those who have organized this league, in common with like-minded Socialists throughout the country, are imbued with the

[1] The Communist, Apr. 1, 1919.

thought that the Socialist Party, as it presently functions, falls short of its possibilities in leadership and unity to the revolutionary proletarian elements in the United States.

There are certain well-defined lines of criticism of Socialist Party tactics and principles which have long been familiar to all thoughtful American Socialists; that the party proceeds on a too narrow understanding of political action for a party of revolution; that its programs and platforms have been reformist and petty bourgeois in character, instead of being definitely directed toward the goal of social revolution; that the party has failed to achieve unity with the revolutionary movement on the industrial field; that the party organization of itself is too cumbersome for quick response to new situations and opportunities for propaganda; that the stand against proletarian participation in imperialistic wars has not gone the full length of its own logic; that there has been compromising reservation in accepting the international leadership of the Bolsheviki of Russia; and, generally, that the modes of Socialist functioning have not taken sufficiently into account the mass action of the proletariat which alone can bring revolution, but instead there has been blind reliance on balloting and pure parliamentarism as the weapons of revolution — a reliance which the experience of the past two years makes particularly empty.

Converting these different criticisms into affirmative propositions, we present the following program as the immediate basis of our activities:

> "1. Alliance and co-operation only with revolutionary Socialist and labor elements in international affairs, such as the Communist Party (Bolsheviki) of Russia.
>
> "2. Socialist propaganda only on the basis of the revolutionary class struggle; a Socialist movement built only on revolutionary proletarian adherents. And end of petty bourgeois reformism as the basis of the Socialist Party activity.
>
> "3. Party policies and platforms free from hypocrisies and 'planks' to catch votes; platforms only as statements of revolutionary aims.
>
> "4. Furtherance of such changes in political forms as are in line with the needs of proletarian-controlled industry, not of political changes based on bourgeois 'democracy.'
>
> "5. Identification of the Socialist party with class-conscious industrial unionism.

"6. Unity of all kinds of proletarian action and protest forming part of the revolutionary class struggle. Political action to include political strikes and demonstrations, and to be in co-operation with industrial mass action.

"7. No compromising with any groups not inherently committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as Labor parties, People's Councils, Non-partisan Leagues, Municipal Ownership Leagues, and the like.

"8. The proletariat to be organized to oppose all wars of imperialism, though declared for 'defense of country' or for 'democracy,' and to carry this opposition to the extent of refusal of service under conscription, and to general strikes. The workers to engage only in wars of proletarian revolution and in wars to repel attacks against proletarian governments.

"9. A sense of realism as to the limited possibilities of the ballot as a weapon of revolution, or fights for 'justice' in capitalist courts — and dependence primarily on mass power and mass action of the proletariat.

"10. Centralized party organization, corresponding to the highly centralized imperialist control to be overthrown.

"a. Organization for quick action and immediate response to new situations by having a National Executive Committee composed of paid party officials and propagandists with offices in the national headquarters.

"b. Definite and easy control by the party membership of all party officials.

"c. Control by the party organization of all Socialists elected to public office.

"d. Control by the party membership, through the regular executive committees, of all official party publications; not by independent special committees or trustees.

"e. Establishment of a Central Lecture Bureau, and of a press and Information Bureau.

"f. Standardization of party platforms, propaganda, dues, and methods of organizations."

(Issues of November 27, page 2; October 25, pages 1, 2, 5; December 6, pages 4, 6, 7; September 27, pages 3, 13, 15; November 15, page 1; April 1, page 3.)

2. THE COMMUNIST WORLD

(OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, LOCAL GREATER NEW YORK)

Editor: Maximillian Cohen; Associate Editor: Bertram D. Wolfe; Business Manager: Geo. Ashkenouzi; Executive Secretary: Harry M. Winitsky; Circulation: Weekly 16,000.

(Note: The executive secretary is now serving a term of five to ten years in Sing Sing prison on his conviction of Criminal Anarchy. The associate editor is out on bail, and the editor is a fugitive from justice.)

YOUR SHOP

It should be your shop (or factory, your store, your mill, your mine or your railroad), yours to work in, yours to produce in, yours to manage with the help of your fellow-workers.

You spend most of your waking hours in the shop. The conditions under which you work and produce determine your life, your happiness.

If you and your fellow-workers controlled the shop, determined the hours of labor, the working conditions, and apportioned the rewards for the services rendered, you would be able to create the conditions that would bring happiness to you. You would so arrange your work that you would not have your life sapped by long hours and bad working conditions and so that the wealth you produced would be yours, yours to secure the enjoyment of good food, good clothing, a good home, and the opportunity for education and healthy recreation.

There is enough wealth produced to give these things to all who work. But the capitalists own the shops that should be yours. The capitalists make you work long hours under bad working conditions; they take from you as their profit the lion's share of what you produce.

They will do that as long as they own and control the shop. There is no hope as long as the shop is not yours.

Workingmen everywhere are learning this. The workingmen of Russia have shown the way. In Russia the shops, as well as all other means of production and distribution, belong to the workers.

The Russian workers organized their power. They created shop committees in every plant and united these in workers' councils. Thus they built up the means for united action. When the crisis came they were prepared to use their mass power. Before their mass power the government of the capitalists and landowners

broke up and disappeared. The workers' councils became the organs of the working-class government. The workers controlled the state power, the police, the army.

Having taken from the capitalists the governmental power through which the capitalists maintain their control of the shop and the exploitation and oppression of the workers, the workers took control of the shops. The shop committees they elected took over the management. They told the capitalists that their days as autocrats, Czars and Kaisers of industry were over. They told them there would be no more robbery of the workers through paying them for only a part of what they produced. They told them that the shops now belonged to all the workers and that they, the capitalists, would have to go to work for a living.

And in Russia, the workers are building the society that means happiness for all in spite of all the efforts of the capitalists of the world to overthrow their government and strike down their new economic system.

The workers everywhere are growing more and more dissatisfied with the capitalists' control of the shops in which they work and spend most of their lives. That is the meaning of the great strikes in England, and of the great industrial struggles in this country.

But the workers must organize to secure control of the shops. The first step is to organize a shop committee in the shop in which you work.

Bring together all the enlightened workers who are ready to participate in the struggle to win control of the shop. Organize them in a Communist Party Shop Branch. This committee will carry on the work of agitation and education among the other workers. It will collect funds and secure papers and pamphlets for distribution in the shop.

The work of the committee will be to unite all the workers in the shop in a shop organization, machinists, carpenters, shipping clerks, workers of every trade, all must unite in the one workers' organization in their shop.

Workers! You must build up the organs of working-class power if you are to win your freedom. The shop organization is the basis for the organization of the mass power of the workers.

Prepare to take control of your shop, of your work, of your lives and happiness.

ORGANIZE AND MAKE IT YOUR SHOP!

(Issued November 8, 1919, page 2.)

BOYCOTT THE ELECTION!

PROCLAMATION COMMUNIST PARTY, LOCAL GREATER NEW YORK WORKERS OF NEW YORK

The fight of the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party to revolutionize that party has ended in the founding of the Communist Party of America.

In August, the Left Wing, still being a section of the Socialist Party, prepared to contest the primaries with the Right Wing candidates. When primary day came, the Left Wing had already become the Communist Party. In a number of districts the Left Wing nominees defeated the old Socialist Party nominees.

The Left Wing section, having now become the Communist Party, these nominees tendered their resignations from the Socialist Party ticket. But, according to the election laws, such resignation could not be accepted after primary day. Therefore, some Communist Party members will appear on the Socialist Party ticket, BUT THEY DO NOT WANT YOUR VOTES! They are making a campaign, but not for election. They will urge the workers to abstain from voting for any candidates whatsoever. Their slogan is the slogan of the Communist Party of America in this campaign. BOYCOTT THE ELECTIONS!

There are two fundamental reasons for the Communist Party's boycott of the elections this year. The one is found in the Communist Party's attitude toward parliamentarism and participation in elections. The other is found in the industrial crisis prevailing in America today.

What is the Communist Party's attitude toward parliamentarism? Let the party program speak for itself!

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND PARLIAMENTARISM

The Communist Party maintains that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle, that is, a struggle to conquer the power of the state.

The Communist Party shall keep in the foreground its consistent appeal for proletarian revolution, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Participation in parliamentary campaigns, which in the general struggle of the proletariat is of secondary importance, is FOR THE PURPOSE OF REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA ONLY.

The Crisis in the United States

Workers! There are moments during the process of the class struggle, when not to participate in the political campaign, but to boycott the elections, will most clearly emphasize our class character and promote our revolutionary purposes. Then the slogan becomes, "Boycott the elections."

This year presents such a historical situation in the United States. The most vital revolutionary tendency is the mass strike. The steel workers are on strike. The longshoremen are on strike. The building trades are on strike. The milliners are on strike. The printers are on strike. The expressmen are on strike. The coal miners are going out. **The capitalist system is reeling under the impact of mass strikes!**

Capitalism, panic-striken, is mobilizing all its forces to crush these strikes. The capitalist state is using its police, its state constabulary, its militia, its army, to crush these strikes. Martial law has been declared in Gary. Eighteen thousand soldiers are to be sent to New York to break the longshoremen's strike. The Iron Heel of the Capitalist state is seeking to crush the spirit of rebellion that has awakened in the workers.

Workers, this is all you can expect of the capitalist state. **A party that bids you expect more, is deceiving you.** Your only hope is to use your mass power, the mighty strength of your numbers, to broaden and deepen your strikes until they become general political strikes, to impose mass proletarian pressure upon the state.

Workers, are you going to divert your revolutionary energy at such a time into the blind alley of capitalist elections? For whom can you vote? There are no Communists participating. Can you vote the tickets of the capitalist parties? Can you vote the ticket of the Right Wing Socialist Party, betrayer of the revolutionary class struggle?

Are you deceived by the Socialist Party fairy tales, that by voting you are going to save $5.00 on your rent? Or three cents on your milk?

Can you vote for the party of Meyer London, pro-war patriot? Of Zabel, Milwaukee "Socialist" district attorney, who railroaded Socialists into jail? Or the Socialist pro-war aldermen who voted for liberty loans and Murmansk victory arches? These aldermen have all been renominated by their party. Boycott those who have betrayed the class struggle.. BOYCOTT THE ELECTIONS.

Workers, do not be deceived by the miserable slogans of the deceivers of the proletariat. Votes, votes, votes — jobs and votes! Do you expect anything of Socialist Party jobholders and their miserable vote-catching campaigns? Cheap rent, cheap milk, cheap fare — cheap fairy tales! Promises are cheap. Can the job-seekers fulfill them?

Workers, the United States seems to be on the verge of a revolutionary crisis. The workers, through their mass strikes, are challenging the state. The Communist Party task is to unify these strikes, to develop them into political strikes, aiming at the very power of the capitalist state itself. Out of these mass industrial struggles must issue the means and the inspiration for the conquest of power by the workers. BOYCOTT THE ELECTIONS!

(Issued November 1, page 1.)

TO THE STRIKING LONGSHOREMEN

PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA, LOCAL GREATER NEW YORK

LONGSHOREMEN: Sixty thousand of you are out on strike. You struck against the Bosses and the Government Wage Adjustment Board. You also struck in defiance of the union officials. You are striking against the "scab unionism" of the A. F. of L. The Wage Adjustment Board refused to grant your demands. Your leaders wanted arbitration. Angered beyond endurance at the Board's award and the treachery of your leaders, you walked out. Your officials are breaking your strike. The prostitute press is trying to break your strike. The bosses with the able assistance of your leaders and the Government are preparing to break your strike. You are determined to stay out.

Workers, you have repudiated your leaders. You have repudiated your scab form of A. F. of L. unionism. You must form a Transport Workers' Industrial Union. Unite with the striking expressmen, truck-drivers, chauffeurs, freight handlers, etc., unite with all those who are employed in the transportation industry for One Big Industrial Transport Workers' Union. Already the Shipping Board is advertising that it will protect scabs at seventy-

five cents an hour. The Government will send soldiers to take your places. Some are doing this dirty work already. Eighteen thousand more soldiers are on the way. Before the war the Bosses hired their strike-breakers from strike-breaking agencies.

NOW THEY USE THE ARMY ITSELF AS A STRIKE-BREAKING AGENCY.

Do you see whose Government this is? The Bosses own the State, its army, its police, its press. The Government Wage Adjustment Board represents the State. Did it decide in your favor? The Army is being sent to the piers. To protect you or to scab on you? The Police! Whose heads are they going to crack when you go on the picket line, yours or the scabs? The Press! Whose side are the newspapers taking, yours or the Bosses? Don't you see that the Bosses own and control the whole governmental machinery? Did you ever receive a square deal from the Bosses? How then can you expect to receive a square deal from the Bosses' Government?

The Government will place squads of soldiers at the piers with rifles and machine guns to shoot you down. If you hold your ground they will establish martial law; they will break up your meetings; raid your homes, arrest you — just as they are doing to the steel strikers in Gary now. In other words, they will try to crush your spirit, break your solidarity with your fellow-workers and send you back to work like a lot of beaten dogs.

Will you submit tamely to all this? Forming an industrial union will of itself not solve your problems. It is only a step. Going to the polls on election day will not bring you victory. Don't expect politicians to free you from capitalism and its misery Depend upon yourselves. The only way is to get rid of the present Bosses' Government and establish a Workers' Government in its place. A Workers' Government like the Soviet Republic of Russia. The present government is a government of the capitalists, by the capitalists, for the capitalists. You must aim for the establishment of a Workers' Republic of the workers, by the workers, for the workers.

Look over the whole country today. What do you see? Strikes! strikes! Nothing but strikes! You are on strike. The steel workers are on strike. The expressmen are on strike. The machinists are on strike. The shipbuilders are on strike. The lumbermen are on strike. The bricklayers are on strike. The carpenters are on strike. The tailors are on strike. Every

industry is tied up with strikes. The coal miners will have a general strike on November 1st. The railroad workers may break out any day against the Government anti-strike law. These workers are all striking for the same reason.

They can't get along on the wages they get. They must get more, but the Bosses, who made huge fortunes out of the war and miseries of the poor, refuse to give it to them. The Cost of Living is rising higher and higher. A dollar today is worth less than fifty cents before the war. The whole rotten system is going to pieces. The struggle between the workers and the capitalists is going on all over the world.

There is only one way out for the workers of America. The workers must capture the powers of the State. They must conquer the means by which the capitalist class maintains itself in power. The answer to the Dictatorship of the Capitalists is the dictatorship of the workers.

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!

(Issued November 1, page 3.)

THE "COMMUNIST WORLD" ENTERS THE STRUGGLE

The "Communist World," official organ of the Communist Party, Local Greater New York, makes its initial appearance with this issue. It is no mere coincidence that wherever the Communist Party gains a foothold in a large industrial center a periodical organ of propaganda usually follows as the next step. On the contrary, it is a logical sequence in line with our tactics — ORGANIZATION AND PROPAGANDA. Not stressing Organization alone — that way lies stultification; nor stressing propaganda alone — that way leads to a criminal dissipation of energy, for it leaves us with no effective means of crystallizing the sentiment created by our propaganda. But the two together, developing side by side, each reflecting the growing power and strength of the Communist movement. That is the all-powerful secret. Develop the Organization — develop the propaganda. And develop both in keeping with political and industrial conditions, holding fast at all times to Communist principles. That is the tactic of the Communist Party.

We are no revolutionary mushroom organization seeking the favor of the workers for a day or a year. We are no spineless aggregation of theorists peddling a new brand of universal

panacea. Nor are we hotheads or crack-brained enthusiasts who make the wish for revolution father to the act. We are a conscious, deliberate outgrowth of the class-conscious revolutionary sentiment in America — just as much a product of political and economic conditions as the recent imperialistic world war, as the collapse of "moderate Socialism," as the League of Nations, as the breakdown of capitalism, as the formation of the Third International at Moscow calling upon the workers for world revolution.

Our object is the abolition of the wage system and the establishment of the Communist Commonwealth through the dictatorship of the proletariat. No mere tinkering with the present capitalist structure; no peaceful growing out of capitalism into Socialism; no parliamentary reforms; no waiting until exhausted Capitalism recuperates from the effects of the world war; no aiding of that recuperation under the guise of "reconstruction," as our Right Wing Socialists would have us do, but the immediate, continuous, bitter, implacable, uncompromising struggle with the master class until Communism is a reality. And since we differ so fundamentally with the "moderate Socialists" in our object; and since a different object implies different principles and tactics, so must we have a different organization and a different FORM of organization to carry on our propaganda. Therefore the birth of the "Communist World," official organ of the Communist Party of America. . . .

We are convinced that the working youth can have nothing in common with this fraudulent, lying, treacherous "International." The working youth of all the world are uniting themselves as one man with the living INTERNATIONAL, with the Communist International. The long-waited battle for workers' power, for proletarian dictatorship, for Communism, is coming. The working class will have revenge for the insults cast upon the workers' banner during the five years' war. All over the world the workers are forming their councils as the means to the realization of Socialism. Against the bourgeois black army we are organizing our own red army, and the working youth shall fight on the foremost barricade for the victory of the Soviet system.

Long live the Proletarian Youth!

Long live the Youth's Communist International!

Break the blockade.

(Issued November 1, page 4.)

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!

"DECLARATION ISSUED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY, LOCAL GREATER NEW YORK

The Communist Party protests emphatically against the reactionary forces, mobilized by the Lusk Committee, in making raids and arrests at the branches of our Party.

This protest, we realize, will not stop the tyranny of the forces of "law and order," since their purpose is to break the Communist Party, which represents the movement of conscious workers for the overthrow of Capitalism. But the Communist Party cannot be broken by terrorism and violence, since it represents the revolutionary class struggle of the American workers, which will conquer and break the power of Capitalism.

The Communist Party is accused of using force; but it is the forces of reaction that are using force against the Communist Party.

The Communist Party is accused of fomenting terrorism; and we find that it is the reactionary forces that are using terrorism against the Communist Party.

These acts of violence and terrorism come as a climax to the preparations made by the forces of "law and order"— the police and newspapers — for a massacre of the Communist Party meeting on Rutgers square, scheduled for November 8th. The newspapers lyingly reported that the Communist Party was prepared to throw bombs, to use violence; lying reports circulated for the express purpose of creating a pretext for using force and violence against Communists and making a massacre. The whole attitude of the police officials during the preparations for the meeting led to the conclusion that they were the ones preparing for a massacre, although they knew and the newspapers knew that the proposed meeting was to have been but a peaceful demonstration.

And these are the people accusing the Communist Party of preparing to launch a campaign of violence and terrorism!

The arrest of many of our comrades, for no overt illegal act whatever, is proof positive that the forces of "law and order" are the first to violate this law and order in the process of the struggle of class against class.

The real purpose of these acts of terrorism and despotism, worthy of the most brutal traditions of Czarism, is not only to break the Communist Party, but to terrorize the workers, to

crush their strikes, and to prevent the workers adopting more radical purposes in their struggles against the master class.

The raids upon the Communist Party and other organizations, and the wholesale arrests, following the breaking of the miners' strike by the Government, and their ruthless use of the courts, clearly proves that the Government is adopting a policy aimed to rush the movement of the working class.

A challenge has been issued not alone to the Communist Party, but to the whole working class. The working class will yet answer that challenge.

The Communist Party is not a secret organization, it clearly proclaims its purposes: The overthrow of Capitalism by means of the proletarian conquest of political power, the introduction of a workers' government by means of which the evil power of capitalism will be completely broken, and industrial oppression will be no more — no poverty, no war, and no universal massacres.

Is that criminal? If so, progress is criminal. Then criminal is every man and woman working for a finer civilization.

Revolutions come, they are not made. They are produced by the conditions of life and not by the wishes of men. And when revolutions come, despotism and terrorism will not stop their course, but hasten their progress. Czarism employed centuries of despotism, only to prepare its own destruction.

Instead of preventing the American workers from awakening to conscious action for the conquest of political power, brutality and violence on the part of "law and order" can only hasten the process.

Workers, men and women! Comrades! The forces of Capitalism are prepared to impose more brutal despotism and misery upon you, to crush your movement for liberty and a larger life.

You must rally to the Communist Party! You must hasten to the defense of our political prisoners. You must carry on the class struggle against Capitalism, until you are in control as workers of all political and industrial power.

All power to the workers!

(Issued November 22, 1919, page 1.)

3. THE COMMUNIST'S LABOR PARTY NEWS

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY

Office of Publication, 208 E. 12th Street, New York City. Executive Secretary: A. Wagenknecht; Organization Director: L. E. Katterfield.

National Executive Committee.— Max Bedacht, California; Alexander Bilan, Ohio; Jack Carney, Minnesota; L. E. Katterfield, New York; Edward Lindgren, New York.

Alternates.— L. K. England, Illinois; Edgar Owens, Illinois.

Labor Committee.— Chas. Baker, Ohio; L. K. England, Illinois; Benjamin Gitlow, New York; R. E. Richardson, Utah; Arne Swabeck, Washington.

International Delegates.— John Reed, New York; A. Wagenknecht, New York.

Editorial Board.— Ludwig Lore, A. Raphailoff, Edward Lindgren. Circulation: Weekly.

THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY

Accepts the principles of Communism.

Affiliates with the Third International.

Holds that employing class and working class have nothing in common.

Considers existing political state a ruling class instrument, whose sham democracies are useless to the working class.

Teaches that workers must develop their own power, abolish the existing political state and under their own dictatorship work out their problems.

Deems ballot box campaigns for this purpose of secondary importance. Makes the great industrial struggles its major campaigns.

Participates in political campaigns for purpose of propaganda. Has only ONE demand: The dictatorship of the proletariat. ONE slogan: ALL power to the workers.

Propagandizes Industrial Unionism. Points out its revolutionary nature. Organizes shop committees. Actively helps to build the one big union.

Is the logical outgrowth of the revolutionary Left Wing Movement. Was started in obedience to the decisions of the Left Wing Conference and the mandates of the old party's revolutionary membership.

Starts without machine politics or clique control. Permits no autonomous Federations or groups. Develops highly centralized organization, capable of united action. Organizes its membership as ONE homogeneous mass, competent to meet the revolutionary situation.

Has a policy of INCLUSION. Constantly offers unity to all organizations that agree on the fundamental principles of Communism.

Has a nationwide organization, steadily growing in membership and power.

NOW THEN COMRADES — ALL TOGETHER

There's inspiration in knowing that thousands are doing what you are doing for the same cause you are laboring for. You're invited to join the thousands, to work with them, a little every day, to get into the hands of the 30,000,000 wage workers the message of communism. The task before us is the substitution of workers' control for capitalists' control in industry. This is neither a sleepy head's nor a muddle head's job. Clear brains, positive knowledge of tactics and principles and the resultant courage and determination will lead to victory. And there they are — 30,000,000 of them, waiting to be educated, 30,000,000 of them, most of whom are still thinking wrong and doing wrong, literally murdering themselves in the capitalists' shambles. So here's good news, comrades. The Communist Labor Party is now in possession of the tools with which to disseminate the knowledge necessary to workers' freedom. The tools are at hand. Join the thousands who are now using them to light the way to the communist commonwealth. Consider yourself an agent for the party from this moment on. Begin today to spread the light by spreading the printed words of the Communist Labor Party, its papers, pamphlets and leaflets. Read on — and then TO WORK!"

(Issued in November, 1919, page 1.)

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4. NOVY MIR

Circulation — Estimated 20,000.

Victor Wollodin, living at Sea Gate, Coney Island, testified that he was the manager of the "Novy Mir." It was on this paper that Leon Trotzky worked as an editorial writer, prior to his becoming Minister of War of Soviet Russia. Ludwig C. A. K. Martens also held an editorial position on this paper prior to his becoming representative of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic in New York City. This paper is now and for some time past has been one of the official organs of the

Communist Party of America, and together with "Worker and Peasant," hereafter referred to, in Russian, "Rabochey-i-Krestyanin," is the mouthpiece not only of the Communist Party of America, but to a very large extent of the Communist Party of Russia. It is a daily publication, with quite a large circulation, the exact number of which was not ascertained. The witness testified that A. Stoklitsky was the president; M. Mislig, treasurer; and Nicholas Hourwich, secretary. The Federal government has instituted deportation proceedings against the first and the last named, and Michael Mislig has been declared in contempt of this Committee by Mr. Justice Vernon M. Davis, of the Supreme Court, by reason of Mislig's contumacious refusal to answer pertinent questions before this Committee. Though this order has been outstanding for several months, it has not been served upon Mislig by reason of the fact that he fled the jurisdiction and has been in Washington, D. C., for some time in close communion with Ludwig C. A. K. Martens.

EDITORIAL, MARCH 8, 1917

PREPARE SOLDIERS OF THE REVOLUTION

Harsh days are coming. The Bourgeois government puts before every one point-blank the question: "With me, or against me?" Many out of those, who turn round Socialism — lawyers, physicians and others — will desert our ranks in order not to sever their connection with the bourgeois society circles, they depend upon, and to which they belong in their majority, spiritually. But we, revolutionary Socialists, will get, instead, access to the very broad proletarian masses, which are being now, by the thunders of events, aroused for political life.

Just as capitalistic militarism is enlisting new recruits in every country and subjects them to military training, so we, Socialists, the only opponents to this militarism, must learn to lead new and new thousands of freshmen through the school of Socialism.

Advanced workingmen must take upon themselves the duties of instructors. In every corner in New York, in every provincial city, in every factory where Russian workingmen are employed, it is necessary to enroll new readers of the "Novy Mir" and train them for intelligent, sensible reading of the paper. It is important to establish everywhere reading circles of the "Novy

Mir;" to read and discuss jointly the most important articles. It is necessary to rouse and push forward the proletarian mind. It is necessary to prepare soldiers of the revolution.

BLOODY HYPOCRISY

Perhaps in no question that agitated the world for the past two years has the hypocrisy of the Allied policy been demonstrated so clearly and definitely as in the question of the attitude toward Russia. Every step undertaken by the Allies toward Russia for the last two months has been characterized by that dualism which is so peculiar to a robber attempting to assume a gentleman's pose. And if at first the verbal gentility concealed the strong disposition of the Allies for plunder. Of late the misleading and peaceful words vanished in smoke and the vulture robber has appeared in all his repulsive nakedness.

The armed Allies' intervention in the internal affairs of Russia was the turning point in their policy toward Russia. And though it was clear to everybody that the policy of intervention admitted no two interpretations none the less even then the Allies, impelled by inertia, apparently continued to talk about the sacredness of the principle of non-intervention and about their unwillingness to impose upon the Russian people a form of government that was unacceptable to them. As to the amount of truth and sincerity which was contained in similar statements of the Allied Powers one can judge from the purely robbers' tactics with the aid of which they attempted to place upon the necks of the Russian masses their former oppressors and exploiters.

But the intervention failed. Already a month after the conclusion of the armistice on the western front the military experts correctly estimated the situation of the Allied armies in Russia, inviting the latter to the Prinkipo conference for a fatal conclusion. And then only the Paris Peace Conference made a "magnanimous" gesture in the direction of the Soviet Russia, inviting her to the Prinkipo conference for a "peaceful" solution of the Russian question. And then the Allied wolves in the lambs' skins, through the incomparable spokesman "peacemaker" Wilson, expressed their reverence before the Russian revolution, for the hundredth time hypocritically stating that they "recognize" it and will not obstruct its movement.

The Prinkipo conference did not take place after all. Instead of it later was advanced a plan to feed Russia under the control of neutral nurses. Meantime the Allies not for a single moment failed to utilize Poland, Greece and Roumania in their struggle for Soviet Russia.

But failure after failure followed the Allies. The Roumanian, Greek and French troops operating in southern Russia suffered defeat after defeat and were forced finally to evacuate the Black Sea ports. At the Archangel front the Allied position assumed a catastrophic character. And also in the West their Polish, Esthonian and Lithuanian hirelings remained at a dead point.

It was necessary to look for new ways, and, to believe the newspaper reports, such ways have been found. The White guards of Finland are now the starting point for the further operations of the Allies against the Soviet Russia. A recent ally of the imperialistic Germany, last week she was recognized by the Allied powers and evidently one of the conditions for such a recognition was its willingness to assume the role of a henchman of the Russian revolution. At any rate the latest telegrams disclose quite clearly that such a bargain has been concluded between Finland and her Allies.

Thus Finland in the North, Poland and Roumania in the West, Kolchak, Czecho-Slovak, Japanese and American hired volunteers in the East. And alongside with it the words about the recognition of the Russian revolution and the statement on non-intervention in the Russian affairs.

Is it not a bloody hypocricy?

(Issued May 12, 1919.)

LIARS

(No. 1, May 7, 1919)

Many years ago the American journalist John Swinton delivered his famous speech on the character of the American press at the society of New York journalists. In biting and sharp expression he branded the mercenariness of the bourgeois press and its slavish subservience to the interest of the ruling classes.

Here are some extracts of his speech:

> " There is nothing in America that would resemble a free press, save for a few provincial press organs. You know

this as well as I do. There is no one amongst you who would dare to express his honest opinion. You all know that articles conceived in honesty will never be published. I am paid $150 a week for not printing in my papers that which I believe in. We are marionettes in the hands of capitalists who are hiding behind the scenes. Our time and our talent are the property of other people."

All this, said a number of years since, is also true now, and perhaps more true today than before. The characteristic given by Swinton of the American bourgeois press can be equally applied to the European press. Here as well as there obscurity, uncleanliness and mercenariness are the chief characteristics of the bourgeois press, this seventh "great power."

Instances of this sort are a plenty. Hundreds and thousands of instances may be cited in confirmation of these deep truthful words of Swinton.

Take for instance the attitude of our big press and telegraph agencies (which are the chief sources of the spiritual food for the papers), towards the Russian affairs for the past few weeks. During this short period they beat all the records of newspaper lying.

As though ordered, as from a horn of plenty, news began to fall about the defeats suffered by the Soviet Red army, the victories of Kolchak at the Ural front, victories of the allies at the Archangel and Murmansk fronts, the capture of Vilna by the Poles, fall of Petrograd under the pressure from the Finnish white guards, these are the news printed in the papers. The readers of these newspapers get an idea that the Soviet Russia is on the eve of crumbling down and that very soon she will fall before the onslaught of her opponents. Very likely the same idea is obtaining among those readers of the bourgeois big press who are capable of criticising, i. e., who are able to single out bits of truths out of the dirty heaps of rubbish. Unconsciously they might have formed an idea that the power of the Russian proletariat is waning.

But in reality the Russian situation for these few weeks has rather improved. Nothing happened there that would warrant sounding an alarm about the fate of the Soviet Russia.

This has to be acknowledged now even by the newspaper liars. They went too far in their lying, indeed.

Petrograd never fell into the hands of the white guards. As officially stated by the Lithuanian press bureau from Kovno, Vilna is still in the hands of the Soviet troops and the troops of the Lithuanian bourgeoisie are far away from Vilna. Lithuanians thus deny the news about the capture of Vilna by the Polish troops. The news about the Kolchak victories and the offensive towards Samara have become a myth. It appears that not the Kolchak troops defeated the Soviet troops but the Soviet troops inflicted a serious defeat on the Kolchak troops. Thus the same old story happened with the Kolchak victories as a few months ago happened with the much talked of Denikine's victories. As regards the Archangel front instead of a Soviet retreat there began an offensive along the entire front.

Thus black has been turned into white and white into black.

Let then this be a lesson for the too trusting reader not to believe the lies which the capitalist press spreads throughout the world.

("Novy Mir," May 7, 1919, No. 1)

PERSECUTING THE RUSSIANS

It looks as if the police precinct, the Department of Justice and the capitalist press have formed a sort of a holy alliance with the object of starting a crusade against the Russian labor organizations. As recently it was in the Czar's Russia the Russian reactionaries looked for and "found" the Jew as the chief agent in promoting discontent in the country, so now also the American reaction looks for everywhere and "finds" the Russian.

Indeed, the hunting down of the Russian has already begun. The raids are following one after another and persecutions flow as if from a horn of plenty. Almost daily the newspapers discover new and new "revolutionary" plots which have for the purpose the abolition of the present state and social order and they provide themselves now with specialists on "Russian affairs" and reporters — detectives who frankly confess (as it was done only the other day by the "World" reporter) that they do not follow the professional detectives but, on the contrary, the detectives are following in their tracks.

However, we should have done an injustice to the agents of the American reaction if we had only pointed out that they are playing the same role as was in the past played by the Czar's

hirelings. In justice it must be said that they are more stupid than the former Czar's servants and in the matter of violating the rights of an individual they left off far behind the members of the police precinct and secret service of the old Russian.

When the Russian police authorities or the secret service men had put some one behind the prison bars or to the far distant places they nevertheless built up some sort or semblance of judicial or administrative process, beforehand arming themselves with some "proofs" against their victims. But here in America even this is being considered unnecessary. Here, as once wittily remarked the prominent Russian satirist, Schedrin, it is sufficient to read in the "human hearts" and observe the expressions of the faces, of course, provided, that these hearts are Russians as well as the faces are those of Russians.

Take, for instance, the sensational raid on the "People's Home" in New York where last Wednesday the police agents and members of the Department of Justice took captive over 150 persons; or take that judicial comedy which was conducted on the Rockefeller's estate, Bayonne, over four Russian workmen. In the former case the guardians of law singled out from all the arrested persons only four persons, but even against them there are no "evidence" on hand at all. And nevertheless they are being kept in prison and besides they are being humiliated in the most vile way.

Things are still worse in Bayonne. There a few of our comrades were kept behind the prison bars only because one of them had worn a red tie, and the other had with him an album of photographs of the Soviet officials, and all of them, as testified by one of the detectives, had during the arrest, "excited" faces.

Does not this recall to one's mind the wolf from the Krylov's fable which frankly stated to its victim: "You are guilty merely because I am hungry." And when now the American wolf wants to eat he opens his mouth to devour the Russian and forces his teeth into the latter's body. And all this is being done under the protection of American "freedom" which guarantees the resident of the United States his personal liberty.

Similar occurrences to those of New York and Bayonne have taken place also and almost under the same circumstances in a number of other cities. Only last week we reported in the "Novy Mir" about the dissolution of Russian meetings and arrests in Cleveland, Waterbury, Akron and other cities. And if this is

merely a beginning of the organized campaign against the Russian workmen and their organizations, what can we expect in the future?

All Russians are suffering from these raids and persecutions, regardless of their party's affiliations. Even those who do not belong to any organization suffer also. We are in possession of a report from Bayonne that the Russian workers are being dismissed from factories simply because they are Russians. Anybody who dares to raise his voice for the defense of his rights, anybody who attends a meeting are called by the factory owners "Bolsheviki" and with the aid of the class justice, and without it, give them away to the immigration authorities or send them to prison. Imagine, then, what a favorable ground is thus being created for all sorts of detectives, volunteer-detectives and the rest of the lovers of earning easy money who usually figure as the "saviour of the society."

Under such circumstances the existence of the Russian immigrants and their organizations is becoming absolutely unbearable. The majority of the Russian workmen do not command the English language and this to a considerable degree weakens their self-defense. They have almost no place to appeal for help, besides they lack the means to provide a defense for themselves.

The so-called Russian "Embassy," now in Washington, ignores absolutely the fact of the persecution of the Russian citizens, while here in America there are no one who would officially represent the Soviet government, and their absence here is not due to their own fault.

Under such circumstances, impossible and alarming circumstances, we are able to give the only advice to the many thousands of the proletarian Russian colony in America — do not get despondent, comrades, solidify your own ranks and place yourselves under the protection of the red flag together with other comrades of other nationalities. Defend your rights and know that only through a struggle can we come to victory. Ours is the cause of righteousness and the victory, sooner or later shall be on our side.

VAIN EFFORTS

Almost simultaneously with the outburst of strikes in the United States the guardians of "law and order" have set themselves to the task of getting rid of "sedition" from the American

territory. The wise men sitting in the Senate entrusted to one of the investigating Senate committees to find out the roots and threads of this "sedition." The administrative authorities have already gotten busy in making a clean up. It gets hold of individual "culprits" from the workmen ranks in different cities, aliens, and under a strong guard sends them to port points whence they are supposed to be deported to their home countries. The Senate committee has already begun "a clean-up." Of course, the result is that a great deal of dirt is being discovered in that "high" institution. The committee headed by Senator Overman, it looks, gets ready to frighten the American public opinion by a picture of the evil which Bolshevism has brought to Russia. And, of course, for this purpose experts have been invited, experts very well versed in the science of slanderous inventions and swearing against the Bolsheviki. Two such experts have already taken the stand before the investigating committee — one is the former commercial attache at the American Embassy in Russia, Mr. Huttington; the other is an American friend of Mulilukov, Professor Harper. There will be some others, too. And if we are to judge by the testimonies of the examined "witnesses," and also by the rumors that persons suspected of sympathies to the Soviet government, will not be heard before that committee, one can safely say that the whole work of the committee may prove to be a verbal, perhaps, a revised edition of the "famous" Sisson's documents. Of course, one might have ignored the activity of the sly Senate bloodhounds, if their work of "bringing light" on Bolshevism had not had for its object to find the justification for the administrative outrage, the victims of which have already become aliens on the territory of the United States. The American bourgeoisie is indeed looking forward to a remedy against the growing menace of the American labor movement. And if such remedy is needed as the only method at the disposal of the bourgeoisie is resorted to the method of repression. In regard to aliens this method has become still more simpler. Here, laws may be applied which regulate the immigration to the United States; "dangerous" elements will not be admitted to the United States and those already here will be deported. "Our" legislators will take care of course to pass needed legislation for the realization of the first half of the formula. And the second half has already been realized. The best proof is the sending by the immigration officials to Ellis Island of the first party of "alien-

agitators" to be deported. By sending out aliens participating in the American labor movement the American government wants to arrest its growth. It uses a splinter to pacify the rising labor wave. An empty and a pitiful game!

REVOLUTIONARY STRIKE MOVEMENT

A spirit of revolt spreads larger and larger over the working masses of the entire world. Neither threats nor curses of the high priests of the bourgeoisie society are capable of holding back the pressure of proletarian masses. Even in countries where heretofore the revolution has not yet unfurled its red flag and the bourgeoisie gods have not yet been deposed from their pedestals, over there grows a big wave of people's protest which may any day flare up with a red flame.

The big strikes at Belfast and in the Glasgow district and the growing movement of London workers are stern warnings for the British bourgeoisie. Her press organs, this police force of the ruling classes, are shouting already at the top of their voices that Bolshevism has intrenched itself in the minds of the British workers and that events in Belfast and Glasgow are merely a repetition of Petrograd and Berlin red days.

The labor movement in Britain slips from under control of the official trade unionism. The leadership of the movement is going over now into the hands of factory committees' representatives who declare openly that the Russian methods are their own.

In Paris, under the very nose of the Peace Conference recently was declared a strike by the workers and employees of almost all city transportation lines. Whether this strike was crushed by police force and military force we know not; we are in dark about it, for the anxious hand and viligant eye of the censor allows to pass to us only fragmentary and obscure information concerning the people's unrest in Europe. But the other day we read in one of the New York evening papers a dispatch from Paris, and we are ready to believe this report, that the germs of Bolshevism have already penetrated into the "capital of the world."

No wonder, therefore, that even the Peace Conference is getting ready to get busy with the solution of the "labor" problem. Even the aristocrat-diplomats will be forced to get busy over "dirty work."

Difficult times fraught with all sorts of possibilities have come for the bourgeoisie.

And in addition to that there are strikes in Brussels, Sweden, Switzerland and even in the far far distant India. In the Central Powers the revolutionary movement is still brewing, while the events in Spain so upturned the Spanish bourgeoisie, that everywhere, even along Barcelona coast, she sees Lenin. South America does not wish to drag in tail of Europe and she was set in turmoil during the recent strikes. The old capitalist world is writhing in mortal agonies. A new life is bursting forth. And even there where the movement has not yet assumed stormy forms of revolutionary protest, the troubled conscience of the bourgeoisie sees already the red hand of the proletarian which writes on the wall the stern words foretelling the bankrupted old structure of society its speedy ruin.

And things are not running calmly also in the United States. The American Senate, this Sanhedrim of wise priests, runs here and there in search for culprits who have disturbed the social peace. Bankers and merchants are spending lavishly thousands and thousands of dollars to fight the Bolshevist menace. The Department of Justice is also on the alert. Hundreds of fighters for the labor cause are thrown behind the iron bars of American prisons. The Espionagè Law is still in force.

The American bourgeoisie is anticipating the advent of stormy weather.

The strike of longshoremen in the New York Harbor, strike of the toilers of the needle, strike of 30,000 workers working on silk at the factories of Paterson, strike of textile workers of New England, movement of workers along the Pacific Coast, assuming at some places a character of revolutionary demonstrations, the evergrowing army of unemployed, the awakening of the 10,000,000 of negro population, a new spirit of the labor movement in the adjacent Canada — all this cannot but excite our political leaders of our home-made "democracy."

The American bourgeoisie is listening to the thundering peals of the coming storm, and, obeying the instinct of self-preservation, resorts to the arsenal of old measures in hope to crush the movement. She is very strong and well organized, while the American working class has not yet learned to act harmoniously in masses. Its demonstration of power assumes so far an isolated character.

But the revolutionary strike wave extending more and more over the world is raising the working man of the United States and will teach him the European methods of struggle. His role is yet to come.

KRASNOVS AFFAIRS

The revolutionary movement, spreading among the greater part of Krasnov's troops, has compelled Krasnov TO ISSUE AN ORDER TO THE DON army in which he explains the latest defeats as a result of Bolshevist agitation, bribery and treason. Kraznov recognizes the fact that fraternization with the Red army, partial peace negotiations and unauthorized leaving of positions became a constant occurrence in his army. Krasnov threatens to punish the Voshinsky and Migulinsky regiments for leaving the front and starting negotiations with the Bolsheviki. Krasnov calls himself the "people's choice" and again invites to believe in the coming of the English in the near future.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AT WORK

CHICAGO, ILL.

The Communist Party, it seems, does not please the leaders of the A. F. of L.

Six agents of this counter-revolutionary organization, on September 11th, were trying to distribute leaflets at the entrance of Wilson and Co's. slaughter house.

In these leaflets, the American Federation of Labor appealed to the workers not to join the Communist Party and not to demand from their employers a raise in wages.

The workers, indignant over the impudence of these gentlemen, beat them up and took away and tore up the leaflets.

The Chicago stockyards employ 80,000 workers. The plant committees of the Communist Party are conducting an agitation and propaganda of their ideas among these workers.

The workers with interest are reading the Communistic literature and listen to speakers.

A DEMONSTRATION FOR LIBERATION OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

SEATTLE, September 14th.— An effective demonstration of local workingmen for the liberation of political prisoners was timed to take place at Wilson's arrival. More than 100,000

workers wore buttons with the inscription: "Release the political prisoners." The demonstrators filled the streets through which the President had to pass. It was an expression of protest against the imprisonment of Debs, Mooney and many local leaders of the labor movement. A delegation of local labor organizations led by James Duncan, secretary of the council of the trade unions, had an audience with President Wilson. The delegation insisted mostly, that Wales, Morris and Pass, local labor leaders sentenced to two years in prison, should be released. A labor meeting was organized at the time and near the place where the delegation had the audience with Wilson. The speeches of the orators demanding the releases of political prisoners could be heard where Wilson was standing.

WHY BOMBS WERE NECESSARY

Here in Philadelphia, as in other cities, a couple of weeks ago, bombs blew up houses of prominent citizens, who were spending their *vacation* somewhere at the ocean. One of the bombs exploded even near the old church. The guilty are not apprehended yet, up to the present day. It is doubtful whether they will ever be found; the police will not arrest itself. This is already the second occurrence. Explosions of the same character took place here last year in December. At that time a struggle between the politicians took place. One of them was the chief of police and the other a former chief of police who, returning from France, endeavored to get his old position back, and bombs were a medium of the struggle. These bombs were to frighten peaceful citizens and prove that a "Bolshevist danger" exists in the city and the present chief of police must remain in office for a longer time in order to fight "this danger."

Of course, all the yellow newspapers began to bray that this was the work of the Bolsheviki and that the Soviet People's house is the center of the conspiracy. The police were noisy for awhile rummaged the cellar of the People's House in the hope of planting there something and finding it afterwards. But the comrades who followed the police kept a sharp lookout and nothing came of it. A week passed and everything became quiet again. Now the baiting of the Soviet People's House started again.

The explosion of bombs a couple of weeks ago had for its purpose to frighten peaceful fools and to prove that it is necessary to take the strictest measures against the Bolsheviks.

The bomb throwers were not found, and they are not even being sought; but meanwhile an order was issued to all precinct sleuths to register all suspicious persons in their precincts and to arrest and bring in to the commission investigating about the bombs, all those distributing literature. These bombs served as a signal for the reaction which is now raging. An attack on the Soviet House is expected. The sleuths have already looked into the houses of some of our comrades.

These are only the flowers, and the berries are yet to come.

STRUGGLING WITH SEDITION

The American plutocracy is troubled by guilty conscience. It growls and writhes in search of new methods of fighting the spreading sedition. It feels that the moment the American working people know the truth and cease to pray for the bourgeoisie and rotten democracy, they will shake off the burden of the bourgeois prejudices and will perceive the American reality as it really appears; when that hour comes it will be unable to evade the rigorous judgment of the people. It trembles for it knows that at no other place in the world are million dollar fortunes accumulated as rapidly as in America and at no other place has organized exploitation been placed on so high a pedestal of such open cynicism, as in the land of the "golden calf."

The animal fear, namely, that it can lose privileges of unceasing plunder, explains that furious detestation, which "our" plutocracy bears toward the new winnowings of the general populace. The American plunderers fear their own shadows, and a mere revolutionary spark appears to them as a flame of the revolutionary conflagration. How then, if not by this, can we explain the ungovernable rage of the American court and lawlessness which prevails behind prison walls, and that really genial system of secret service which has penetrated into every pore of national life. Espionage, deportation from within the limits of "democratic" United States, the Overman and the Lusk Committees, searching for sedition even in such well-aiming institutions as the Rand School, persecution of the press and the anti-labor law-making of the state assemblies, follow each other as though issuing forth from the horn of plenty.

Let us, for instance, consider this law-making. In some dozen states there have already been passed truly monster laws against

propaganda of socialistic ideas, threatening the violators of these laws with ten-year and longer imprisonments. The Pennsylvania State Assembly has passed a law, prohibiting the slightest criticism of the authorities which rule the labor press as illegal. Even such a conservative paper as the Philadelphia "Ledger" raises its voice against the passing of this law. You can now imagine the power of this law!

In Ohio there is already in existence a law covering "criminal syndicalism" which subjects to ten years' imprisonment and $5,000 fine for "instigation" to violence and illegal methods of propaganda. Comrade Ruthenberg of Cleveland was arrested under this law for referring to the war as "wholesale murder" in one of his pre-election addresses.

Similar laws were passed in Michigan, California, Massachusetts and a number of other states. They are all penetrated with class hatred of bourgeoisie against the proletariat. It is unnecessary to prove that all these measures are directed against the representatives of the working class.

We will not go into details of the administrative activity of well-known institutions of secret service.

By their zeal these institutions have already surpassed the famous at-one-time third degree.

In the United States speculators and sharks of the plundering trusts can live comfortably; in the United States not a hair of the heads of instigators of lynchings is ever touched; in the United States citizenship of the highest order goes to dark persons like Stevenson, Overman and Lusk.

But for such honest men like Debs, Hayward and Mooney the American plutocracy finds but one place, i. e., jail.

WHERE IS THE WAY OUT

American social life began to stir and rock in the last few weeks. The general murmur of discontent has seized the lower classes, the wave of strikes and protests against the too high cost of living appear to be the forerunners that the American labor movement is entering the zone of revolutionary fermentation.

What must interest us and what we must consider first is the sentiment of the broad circles of American working masses. Are they ready to do something in order to really better their con-

dition? *The problem of the high cost of living will be solved only so much, as much as the organized American proletariat is capable, not with words but with deeds, to measure its strength with American capitalists and the government that is defending their interests. All "accursed problems" can be and must be solved only from this point of view.*

Taking about the Plumb Plan, the editor says: "Nationalization in a capitalist system is not the same as nationalization on the next day after victory of the working class. The struggle for a nationalization must develop on a line of systematic attach on all positions of the ruling class. The full comprehension of the contradiction of labor's interests with the interests of capitalistic society and its organs of power, is a necessary condition to secure a victory."

"But one thing is sure: The American proletariat is becoming active. It began to understand that it is being fooled not only by its outspoken enemies, but by enemies that are pretending to be friends.

"Here is where a broad field opens for activity of real representatives of the working class, who are standing on the point of view of relentless class struggle. The moment is now a hot one, and it is necessary to work without rest. Gompers and those who are with him will not be able to stop the stirred human wave, if only the masses of American proletarians will actually comprehend their class interests."

DETROIT, MICH.— A lecture on "revolutionary syndicalism" was held here April 3d. Comrade Kopnagel of Chicago was the lecturer. Notwithstanding the rain, more than two thousand persons had gathered at 8 P. M. As the theme of the lecture concerned the anarchists and I. W. W., there were many of them at the meeting.

The lecture of Comrade Kopnagel has opened the eyes of many, who up till now refused to join the Bolsheviki movement, considering themselves more radical than the Bolsheviki. Comrade Kopnagel proved that at the present time the Bolshevist movement is the real practical revolutionary labor movement and that every worker must join it if he does not want to remain a revolutionary phraseologist.

As an I. W. W., I must express my thanks to the lecturer for the truth he told us. Let us not forget this truth, and let us work for the spreading of Bolshevist ideas.

Long live the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic!
Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!
Long live the Soviets and their representatives!
Long live Bolshevism!

An I. W. W.

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5. KHLIEB-Y-VOLYA

Office of Publication: 133 E. 15th Street, New York City. Editors and Managers: Peter Bianki, Naum Stepanuk, Peter Kravchuk.

Weekly. Circulation 4,500

The aforesaid editors and managers of this paper were indicted on the charge of Criminal Anarchy on information furnished by this Committee and were deported on the "Buford" in December, 1919.

VOL. 1, No. 11. *May* 8, 1919.

Page 1, beginning column 1.

The savage double header attack on the People's House in New York took place May 1st; the pogrom of office and stock rooms, invaded by soldiers, sailors, volunteers from the crowds, and the police who arrived after the outrage to "avert" this, all reminds of the "dear" old times of Czarist Russia.

History repeats itself! And it repeats itself almost to a detail. True instead of "Pure Russians," in America "true patriots show their zeal," instead of "Jews and students"— the source of all Russian ills — they are massacring "anarchists" and "I. W. W." — the source of all American ills — but a change in decoration does not change the reality of things: Behind these pitifully ignorant unconsciously led people, stand those same fat-bellied powers of darkness who do not want under any circumstances to permit their own downfall, or allow their feast to come to an end.

Behind these hooligans, dressed for the sake of decency and "patriotism" in soldiers' uniforms, stand those same sons of the blood-drinking class, ready at the least thing, to degrade and suppress the growing movement of the American proletariat, which threatens to put an end to their "free" life.

End of column 3, same page, same editorial:

The hour of the great overturn has arrived! The hour of the people's vengeance has come. Let the storm rage! Tomorrow it will blow over, leaving the earth refreshed, joyously going on ahead. . . .

VOL. 1, No. 15. *June* 5, 1919.

Page 1, column 1:

Information about the recognition of Kolchak by the Allies, as the only "worthy" man who can place Russia back on the "rails" (track), discloses the cards of the Allies, and leaves no doubts as to the true desires of the latter.

To smash the Russian revolution, to strangle a people that has just freed itself, and rivet it in new chains, there is the main purpose of the Allies. In order to accomplish this the sooner, they need their man. And such a man, in their opinion, is Kolchak.

The servant of broken-up czarism, enemy to all freedom and enlightenment, hater of the broad popular masses, instilling submission with fire and sword into a suffering people, he, this monster and executioner, flooded Siberia with whole streams of people's blood and with the help of Allied bayonets defeated all human rights.

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6. THE "NEW SOLIDARITY"

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE I. W. W.

Publication Office: 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. Editor: Donald M. Crocker. Weekly.

(September 27, 1919)

MAKE WAY

Grown arrogant by generations of domination of the life and industries of many countries, the capitalist class cannot understand that anyone in his right mind would have the temerity to criticize, to say nothing of any group of workers combining to overthrow the present capitalistic system of industry. How anything so rebellious could be even thought of is beyond their capacity.

But that is just the very thing we do mean. We are building a new society, a world without master or slave, and we cannot use such timber as the capitalist class is composed of. Moreover, we do not want any interference; the need is too urgent to allow the work to be hampered by those who do not understand. Not understanding the need of a new order of society, the capitalists are hampering and will continue to hamper all that we can do. As much time must be taken to checkmate the hampering work of the capitalists as we take to build the new order of things.

We mean to overthrow the capitalist system of society and to eliminate the capitalist class. We don't need them and we don't want them and we won't have them any longer than we are compelled to. Our word to them is: "Go, get out, begone, vacate, scat, you devils!"

(December 20, 1919)

THE I. W. W. AND THE IRON HEEL

It is not strange that this, the hour of the I. W. W.'s greatest opportunity, should also be the hour of its most fearful peril. In the nature of the titanic struggle of inimical social forces now convulsing America it could not be otherwise. The masters of the bread, with unerring instinct, have sensed their one real, threatening enemy. It is the I. W. W. Unless they can destroy it, their own destruction as a ruling class is certain. They feel it. They know it. And upon the utter extermination of the I. W. W. they are resolved. Against us they are prepared to use any and every weapon and they have mighty and murderous weapons in their arsenal. Repressive legislation, vengeful courts, official ferocity,— all these have been and will be invoked against our organization. The armed mob, precise replica of the Czar's Black Hundreds, existing for no other apparent purpose than the brutal terrorizing of all who dare express their aspiration for a new and better world, is already organized the country over and set about its sinister task. . . .

As for the constitutional guarantees of free speech, press and assemblage, it is mockery to speak of them any more. They are dead, as dead as Wesley Everest or Frank Little or Joe Hill — not to be resurrected until the workers of America are free, and write new guaranties for a Free Society.

(November 15, 1919)

NATIONALISM DISCARDED FOR ONE BIG UNION

By Russian Wobbly

The oppressors are going mad, they feel the crash of the whole system of privilege and they do not know what they do. They are willing to do any terrible thing before they pass into history. It is the duty of the class conscious workingmen of all nationalities to shorten the hours of the White Terror of the powers that be and bring nearer the emancipation of the toilers.

Now is the time, all you Anarchists, Socialists, Communists, non-ists, all for the big drive!

Let us hit the plutocrats and get rid of them!

(November 1, 1919)

TO THE WAGE SLAVES OF GERMANY, PROLETARIANS OF GERMANY

FELLOW WORKERS:

WE ARE WITH YOU IN CLASS CONSCIOUS SOLIDARITY AND REVOLUTIONARY FIGHTING SPIRIT! WITH YOU FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE WORKING CLASS! WITH YOU FOR THE WORLD REVOLUTION!

(November 25, 1919)

OUR WORK

If we do that work as it should be done, we will give the Russian Soviet government much better support than by publishing laudatory articles on the achievements of the Bolsheviki. For wherever we weaken the capitalist system we are giving support to the Soviets. More than that, we are helping to gain our own freedom instead of spending our time in useless worship at the shrine of what others have accomplished.

If we accomplish these things we will then have plenty of time to devote to the giving of the Russian Soviets their just due in the world struggle for emancipation. If our object is to help the

Soviets, the best way is to organize for our own freedom. That is the best and surest way to give help to the Soviets and gain our own emancipation.

("New Solidarity," November 25, 1919.)

(November 8, 1919)

WHERE WILL IT LEAD

The possibilities of revolution are in what may develop during the strike. A quarter million steel workers are already on strike. The port of New York is tied up. Several hundred thousand railroad workers may leave their trains at any time.

And when all these workers in basic and essential industries begin comparing notes while the masters alternately sweat and shiver, they are likely to decide that capitalism has outlived its usefulness. A strike is a means of education, and three or four million organized and intelligent workers could start industrial communism well on its way to a successful issue.

RUSSIA

For two years now these Russian peasants and workers have stood four-square to every capitalist government in the world, while at the same time contending with the capitalist class of their own country. With the governments of every so-called civilized country in the world using every endeavor to crush out of existence this one expression of freedom, they have yet stood for two years as the greatest example in recorded history of unflinching devotion to freedom. Their place in history is secure.

All hail to Soviet Russia!

(June 14, 1919)

THE SOVIET AND THE I. W. W.

Among the radicals in this country there seems to be a tendency to follow the Russian workers. They want Workers' Councils, Soldiers', Sailors' and Workers Councils, Soviets, etc.

On page 6 of the I. W. W. constitution is this statement: "Industrial District Councils for the purpose of establishing general solidarity in a given district may be organized, and shall be composed of delegates from not less than five industrial unions,

and shall maintain communication between said district and general headquarters."

William E. Trautman in his report to the second annual convention of the I. W. W. said: "The district council is organized to take the place of the present municipal governments when the co-operative commonwelth shall have been established." Daniel de Leon, in his speech on the I. W. W. preamble in 1905, said: "There where the general executive board of the Industrial Workers of the World shall sit, there shall be the nation's capital. Yea, even the city on the Potomac shall fall, like the flimsy card houses that children play with."

If you are really interested in establishing an American soviet, then join the I. W. W. Help make it strong so that we can bring about an orderly development toward a workers' industrial government. JOHN PANCNER.

(June 14, 1919)

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE I. W. W.

The I. W. W. has recognized the Communist International by deciding to send a representative to their congress. Now, Left Wingers, are you true in your preachings? Are you Bolshevik? Do you recognize, as do your brothers across the sea, the weight placed on the economic organization? Do you believe in uniting all the energies of the class conscious proletariat?

If you do, there is but one course of action left. That is to join the I. W. W. The I. W. W. in America has stood for the same principles that the Bolsheviki have — the class struggle, no compromise, the proletarian dictatorship and the final act of overthrowing capitalism. Are you consistent? Prove it.

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7. LUOKKATAISTELU

Office of publication, 58 East 123 Street, New York city.
Editors and Managers: Gust Alonen and Carl Paivio.
Circulation: 5,000 monthly.

(Both Alonen and Paivio are now in Sing Sing Prison on conviction for Criminal Anarchy, each being sentenced to from four to eight years. The publication of this magazine ceased when this Committee caused the arrest and indictment of its editors.)

The following is a translation from the May, 1919, issue:

THE ACTIVITY OF THE RIOTING MASSES

And thus a rioting mob is the one and only possible means for organizing a fight in the every day as well as in these last open and decisive blood-battles between the capitalists and the working classes. The above mentioned are illustrations of the pure morals of the working classes. To hell with the teachings of peaceful revolution. The bloody seizure of power by the working classes is the only possible way. Because as long as our enemies are able to raise even one sword a bloodless fight is a day dream.

DEPORTATION

When the phonograph Wilson returned from Europe he stated in his speech that the European diplomats want American democracy in Europe. Why just in the real American way? many may have thought. Because here in this country the capitalistic bureaucracy and their tools still have in the name of justice and patriotism an imperialistic power to rule. For instance, here the members of the working classes may be doomed to death without any reason whatsoever. Here thousands of workers can be sent from the cities to the desert by any copper or other trust, if the workingmen of the above-mentioned trusts demand enough pay to be able to exist somehow. Here a person may be doomed to from twenty to thirty years' imprisonment if he expresses his opinions which happen to be contrary to the morals and principles of the capitalistic gunmen. Here the laborer is given twenty to thirty years and a life term if he believes or understands that it is wrong to murder innocent laborers here or in any other country. Here nothing matters, the meetings of the proletariat may be dispelled, their halls destroyed, their property burned and robbed. Here the members of the proletariat may be treated indiscriminately, clubbed, blackjacked, shot, hanged, tarred and feathered, and transported in secret trains to secret servitude under the whip of the tyrants. And what more, if one happened to be born under the rule of another kingdom, or empire, to be deported from the country. No wonder the European diplomats desire just such real American "democracy."

Whom the gods want to destroy they blind first. It seems that the capitalistic class of the world goes in its blindness at a terrific

speed towards its end because by transporting from one country to another they internationalize the revolutionary proletariat movement of the world. When the exiled arrive among a strange crowd all the worker comrades are eager to know the conditions of the country whence the exiled came. Thus they have a chance to talk about things from their own viewpoint, how conditions seemed, how the proletariat organized their affairs, fought the capitalist class, etc.

The immigration commissioner has announced that the decision has been made to deport from the country 7,500 laborers, and this is only a beginning. The way this deportation is carried out is tyrannical, but we must not let ourselves be frightened by it because we cannot expect anything better from the present government as we know it cannot stand very much longer. We must agitate still more and fight against all government power and dictatorship, no matter how it manifests itself. Down the governments and laws, with their jails, torturing and prosecution. In its place a humanity which is free from rulers, dictators and laws.

Another article in the same monthly advocates sabotage and open rebellion. It is entitled:

AWAY WITH DELAYS

The following excerpts are characteristic:

Comrades, now it is time to awake and go seriously to work, now it is time to begin to agitate with enthusiasm and energy our worker-comrades to rebellion against our exploiters. And not ask permission from the ruling classes, as has been done up to now. . . .

In the community of modern industry one of the most effective weapons of the laborers is "sabotage." . . .

In order to throw over the rule of tyrants we must use weapons of the most modern invention, as it would be ridiculous to try to destroy a first-class battleship with a row-boat. . . .

We must then join actively the fighting comrades of Europe. A strike on the manufacturing of ammunition, transportation of soldiers and all other war industries is the first and effective weapon against our enemies. . . .

Let us attack with the ferocity of a tiger our torturer-capitalism from all sides and with every available weapon. Then the

black powers of tyranny will be dispersed and humanity will greet the sun of brotherhood and freedom.

A BLACK PAGE IN AMERICAN HISTORY

The American capitalist class, intoxicated by its power, has gone in its blindness so far in the fury of class hatred that even the bloody tears of Russia has been eclipsed. American workingmen are jammed by the thousands into stinking prison cells, dungeons, which are worse than the torture cells at the famous Prato-Pavlovsk. These are filled with workingmen from the most honest among them to their best known leader.

The greatest mass accusation was made against 166 members of the I. W. W. They were convicted . . . 100 were sent to prisons, from one to twenty years, only because they were honest disciples of their class, because they believed to be in a free country, where everybody has the freedom of thought, speech and print. One hundred sixty-six members of the I. W. W. and thousands of others are a proof that in spite of the fact that our Russian comrades annihilated the bloody imperialism in Russia, they could not rid the whole world from it; it raised its head here in America. Even the Iron Chancellor Bismark, and disciple, the horror of the whole world, Wilhelm of Germany, cannot be compared with the American capitalists. All who have remained true to their class have been rewarded by being imprisoned. This all has happened in a country which is supposed to have a democratic government.

The representatives of capitalism act together at the Peace Conference. The President of great free America is present. Does he remember when he talks about freedom that thousands of citizens, members of the nation he represents, are awaiting the message of peace behind iron bars, sent there innocently for twenty years?

And if he does not remember it, it is our business to remind him. The only way we can remind him is through our economic power. Let us get together in great mass meetings and demand the unconditional release of the victims of class war. If they are not set free to enjoy the freedom guaranteed by the constitution, then it is time to show our power. Let us give the capitalist class a taste of our whip and the shock will be great. It will hit right into the heart of the capitalists — production. Only then the

capitalists will be at our mercy when we stop to gain their profits. . . . What is coming?

REVOLUTION

Social revolution. . . . . So brothers, sisters, let us all unite and be carried away by the hurricane of revolution, let us join in great masses the red lines of the Bolsheviks . . . because we are living now during the great period of social revolution!

Long live the Bolshevik revolution of the whole world!

Translator's note: This circular denounces Santeri Nuorteva and the newspaper "Raivaaja" as reactionaries who are trying to negotiate with governments and "chambers of commerce," and is evidently published by a group of the Finnish Ultra-Reds. On the other hand, Nuorteva is the official representative of the Central Committee of the Finnish Communistic Party in Petrograd, who have signed the death warrant of O. Tokoi and others in this very circular where Nuorteva is being accused of co-operating with Tokoi & Co.

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8. THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

Place of Publication: 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. Editor: John Sandgren. Published by General Executive Board I. W. W.

(December, 1919)

THE AMERICAN FREEDOM CONVENTION AND ONE BIG UNION

Irwin St. John Tucker, whose case comes up before the Supreme Court within a few weeks, said:

> "Don't petition to keep me out of prison. If you Socialists don't want us to go to jail, DEMAND that the case against us be dropped and then back up your demand with an organization that will compel compliance."

(February, 1920.)

ARE YOU SATISFIED YET?

Well, gentlemen, of the Department of Justice, of the Congress and the legislatures of the several states, and you divers other official and unofficial vigilantes, you have performed your patriotic duties pretty thoroughly. Let us pause and take stock of your achievements to date.

You have made this the most intolerant and illiberal nation in the white man's world, so that even the monarchy of Sweden is driven to protest against the mistreatment of its nationals in the Great Republic.

You have made this the only nation which deports aliens (with scarce even a mock trial) on the bare ground of belief and opinion.

You have made this the only nation where the display of the immemorial symbol of international fraternity, the red flag, is forbidden.

You have made this the only nation where use of the mails by any publication is dependent upon the whim of a single bureaucrat.

You have made this the only nation where Anarchist, Communist or syndicalist may not freely discuss his doctrine for fear of savage prosecution.

You have made this the only nation where teachers in order to hold their posts and students in order to receive their diplomas must forswear the right to do original thinking on economic questions.

You have made this the only nation which continues to impose ferocious sentences upon prisoners of conscience, when every other has long ago set free its wartime political offenders; and the only nation capable of treating a Debs like a common malefactor.

You have made this the only nation where militia and regular troops are obediently supplied to large employers to break strikes, and where even conservative labor organizers are outlawed when the industrial oligarchs so will it.

You have made this the only nation where organized plug-uglies are not only tolerated but applauded when they set up a strong-arm censorship of what political and labor organizations shall be permitted to meet, and even of what music the public shall be permitted to hear. (While the American mob silences the violin of Fritz Kreisler, the theatres in Berlin are producing Shakespeare — oh, the unspeakable Hun!)

You have made this the only nation where the beating up and torture of prisoners to extort confession — prisoners who have not been charged, let alone convicted, of any offense — is an unchallenged police prerogative.

You have made this nation a by-word and a hissing among all lovers of liberty in the four corners of the globe.

Are you satisfied? Or is there more to follow?

John Sandgren in his article in the January, 1920, number:

THE CLERGYMEN

The clergymen! — Why should we, the workers, care whether the clergymen starve and worry? Have they not always been the contemptible tools of a criminal master class? Have they not always been trafficking in spiritual values in order to keep the workers meek and contented? Have they not always resisted us when we sought to lift ourselves and our fellows out of the mire of poverty, ignorance and oppression? Have not they nearly always, with very few exceptions, taken the rich man's part against the poor, all the while collecting the widow's mite for their own support?

We will not consent to class the clergymen as teachers. We class them with the other "stools" and the "finks" that the capitalist class employs in order to keep the workers down. By teaching science and honest truth-seeking we hope to shame them out of existence some day.

The "Secret Government" in the January, 1920, number contains this:

This corroborates our statement that the United States did not go to war to make the world "safe for democracy," but in order to help collect the bad accounts of the Wall Street financiers who had staked many billions on the Allied powers, then about to be overpowered by Germany.

The real government of this country sits in Wall Street. The one in Washington, the one elected by the people is, to a large extent, only a dummy, largely composed of corporation lawyers, which carries out the mandates of the secret government. That the dummy sometimes is balky is more to be considered as play to the gallery, to make the people believe that they are participating in the government.

The last strike of the year in which I. W. W. has taken part with any considerable numbers is the strike of the Marine Transport Workers of New York. The strike was "lost," but, as usual, the I. W. W. won, coming out with its membership trebled.

To us the strike is an educational asset, which acts as an auxiliary to our propaganda by word of mouth and writing, much as an excursion to the meadows is an auxiliary to the teacher of botany. . . .

The persecution against the I. W. W. has reached enormous proportions during 1919, and is at an unprecedented height at the closing of the year.

This persecution can all be traced to a common course, i. e., the machinations of the capitalist class for a plutocratic dictatorship, but in its exterior manifestation it has a two-fold character: The "legal" persecution and the extra-legal persecution. We will take up the extra-legal persecution first, the one that is not camouflaged with the insignia of law and order.

The extra-legal persecution has been in the making for years past, but it is only during the last year that it has sprung into full bloom and dared to claim for itself a semblance of moral justification.

It is manifold in its nature, but the forces participating in it are:

Wall street, general director, and provocature and secret government of the United States.
The kept press.
The "high tone" clubs.
The "patriotic" societies.
The American Legion.
Citizens' leagues.
Chambers of commerce and other profiteers.
Priests and ministers.
Politicians.
"Detective agencies," stools, finks, and gunmen.
The underworld.
Labor fakers.
Knights of Columbus.
Ignorant and deluded people generally.

It is a tremendous apparatus of iniquity, always operating under the cover of the stars and stripes. . . .

Thus the people of the country are being incited against us by these "respectables," and the fruit of it is now ripening and is being harvested. By patient work along this line they have brought it to the point where the public is about ready to condone any outrage against us, even if it is the most dastardly infraction

of the law and the constitution of the country. Taking advantage of this artificial public opinion, created by the secret government, these spurious patriots don the United States uniform and raid our halls, wreck our pianos and typewriting machines, destroy our records and burn our literature, and finally club or murder our members and turn them over to the waiting police to be arrested for "trying to overthrow the United States government." . . .

The part of *the judiciary* in this legal persecution is to do the bidding of the secret government. The trials given our members are outrageous, scandalous and farcical, the judges in nearly every case being unreservedly partial to the prosecution, and, finally, imposing sentences which are plainly acts of oppression and not acts of justice. . . .

One feature of this persecution is *the deportation* of hundreds of our members. But as deportation alone has little terror, the members are wantonly and illegally being held in jails for months and years before deportation, in order to inflict punishment outside the pale of the law. . . .

Freedom is dead in the United States at present and raw-boned tyrants rule.

But it is easy to understand that a society that can maintain itself only through such moral degradation cannot have many days to live. Some day the sufferings of the people will have reached a limit over which they cannot go. Then comes the dissolution like a cataclysm. We foresee this day and in order to save ourselves, our class, mankind generally and whatever is worth saving of "our civilization," we are, against tremendous odds, going ahead with the work of organizing the workers industrially, so that we may be able to continue production and distribution and keep society going.

That responsibility now rests on the shoulders of the working class.

Watch the I. W. W. in 1920! Our principles are immortal, and no human agency can destroy them, whatever they may try to do to our organizations and our members.

(November, 1919)

The I. W. W. is organized along industrial lines to overthrow the present economic system, and has found that the only way in which this desirable end can be brought about is for all of us

to organize, regardless of craft, creed or color, and to pool our labor power, so that at the most proper time by withdrawing our labor power from the industrial field the collapse of the present system will ensue, if the collapse does not come before we are ready.

(November, 1919)

On the industrial field, the workers continue to be without a vote, just as they used to be on the political field. Autocracy is as complete in the industrial field as Russian autocracy once was on the political field. We haven't got a single word to say in the deciding of the quantity and quality of what shall be produced, nor a single word to say as to the distribution of the products of Labor. We have not a word to say in regard to wages, hours, or working conditions. Just as before the time of the political franchise we had no way of carrying out our will except political revolution or insurrection, so we now have, on the industrial field, no way of making our will felt except through industrial insurrections or so-called strikes, for the strike is fundamentally nothing else than an industrial insurrection.

(November, 1919)

Constitutional rights are formally suspended in many parts of the country, while in every part of the country these rights are being ruthlessly trampled upon. The right of free speech, free press and free assemblage have been circumscribed and limited and in some parts entirely suppressed.

Federal troops are in control in three steel cities in Indiana and martial law is declared. In other states armed troops of cossacks are terrorizing the steel cities, oppressing, clubbing and murdering. One great strike follows upon the other and the people suffer and writhe in pain.

(November, 1919)

Such are conditions in the promised land of democracy anno 1919.

To this must be added that so-called "patriotic" societies and organizations of duped soldiers throughout the country, are exercising private terrorism, oppressing, blackmailing, threaten-

ing and maltreating private citizens who are suspected of rebellious thoughts against these terrorists.

From where does this terrorism come?

Its fountainhead is undoubtedly in Wall Street and its ramifications are found among the social layers whose economic interests are identical with Wall Street.

(November, 1919)

Liberty is practically dead in this country. Courageous and daring truth speakers are either made harmless or are silenced, and the field of publicity is reserved solely for the criminal philosophy of profiteerdom. Rapacious "business men" and gamblers are spreading themselves insolently with their platitudes and their criminal principles in the columns of the newspapers, and what they say is made to weigh as much as the word of God. These terrorists have bit the head off shame and turned morals upside down. Right is what agrees with the interests of these robbers; wrong is what is contrary thereto. The so-called "intelligenzia" consisting of professors, lawyers, journalists, physicians, priests, and others with a university education, have long ago been made so dependent that they no longer dare to speak the truth, and if they should do so, there is no publicity given to it, for swindledom controls the whole big press.

(October, 1919)

The general strike is fast approaching and it is well for us to give it a thought beforehand. In my opinion to make the strike most effective, every member should see to it that he is on some job when the time to strike comes. It is also of importance that we stay on the job right up to the time set for the strike. If some of the men go out a few days before the set date, the strike loses its effectiveness. There is no sense in everybody rushing to the city and paying exorbitant prices for rooms and food, in competition with each other. The thing to do is to stay right where you are and stick there till the prison doors swing open to set our fellow-workers free.

(August, 1919)

Of course, the farmer will make resistance to the idea for the present. He considers it preposterous that anybody should propose to disturb him in the ownership of the land that he has himself conquered from the wilderness, bought for cold cash, or inherited from his family. But as time goes on, the interdependence of men will become more plain to all layers of society and even to the farmer. Moreover, private ownership will gradually prove itself so impossible that it will be out of the question any longer to continue it. The day will come when the farmer himself will prepare to surrender his title to the land to the people as a whole, represented by the agricultural organization and place himself as a worker on the One Big United States farm, side by side with the men who now are organized in the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union of the I. W. W.

The July, 1919, number like the previous ones contains many thoughtful and temperate articles and much historical information on social and economic subjects.

This failure to put forward violent incitement unduly is calculated to attract the worker or student.

The August, 1919, number in an article on "The Ku Klux Government" comes out into the open with this:

"As long as this secret and invisible government can with absolute impunity commit such acts almost daily in all parts of the country without serious effort to trace and punish them, we are compelled to consider the governments of the states and the nation, as outlined in the various constitutions, as mere camouflage governments while the real government is the secret and invisible one which can be traced only by the trail of violence and bloodshed and murder which it leaves behind. With the camouflage government, the I. W. W. has no fight. We don't fight wind mills, mirages and paste governments. We only take this opportunity to accuse them of not fulfilling their part of the contract which calls for the protection of the citizens and bringing to justice of the criminals.

"Our fight is with the secret and invisible government which to us is neither secret nor invisible. We know where that government is located and we know of what persons it is composed. Its capitol is in Wall Street, and its officials are the defenders

of the private ownership of the means of production throughout the country. Its executive servants are stools, finks, gunmen and murderers. That government, we frankly confess, we intend to overthrow and that is going to be accomplished by organizing the productive and distributive forces of the world along industrial lines, so that the people themselves can take over production and distribution."

The June, 1919, issue also contains an article on "The Revolution" from which the following are paragraphs:

"**We are facing a revolution.** The masters say that it will not come and that it must not come. . . .

"Hoping for it or hoping against it, we are facing a revolution. . . .

"The masters do not want this, because when this happens there will be no masters. Therefore they deny the possibility of a revolution. But the revolution is urged by the iron necessity of modern production. And the fact of modern production cannot be denied. . . .

"Up against the dykes comes the strong tidal wave of proletarian will to revolt.

"In spite of denials, of wails and curses, a creeping terror grips the masters' vitals.

"They are preparing in the shadow of a deadly peril, in the mad panic of those who do not understand.

"And still they babble on 'It will not come. It must not come.'

"Their own terror bears testimony of the reality of the cataclysm in preparation. . . .

"Workers! Upon your shoulders rests the destiny of the future. Mankind looks for an iron pillar to lean against in the crucial times at hand. Get together in the One Big Union built on the rock bottom of modern production. It is up to you to subdue the mad dogs of capitalism and open the gates of freedom."

The opening article of the May 1, 1919, number contains this:

"Well, you all know that autocracy has moved over here (America) under the ghastly mask of democracy. . . . But while over there (Europe) the sun shines upon hundreds of millions of men, women, and children who are *free, free* to do as they

will, *free* to march and sing. Over here it shines on a hundred million men and women and children who have lost their freedom, who are under the lash of the American cossack taking orders from the rich, it shines on a hundred million who sing and prate of freedom and democracy, because they dare not say that freedom is dead and democracy a sham, on a hundred million who dare neither march nor sing, a hundred million who dare not even publicly speak of their joy at the feats of the hundreds of millions over there, who dare not acknowledge that they can see the new society right upon them, won by the valor and the blood of others.

. . . . . .

"So let us cheer up on this First of May, hoping that it will be the last one that we will celebrate under the double cloud of tyranny and slavery."

The succeeding articles call for sympathy with the hundreds of fellow workers in jails—"all because they served their class and all mankind so well."

(November, 1919)

It is the I. W. W. in the English speaking world and the SYNDICALISTS in other countries who have taken up this struggle for the industrial franchise and we have so far made a great success of it. Some twelve, fifteen years ago, we had nothing and now already this industrial suffrage movement has become a world power before which capitalism trembles. It will never stop until we have established Industrial Communism and Industrial Democracy.

In the September, 1919, number, Mr. John Gabriel Soltis portrays the realism of the Bolsheviki.

The Bolsheviks had in mind all the time the erection of an Industrial Republic whose magnificent achievements are today startling friend and foe alike. But first they had to get control of the organizations of the workers, where they were in disfavor. Never for a moment, however, did they lose their astounding faith in the masses, which faith is so characteristic of the Russians. Events were with their side. . . .

Once the power is in the hands of the soviet, then its evolution toward Industrial Democracy is as swift as lightning. Once liberated from the legalistic and ideologic shackles of Capitalism, as they are wrapped up in the parliaments of the dominant eco-

nomic class, the workers cannot but accept every social and economic measure that is calculated to elevate them into the great heights of industrial freedom. No need for convincing argument then; the strong motive power of self-interest is the driving force. Freed of all capitalistic barriers, the workers surged forward toward the sublime goal, with an impetus that centuries of repression and slavery have held in the breasts of the proletariat. . . .

The Soviets of Russia, like the Industrial Workers of the World organizations, are but instruments with which the workers do things themselves for themselves.

(June, 1919)

ANTI-BOLSHEVISM

Sixty-five per cent. of the wealth of America owned by 5 per cent. of the people. 35 per cent. of the wealth of America owned by 95 per cent. of the people. 30,000 millionaires. Unemployment. Insecurity of existence. Starvation wages. Industrial tyranny. Child labor. Inability to marry. Prostitution. War. Profit to the rich. Death and misery to the workers. Are you for this?

BOLSHEVISM

Jobs for all. To the workers all they produce. No rent to the landlords. No interest to the banker. No profit to the boss. A government of the workers, by the workers and for the workers. Are you against this?

Are you for or against? Think it over!

In the "O. B. U." monthly (March, 1920), under the title "Enslaved by Gunmen," the following occurs:

"Only a corner of the curtain concealing the secret manipulations of the A. F. of L. has been raised, accidentally. What it lays bare is enough to shock hope and faith in the labor movement out of the staunchest.

"A large part of the workers in the A. F. of L. are completely enslaved by these labor sluggers and bandits. They are under the spell of terrorism. They dare not strike out for control of the union by the workers themselves, for fear of being slugged or killed. These bandits naturally oppose every reform, every

advanced idea. It is largely these bandits and their low-browed tools who oppose industrial organization and the I. W. W. in general. They hate us and persecute us because they know that our success would mean the elimination of sluggers and murderers and crooks from the union.

"The I. W. W. stands for job control by the workers themselves, for democracy, within the union, in fact, it is a union where the officials are servants and not masters. This is naturally repulsive to the gentry from the underworld.

"The proper thing for these workers to do is to drop their fake union, which is only an agency of extortion, and form a real bona fide union according to I. W. W. principles, electing men to office who are known to be honest and capable and devoted to the cause of the workers.

"The sluggers and murderers must get out of the labor movement, together with Sam Gompers and his whole rotten machine, and a new era must be ushered in.

(December, 1919.)

THE AWAKENING OF THE NEGRO

From September 8th to 14th there was held in Washington, D. C., one of the most remarkable congresses ever held in this country. It was the congress of the "National Brotherhood of Workers of America." This is the largest body of organized Negro workers in America; 115 delegates were in attendance from all parts of the country, most of them being from the South. Delegates from the A. F. of L. were refused a seat, but three delegates from the I. W. W. were admitted on an equal footing. Fifteen of the delegates were from "The Society for the Advancement of Trade Unionism among Negroes."

From the resolutions adopted, we quote:

> ". . . The combination of black and white workers will be a powerful lesson to the capitalists of the solidarity of labor. It will show that labor, black and white, is conscious of its interests and power. This will serve to convert a class of workers, which has been used by the capitalist class to defeat organized labor, into an ardent, class-conscious, intelligent, militant group.

"AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we recommend to all the working people of our race, that they immediately make themselves acquainted more in detail with the aims, objects and methods of said organization, the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF LABOR UNIONISM AMONG NEGROES, in order that we may, as speedily as possible, align ourselves with and join the industrial unions that have already organized, and help to organize new industrial unions in such industries where they do not yet exist.

"AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we shall henceforth devote all our energies to building up the new order of society along lines above indicated, to the exclusion of efforts hitherto expended in other directions."

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9. THE WEEKLY INDUSTRIAL WORKER

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE WESTERN BRANCHES OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Publication offices: rooms 24 and 25, Union Block, Seattle, Wash.
Managing Editor: J. A. McDonald.

There is the usual I. W. W. literature in this periodical with special attention to Pacific Coast conditions.

One department, "News, Notes and Comments on Class War," occupies three columns in nearly every issue.

On the whole this paper is guarded and cautious and simply foments class hatred wherever it can.

Samples of this sort of thing are the following notes from a page of the September 15th, 1917, issue:

"Our unrelenting fight on the beasts of prey has won us their hatred and fear. Arguments and fact they have none with which to meet us, consequently they use lies and lawlessness." . . .

"Richard MacKenzie was arrested a few days ago in New York City because he was reading the American constitution at a street meeting. The arrest was made by a soldier and after standing on his constitutional rights till he was knocked down he was denied bail and had to sleep in jail. . . ."

"I can conceive of no greater degradation than the position of

a human being as a personal servant of another human being, no matter how much the wages. The working class has been educated to be paid slaves of the cunning and dishonest — J. A. Wayland."

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10. THE SEMI-WEEKLY INDUSTRIAL WORKER

(October 3, 1917)

At the risk of committing lèse majesté we rise to remark that Karl Liebknecht would have to stoop considerably to be as great a man as Sammy Gompers.

MARKET REPORT

Quotation on slaves in prime condition show an increased price. Recent legislation, however, opens up an excellent market in tender young slaves. Many partly dressed chickens are on the street and are eagerly sought after by the leisure class.

From the point of consumption comes a report that butter is showing great strength, but coffee is weak. Prices of everything but labor-power show an upward tendency. The market report on industrial unionism shows the big demand. The I. W. W. is a bear and that's no bull.

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11. THE WEEKLY INDUSTRIAL WORKER

(April 6, 1918)

A VITAL DIFFERENCE

The Industrial Workers of the World is hated and feared by the employing class, not because it is an industrial union but for the reason that it is a revolutionary industrial union.

. . . . . .

The slightest attempt to hide or mask the **revolutionary** purposes of the I. W. W. is cowardice, and furthermore it will not fool the masters but will only serve to mystify and delude the workers to whom the message of **revolutionary industrial unionism** is directed. Higher wages, shorter hours, better immediate conditions — the battles for these are but the means of drilling the workers in their great task of taking control of the forces of production and distribution. **What the revolutionary I. W. W. wants is the World for the Workers."**

(July 28, 1917)

VIOLENCE

Violence seems to be necessary where the number of men is small and the strikers are not thoroughly organized. With the growth of the economic solidarity of the workers violence will have a tendency to disappear as an economic factor.

(June 23, 1917.)

WATCH THE BOSSES

No nation now in the world war has in the same period of time done so much to throttle real democracy as has the United States. Statements printed by the press of England, France, Australia, Canada and even Germany would be punishable by terms in jails and penitentiaries if printed in the United States. From the political aspect, when the people no longer are given the right to criticise their government, that government has taken to itself the very essence of autocracy. It has become a rule of the many by the few.

(February 24, 1917.)

Syndicalism or industrial unionism finds its necessity in the needs of labor. The present system of society is bound to breed revolution.

If the I. W. W. is forced to break the law it will do so gladly and joyously. It will and must express the discontent of labor. Deny free speech, free press, free assemblage, if you dare, but — beware of the deluge!

(February 24, 1917)

We will continue to carry on an unremitting warfare against capitalism, war and the war makers, until the revolutionary flag flies from every plant of production and every parliamentary institution has been destroyed. We will continue to talk to the workers in the language that they understand, the terms of industrial conditions. Because we have adhered to these conditions we have been successful beyond our wildest dreams.

Industrial control is the way to freedom! The control of the workshop is the way to stop war — it is the only logical, practical

method. It is a long, bitter and hard fight, but it is the fight of the Industrial Workers of the World.

The general plan of the I. W. W. is familiarly set forth in the July 16, 1919, number:

"It means that the workers must organize also, organize to take possession of these great industries they have built, to take possession of the goods of the world and operate them for the good of all instead of the profit of the Mighty Few. All industry is organized on industrial lines. All the different industries are closely allied, and are constantly drawing together into fewer hands. So, also, must the workers, to cope with the developing capitalist power, organize into one big union of their class, to carry on the struggle against the masters of life at present and to take possession of the industries in the name of the workers of the world, with as little loss of time and energy as possible."

(March 9, 1918.)

ON ATTAINING LIBERTY

The I. W. W. program is the Bolsheviki program brought to its industrial conclusion and altered so as to be in keeping with the different conditions obtaining in this country. The I. W. W. is heralded in the capitalist press as a purely destructive agency, and the workers are also commencing to see through this game of the plutocracy and are learning that the I. W. W. is the greatest constructive force in the world to-day. We are raising considerable dust, and making things decidedly unpleasant for those who would like to ride at ease on our backs, and when we have laid a little more foundation of the new society we are going to straighten up for a spell, which may have unpleasant consequences for those who ride.

(January 26, 1918)

They regard their pledge to the American Federation of Labor about as sacred as the kaiser does his treaties. There are, however, many union men who enter politics who are not a party to this treachery.

Beware of this monster. It is founded on falsehood, it thrives only on hope, it rises like a poisonous reptile and sinks its talon

into the heart of honest labor. The American Federation of Labor has less than three million members; were it not for the double-dealing tactics of some of its members it would have twice as many. Organized labor all over the nation should clean house, and if they did we would not only have a member in the President's Cabinet, but we would soon have one in the President's chair.

From an appeal to the negro in the July 9, 1919, issue:

"And is there no hope that the Negro race may be truly free? Decidedly there is a way out of their degradation and poverty, and but one way — by educating and organizing on the job in the One Big Union of the workers — the 'Industrial Workers of the World.' Alongside of their Fellow-Workers of all colors and all nations; on every job they must organize themselves into One Big Union of the industry in which they as individuals work — each of these big industrial organized units to be an integral part of the great General Organization of all industries in the I. W. W."

The issue of September 19, 1919, gives their views on the negro problem:

"In this country every tenth person is of acknowledged negro descent and a large percentage of these ten millions of people are wage workers. There may be for the whole society of America a negro problem but with the entrance of the Industrial Workers of the World into the industrial arena there was no further need for the labor problem to be complicated with a racial problem. The I. W. W. accepts the negro wage worker to membership on the same basis as any other wage worker, asking of him the same initiation fee and dues as his white brother, and giving to him the same membership privileges as are the common property of all who join. The fight of the negro wage slave is the fight of the white wage slave; the two must rise or fall together. Their economic interests are identical and an injury to one is an injury to the other. . . .

"It is not any twisted logic of the negro that leads to the feeling that the A. F. of L. is the enemy of the colored man; the twisted logic is in the principles and program of the American Federation.

"One for all and all for one must ever be the slogan of the workers, and the white, red, yellow, brown and black slaves must all band together to throw off their backs the only foreigner and the only social inferior — the idle, non-producing class of profit-mongers who seek to keep labor divided so they may continue their legalized thievery and capitalistic misrule."

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12. THE REBEL WORKER

NEW YORK ORGAN OF THE I. W. W.

Published at 27 East 4th Street, New York City.
Editor and Business Manager: Leland Stanford Chumley.
Circulation: 12,000.

Published semi-monthly by the New York District Council of Industrial Workers of the World.

The "Rebel Worker" of May 1, 1919, issue says: "The I. W. W. has played an important part in the revolt of the workers of Russia. At a recent convention of business men held in one of our western cities, at which the government had representatives, Mr. Zimmerman said: 'Isaac Woorggraft, a Russian lieutenant, who recently arrived from the scenes of conflict, assures me that the original Bolshevists were American I. W. W.'s, almost to a man. Just recently a Department of Justice agent informed me that he personally checked up 10,000 I. W. W.'s en route to Russia for revolutionary purposes.'"

And after quoting Debs that "the Espionage Law is perfectly infamous" and "defying the Supreme Court and all its powers of capitalism," the same issue urges the working class to secure the release of Debs.

In issue of July 15, 1919, an article by Henry Hobs on "Why They Oppose the Soviet" says: Line up with the Soviet both in theory and in fact. . . . The Soviet issue is your issue. . . . Lenin is really fighting your war. . . . See what you can do for the Soviet by your influence on American life. At least see to it that your son does not go out to kill the Russians because they oppose international congress of "Red" trade unions.

Issue of June 1, 1919, under "I. W. W. Defense", a regular department, advocates release of all I. W. W. prisoners.

The same issue, reporting the I. W. W. convention says it "sent greetings of good cheer to all of the class war prisoners

with assurances of all possible support" and "Greetings were also sent to the Soviet governments of Russia and Hungary."

The convention adopted a declaration in which occurred these words:

"We regard the great European War as a convincing evidence of the ripening of the capitalistic system and its approaching disintegration and we hail the rising workers' republics in Russia and other countries as evidences that only the proletariat, through its economic force and by reason of its strategic position in industry, can save the world from chaos and guarantee the fundamental rights of life."

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13. EYE OPENER

SOCIALIST PARTY ORGAN

Editor: Wm. N. Geigenbaum.

Published by National office of Socialist Party, 220 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Weekly Circulation about 125,000.

ARE WE HEADING FOR A COLLISION WITH MEXICO?[1]

Intervention in Mexico by the United States with a view to making our sister republic safe for Anglo-French-American financial imperialism is being put over on the people of the United States with amazing rapidity. Among the significant facts of the last few weeks which have transpired without apparently creating any particular stir are the following:

1. A meeting was recently held in the Bankers' Club, New York City, between representatives of American oil interests in Mexico and a leading religious organization to map out the campaign of spiritual uplift for our boys in the inevitable war with Mexico.

2. A host of translators and legal experts are at work in New York City NOW to figure out a method by which certain enormous oil and gas properties may nominally be held by native dummy directors to conform with Mexican law, BUT THE REAL CONTROL MAY RESIDE IN WALL STREET, NEW YORK.

3. For the last six months higher officials of the American army have been drawing up plans for a Mexican campaign by the United States troops.

[1] Eye Opener, August, 1919.

4. The British government has already taken over title to the oil holdings of its nationals in Mexico, and has thus perfected an important step toward an Anglo-American alliance to exploit our sister nation.

5. The most powerful banking groups in the world, headed by J. P. Morgan & Co., of New York, and including British and French bankers besides other American firms, have organized themselves to protect the "rights" of foreign investors in Mexico.

6. An intensive campaign for intervention in Mexico, ON HUMANITARIAN — NOT OIL — GROUNDS, is being waged upon President Wilson.

7. The New York "Times" on July 9th declared: "The statement was made to the New York 'Times' correspondent by a person who is usually well informed that President Wilson would soon appear before Congress and make an address on the Mexican problem, **dealing with the matter along the lines of the McKinley Message to Congress which led to intervention in Cuba."**

8. "Restore Law and Order" will be the slogan of our war with Mexico, just as "Making the World Safe for Democracy" was our government's slogan for fighting the Germans.

The New York Times says: "A canvass of the situation seems to indicate that American intervention in Mexico, not for the purpose of interfering with the sovereign right of Mexicans to govern themselves, but to protect the lives and rights of foreigners in Mexico, and to restore law and order, **may be a matter of months if not weeks."**

SIBERIA WORLD APPEAL TO END INTERVENTION

The common people of that country (Russia) are painfully conscious of the fact that they are the direct result of that accursed foreign intervention which is demoralizing, brutalizing and tyrannizing our country. We know that all the Semenoffs, Kalminkoffs, Kolchaks and their kind would have been unable to exercise their criminal power a single day were it not for the protection and co-operation of your troops and the support of your governments, who are supplying them with money, ammunition and equipment and enabling them to devastate our country by means of civil war and cruel executions.

Considering it impossible that all this should be done with the knowledge and sanction of the democratic citizens of the

Allied countries, thinking that the treacherous and bloody role played by your governments in Russia today should make every honest citizen of those governments blush with shame and shudder with indignation, we ask of you, we implore you, we demand of you, in the name of justice and human liberty, in the name of the great Russian revolution, and in the name of human liberty, common humanity:

Don't remain silent while your governments are stifling revolutionary Russia. Exert all your efforts. Do all in your power to get them to recall their troops from our soil, so that we may be left alone to work out our own destiny without any foreign interference.

This is your sacred right, hallowed by the enormous sacrifices our people have offered upon the altar of human liberty, and no nation or group of nations should dare violate that right.

WAKE UP AMERICANS![1]

WAKE UP AMERICANS! Your institutions are in danger. Political freedom is being destroyed by those who at any cost, even to the destruction of the republic and its civil liberties, would maintain themselves in political and economic power. As long as any man or woman can be imprisoned for "unorthodox" political opinions, you yourselves are not safe — your turn may come next. Tomorrow you may think for yourselves, and thereby be branded criminal. Your only hope of peaceable progress and change lies in the freest discussion of public problems.

Wake up! American autocrats are trying to introduce Russian Czarist conditions. Already we see the suppression of civil liberties and the spectacle of the leaders of the political opposition jailed at the whim of their opponents, the administration. Already it is proposed to use the Philippines as an American Siberia for political "undesirables." Already it is proposed to create a huge professional standing army of half a million men backed by a conscript system of two million more in training and reserve — in peace time and war time carrying out the worst principles of the Prussian system which you sought to destroy. Already we are infested by a network of secret police, already "Black Hundreds" of the reactionaries are mobilizing. There is danger here, Russian conditions will make necessary Russian

[1] Eye Opener, December 1, 1919.

methods — preserve American conditions at any cost if you would progress by means of orderly political and economic means.

Protest against the imprisonment of men for their political or religious or economic opinions. Protest against the suppression of civil liberties. Nowhere else in the world, save in reactionary Japan, is there such vindictive and relentless punishment of political offenders. Shall we travel in this company? While a single one of these men and women is in jail all claims of democracy are a hollow pretense. Wake up, Americans and redeem your land from the shame that has fallen upon it. Join in the demand now voiced by millions:

> **"Mr. President! — Let all political prisoners go! Let them go now! The war is over and aggression against civil freedom that might be tolerated in war times are impossible now. Get us back into the company of civilized nations. England, Germany, Italy, Austria, France, Canada — are all releasing their war time political victims. When will we do likewise? We, the American people command you, Mr. President, let our people go!"**

Send this message to the president over your signature. Send it to your congressman and senator, to your newspaper, your labor union, your church, your club. Pass this paper along to your friends. Help in the good work.

The existence of a single political prisoner in this country should make every real American bow his head in shame.

LET OUR PEOPLE GO!

Are you wearing an amnesty button?

Get a pocket full of them and stick them on every one you meet.

They are five cents each, $1.50 a hundred and $12.50 a thousand.

Have your branch or local put in a supply of a few hundred, or a thousand or two. You will make a profit for the branch, and you will aid in the drive to LET OUR PEOPLE GO!

Send in your orders at once to Otto Branstetter, 220 South Ashland, Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Shortly after the indictment by a Federal Grand Jury of Victor Berger, Germer, Engdahl, Kruse and Tucker for a violation of the Espionage Act, on which indictment they were all subsequently convicted, the following comments appeared:[1]

[1] Eye Opener, March 16, 1918.

SOCIALIST PARTY HAS BEEN INDICTED: WHOLE SOCIALIST PARTY MUST RESPOND

By MORRIS HILLQUIT.

Member Socialist Party National Executive Committee.

The indictment against Berger, Germer, Engdahl, Kruse and Tucker is, in effect, an indictment against the Socialist Party. No other government of a country at war, not even Germany, has had the sad courage of resorting to criminal proceedings to suppress a political party in opposition. The Socialist opposition to war does not spring from a sentiment of hostility to the people of America but on the contrary is rooted in a deep feeling of loyalty and devotion to the masses and workers of this country and the world. The charge of espionage against our comrades is a legal absurdity and a political blunder and a moral monstrosity. The whole Socialist movement has been challenged. The whole Socialist movement must respond.

ENEMIES OF LIBERTY GUILTY; ALL LOVERS OF LIBERTY MUST BACK SOCIALIST PARTY

By JOHN M. WORK, Member Socialist Party National Executive Committee.

This latest outrage should cause all lovers of liberty to ally themselves with the Socialist Party. It is the only political organization that stands for democracy in the United States. Don't think for one minute that we are on the defensive. We are on the aggressive. Our enemies are guilty. We will put them on trial at the polls. We are making a political drive against the forces of autocracy in this country and we propose to continue until we put them out of business.

SOCIALISTS STRIVE ONLY TO MAINTAIN THE RIGHTS ESSENTIAL TO DEMOCRACY AND LABOR

By ALGERNON LEE, Socialist Member New York City Board of Aldermen.

Indictment of Berger, Germer, Engdahl, Tucker and Kruse will but solidify the Socialist movement and gain it new friends. We know any fair trial will prove they have broken no law but

MAXIMILIAN COHEN
Editor of "The Communist World."

CARL PAIVIO

Editor, "Luokkataistelu."

Arrested on charge of Criminal Anarchy by direction of the Committee, August 13, 1919, tried, convicted and sentenced to State Prison for not less than four years nor more than eight years.

GUST. ALONEN

Associate Editor of "Luokkataistelu."

Arrested on charge of Criminal Anarchy by direction of the Committee, August 7, 1919, tried, convicted and sentenced to State Prison for not less than four years nor more than eight years.

only maintained rights essential to democracy and labor. Forces of reaction are striving hard to corrupt public opinion, dominate the government, and overthrow hard won liberties, but they will fail. Desperate measures to which they now testify to their fear of the rising of popular intelligence. "Whom the Gods would destroy they first make mad."

A TESTIMONIAL OF SINCERITY

By WILLIAM BROSS LLOYD, Prominent Chicago Socialist who helped furnish bonds for indicted Socialists.

Politician after politician promises to serve the peoples and to vote in their interests. Platform after platform promises many progressive measures in the interest of the people's welfare. As Woodrow Wilson says in "The New Freedom," we get the promises, the platform and elect the men but don't get action. Wilson gives as the reason therefore that the major political parties and the government of the United States are controlled by small "groups of dominant men, the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States." This indictment of Socialist Party speakers, officials, editors and a candidate for United States senator is a testimonial to the fact that the platforms of the Socialist Party are in the people's interest; that they are not just political claptrap; that the promises of the party and its candidates are worthy of confidence. Note that no republican or democrat was ever indicted except for misfeasance, bribery, corruption or embezzlement; was ever indicted for trying to serve the people. I trust the people will profit by this certificate of the acumen, ability and honesty of the Socialists and their party.

DEATH WARRANT OF CAPITALISM

By SCOTT NEARING, Socialist Writer and Speaker and Chairman of the People's Council.

The plutocrats of America have made up their minds to destroy the militant labor movement. They began on the I. W. W. last summer. Now they are busy with the Socialist Party and Non-Partisan League. The axe will fall next on the more aggressive men in the American Federation of Labor. With that job

finished, with free speech suppressed, with the press muzzled, with freedom of assemblage refused, with the right to agitate denied and with the leaders of the opposition in jail, big business will be able to Win a glorious victory at the polls in November. Fortunately the plutocrats have adopted the policy that is most likely to arouse resentment in the hearts of every true American. Deportations, mob law, frame-ups and jail sentences will give to the American labor movement the solidarity that it so sorely needs. When the plutocrats began the present reign of persecution they signed the death warrant of American capitalism.

HOW ABOUT BISBEE?

By THOMAS VAN LEAR, Socialist Mayor of Minneapolis.

I regard the indictment of the comrades of our national organization as a political move on the part of reactionaries in the country who fear the growing strength of Socialism. It is to be expected that Berger's candidacy in Wisconsin will be the occasion for special attacks. To thinking people it seems strange that while indictments have been freely handed out to representatives of the working class, no indictments issued out of the Bisbee deportations, although these involved illegal abuse of purchasers of Liberty Bonds and men against whose patriotism nothing could be said. The report of the government's own commission has established the foregoing facts about Bisbee and thus far nothing has been heard about punishment of the miscreants there although ringleaders in the attacks upon the constitutional rights of industrious citizens have been accorded military honor and preferment either because of or in spite of their vicious activities.

HOW ABOUT THE BIG GRAFTERS?

By ANNA AGNES MALEY, Member Socialist Party National Executive Committee.

From the meager reports at hand I take it that Secretary Germer is indicted on a charge of which he has only recently been acquitted and that Tucker, Kruse and Engdahl are placed in jeopardy of their liberty for holding in their view of war with

Liebknecht and Luxembourg of Germany. Whether their view be right or wrong there is something grotesque in the evident view of our government that the rights of the people of all the world are sacred except only the rights of the citizens of the United States. This personal attack on Berger is likely to increase his popularity with all lovers of freedom. The enmity of all others he can afford to incur. In the meantime the American people await indictments of the packing interests, the coal barons and the Hog Island culprits who at least show nice discrimination in their selection of a name.

X-RAYS[1]

By JOHN M. WORK

The Horrors of capitalism are many and various. They force themselves upon our attention at all times.

One of the worst is insanity.

For insanity is one of the results of capitalism.

To say nothing of the vast number of insane who have reached that condition because of the war, capitalism even in time of peace drives a great army of men and women to insanity.

It produces another army of feeble-minded children.

As capitalism has reached and passed its climax, the number of insane has increased by leaps and bounds.

In 1890, there were 162 hospitals for the insane in the United States.

In 1910, there were 373.

In 1890, there were 74,208 inmates in the hospitals for the insane.

In 1910, there were 187,798.

And there are many thousands insane who are not in hospitals for the insane. So there were also in 1890. No one knows how many. But the figures given are sufficient to show the appalling increase anyhow.

In the institutions for the feeble-minded, there were 20,755 inmates in 1910. As the feeble-minded are usually not dangerous, most of them are not in the institutions. Almost every community has one or more of these pitiful creatures. Often they are the butt of ridicule and are continually teased and

[1] Eye Opener, Nov. 10, 1917.

fretted by boys and men, fiends in human form. All of which shows that devilish atrocities are not confined to any single nation.

Counting both those in and out of the institutions, it is estimated that there are not less than 150,000 feeble-minded persons in this country.

Investigation indicates that of the insane 41.6 per cent. had been laborers and servants.

In other words, they come from the region of the lowest pay and the longest hours.

Some people wonder why girls prefer to work in stores and factories rather than as servants. Their instinct is accurate. And this insanity peril is only one of the many reasons why.

The insane who had been engaged in agriculture, transportation and other outdoor pursuits, amount to 22.5 per cent. of the total number of insane.

Doubtless the loneliness of farm life has a great deal to do with creating such a high percentage of insane from agricultural pursuits. The overwork, especially of farmers' wives, is no doubt also a large contributing factor.

The insane who had been engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries amount to 16 per cent. of the total number of insane.

Like the other horrors of capitalism, the horror of insanity is kept out of sight as much as possible.

Therefore, we do not realize the vastness of the number of insane people, nor the grievousness of the affliction that is upon them, because we seldom see them.

Not that I want these pitiable victims of capitalism placed on exhibition. But I do wish people would take pains to inform themselves on the subject, for it would help to abolish the infernal cause — capitalism.

From a letter:[1]

"I came to the hospital on the fifth of September and on the ninth the soldiers discovered that I was a conscientious objector. They took a rope and wound it twice around my neck and wanted to hang me. The first time in my room and the second outside on the porch. On the porch they tied the rope to the stairway leading to the second floor, then with their strong hands they

[1] Issue of December 15, 1919, pages 2 and 4.

forced my head into the noose and asked me whether I wanted to change my attitude. I answered, 'No, I am still the same as I was found to be by the War Department.' Then they tightened the rope around my neck and lifted me up. Then they started to ask me a lot of questions and it became harder and harder for me to answer them. They then slackened the rope, threw me onto a blanket, and as the blanket had a hole in it, I fell through. Then they dragged me outside the camp-ground and then first with a little knife, then with pliers and afterwards with scissors, they started to cut my hair. They did not really cut it — they tore it out and took pieces of flesh with it. They then put me on something that looked like a table, started to carry it around. In the meantime they were throwing things at me from all sides.

"This all happened across from the Red Cross Building, and during all this time women were looking out from this building and watching it with evident pleasure. They did not, however, help with their hands to torture me — these sisters of mercy!

"They then took me to the washroom, put me into hospital clothes and gave me a cold shower that lasted from ten to fifteen minutes, and rubbed me with coarse, stick brushes. Thus they tortured me for three hours from 6 to 9 p. m. Naturally, just at that time, of course, the captain happened to be absent from the building."

PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE

This issue of The Eye Opener contains much description of the torture of prisoners of conscience in the prisons of the United States.

These horrors are not piled up, one upon the other, for the sake of shocking the reader. They are not printed for the sake of arousing a blind, meaningless rage against the authorities. There have been enough official atrocities during the past five years and more for any but the most depraved taste. And we have no desire to keep the atrocity business alive for the mere sake of atrocities.

But these atrocities are matters that every American should know about, and knowing, should ponder deeply.

There are in prison today three groups of men and women, who can be known as prisoners of conscience.

Some of them are political prisoners, men like Eugene V. Debs and Hulet M. Wells and Emil Herman, jailed, not for what they did but for what they believed, and believing, said.

Some of them are industrial prisoners, like the I. W. W.'s jailed not for what they did but for what they believed,—for their ideas of industrial organization.

Some are the conscientious objectors, who do not believe in war, who would not submit to military authority, who took President Wilson's "This is no sense a conscription of the unwilling" seriously, who believed the government when they were told that sincerely religious people, opposed to war on principle, would be exempt from service; they are in jail, not because of any acts they committed, but because they were sincere men.

Every one of these prisoners could have retracted, and retracting, could have become great and noble — in the eyes of the capitalist masters.

Not one of them was willing to compromise conscience with ease. And so they are in jail.

If they wanted to be hypocrites, if they wanted to pretend to principles they do not possess, all would be well for them.

But they did not.

They are, in effect, suffering because they are not hypocrites. They are suffering because they are true to their consciences.

Is this a safe thing for America? Is this the thing that will give us a happy, contented, honest citizenry? Or is not rather the example of these prisoners of conscience, suffering the tortures of the damned, treated like wild beasts, going to make Americans feel that there is a premium on dishonesty?

These facts are presented to a candid public. Every fact herewith presented is vouched for as being correct. Every fact has been investigated, and in many cases, found to have been understated.

What do you think of them? Do you think that that is the way to treat men and women because they are honest with themselves, because they are true to their consciences?

If so; that is all. If not, then join the Socialists in the demand that is ringing out everywhere, "LET OUR PEOPLE GO!"

14. THE SOCIALIST

AN OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA

Office of Publication: 7 E. 15th Street, New York City.
Editor: David P. Berenberg.
Business Manager: Abraham Bekerman.
Convention, Weekly.

It is the duty of the party to crystalize the discontent of the workers to exploit the spirit for social improvement for the agitation of Socialism. It is its duty to champion the cause of labor in its fight for the immediate amelioration of their conditions, framing these amelioration measures in such a manner, and in such only, as will strengthen the arm of labor in its struggle against capitalism for ultimate emancipation.

The sole criterion as to whether the Socialist Party shall or shall not incorporate immediate demands in its platform is this: Do immediate demands, particularly in social reform, strengthen the working class politically in the struggle for industrial emancipation?

The "Left Wingers" say it does not. They further insist that even if social reforms are granted — in fact, they say capitalism will grant them — the working class will only fill their stomachs and become more loyal to the employers. In this we have seen the "Left Wingers" betray complete ignorance of the nature of social reforms, and their practical application. It is not the granting of immediate demands that makes labor less class-conscious, but on the contrary, it is the absence of sufficient working-class political power, to bring to realization its immediate demands, and therefore make it imposible for capitalist reformers and politicians to utilize the spirit of reform for their own ends.

Immediate demands, properly fought for and secured, do in themselves strengthen the working class in its struggle for emancipation, and have propaganda value besides. Even if these demands cannot be secured, as yet, because of our numerical weakness, we must still frame them properly and advocate their adoption. They must be held out as the **real immediate needs** of the people in counter-distinction to the "reforms" of the capitalist politicians. We cannot take merely negative attitudes on the workers' daily needs. We must take part in labor's daily struggle and, this struggle expresses itself in immediate demands.

(To be continued.)

(Issue of June 28, 1919, pages 5 and 6.)

15. THE NEW AGE

OFFICIAL ORGAN LOCAL BUFFALO SOCIALIST PARTY
Office of Publication: Buffalo, N. Y.
Business Manager: Martin B. Heisler.
Circulation: Weekly.

INCITING TO ACTS OF VIOLENCE AND MOB LAW[1]

The following beautiful expression of true Americanism and Christian piety we found in the Buffalo "Express":

> "School authorities in Chicago have had to take up the cases of two high-school lads who refused to join in tribute to the American dead on Armistice Day, declared that they acknowledged no government and professed shocking irreligion. Perhaps if established rules against fistic encounters were suspended in that school for a few days, the other boys would attend to the conversion of these Bolshevist lads in a manner more effective than any action of the school board could be."

Is not this a pearl of Christian democratic sentiment and logic? Wonder what the great American free-thinkers, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine, would have to say to it! They believed in freedom of conscience, freedom of thought, in freedom of speech; and if they lived today, we do not think they would recommend brutality as a means of teaching school boys Christ's wonderful gospel of love and peace and forbearance, nor mob rule as a means of convincing youths of the necessity of governments.

By recommending that the "established rules against fistic encounters" be suspended, and reason be supplanted by brute force, the "Express" is simply inciting to mob rule — in school as well as out of school — and whatever may be the outcome of it, the "Express" will not be able to shake off moral responsibility.

It is, of course, ridiculous to denounce as Bolshevists boys who claim to be opposed to religion and government. There are today in the United States millions of men and women who are as irreligious as the greatest leaders of American democracy have been. But no sane and honest person thinks of identifying them with Bolshevism, because this would be nonsensical.

On the other hand, Bolsheviks seem to be firm believers in strong government, that is, according to numerous reports pub-

[1] Issue of November 27, 1919.

lished in the daily papers, which tell us that the Soviet form of government is the most despotic the world has ever seen, and the "dictatorship of the proletariat," as established in Russia, tyranny pure and simple.

But, as a contemporary says, it is as unprofitable to argue with the great majority of American newspapers on such things as it is to argue with a brass band.

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16. RUSSKY GOLOS

Office of Publication: 238 E. 6th St. N. Y. City.
Editor: Mark Stern; Business Manager: Mark Weinbaum.
Russian daily with a circulation of 20,000.

VOL. 3, No. 763. JULY 29, 1919

Page 6, column 1 — Editorial entitled, "Race Pogroms (riots)."

"There began in America pogroms on negroes. White men, mostly soldiers and sailors, attack negroes everywhere, even in the most populous cities, even in Washington itself, at Chicago, and soon in all probability will begin the killing of negroes in New York.

"The hands of the white people are itching and there developed a peculiar bellicosity. And they have declared war on the negroes, who are sufficiently killed and insulted without it. And they beat them. Until the war, negroes were lynched only in Southern states, where long since they have grown used to look upon them as lowly creatures. After the war the pogroms shifted also to those of American North.

"The white faced 'warriors' and the brutes are merciless. They are stronger than the black skins. Besides that on the side of the whites stands the whole police. As usual, they protect not the weak, but the strong.

"The conservative American press is not discouraged by the pogroms. It attempts only to blame not the white rioters, but those same blacks and are spreading the rumor that the 'Reds' and 'Bolsheviks' are carrying on an intensive propaganda among the negroes. And that this red propaganda is inciting the negroes, and they are beginning their revolt. The police and soldiers are pacifying and beating them."

End of above article, last of columns 2 and 3.

"After the war the condition of the negroes became considerably worse and they are beaten under any pretext, and under no pretext at all they beat them.

"A black armed mob will begin to come out against a white armed mob, and individual cases of personal encounter will be turned into mob massacres with numerous victims on both sides. Pogroms will continue until negroes will be given equals rights with whites."

VOL. 3, No. 783. AUGUST 18, 1919

Page 4, column 1, last part of Editorial entitled, "The Strike Wave Roars."

"In European countries the working masses have again stirred. They demand that the governments hasten the fulfillment of their promises. They, the workers, have firmly determined to attain their own, and, there is not any doubt, they will attain it.

"Likewise it stands with the American 'thorn.'

"The voice of the toiling masses is making itself heard clearer and clearer. It turned to a groan for the heavy chains of the high cost of living, cut deeply into the living bodies of the workers. It became unbearably painful.

"The toiling masses of the United States are stirring. They rose for the fight. And the weapon of their fight is — strikes.

"We see now how in all corners of America, one strike follows another. They spring up like mushrooms after a rain. The intensive struggle of the toiling masses, for the possibility to live like human beings is on.

"And they will conquer in their justified fight.

"The toiling masses can lose nothing but their entangling yoke, but can gain very much."

No. 806 SEPTEMBER 11, 1919

Page 4, columns 1 and 2, Article entitled "The Shooting of Workingmen."

"In Hammond, Indiana, striking workingmen were shot. The steel company called out the police and the soldiers and they shot people to death. The blood of the murdered workingmen is still warm. The tears of the mothers who sobbed for them are not yet wiped away.

"Workingmen were shot to death. . . . It would be strange if the capitalists would not shoot their disobedient and liberty-loving people. The entire contemporary system is so arranged that workingmen have been shot in all countries and will be shot yet for a long time to come.

"The capitalists will never shrink from anything as long as they save their millions and their satiated condition."

VOL. 3, No. 807. SEPTEMBER 12, 1919

Page 1, column 1, Title of article only.

GREAT DISORDERS IN BOSTON

THE MAJORITY OF THE WORKING POPULATION IS IN SYMPATHY WITH THE STRIKING POLICEMEN

THE CALLED OUT TROOPS CRUELLY SUPPRESS DISORDERS

THE CITY TERRORIZED

ORGANIZED LABOR THREATENS A GENERAL STRIKE AS A SIGN OF SYMPATHY FOR STRIKING POLICEMEN

DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW EXPECTED

Last page, Editorial column, first and last parts of editorial entitled, "Battles in the Streets of Boston."

"Almost daily, here and there, city streets in the United States began running with human blood. These are the bayonets and machine guns subduing the starving and stirring masses.

"Five days ago a crowd was fired upon in Indiana, and yesterday the same happened on the streets of turbulent Boston.

"Five thousand soldiers of the state guard were brought to Boston, 'for the protection of the populace and property.'

"Among the killed and wounded men are also women. The heart of Boston Scollay Square is stained with human blood. Its first baptism of blood it received the day of the American revolution. Yesterday for a second time they baptized it with human blood under the crackling of machine guns and the frightful yells of the crowd fired upon.

"The police of Boston having formed a union struck. Workingmen are preparing to strike with them."

Last part of same article:

"Boston was the first pioneer in the days of Americans uprising against the English crown. Today a new Boston is dyed in the blood of her children."

No. 811. SEPTEMBER 17, 1919

Page 6, columns 1 and 2, Article entitled "The Truth about Russia."

"Bullitt's story made an amazing impression on the American reactionary circles. The little aunt 'Times' and other reactionary papers do not stop to hiss and emit poisonous fluids. They are not able to refute what Bullitt says and, as is always the case under such circumstances, call him a 'Bolsheviki' and a 'dishonest man.'

"The despicable press which slanders and lies on Russia. The press which through the help of Russian traitors and calumniators accused the Russian people of all kinds of fairy tales and the Russian workingmen and peasants of the most horrible crimes, this press dares to call Bullitt dishonest. Bullitt, they say, broke the faith which was shown him. Bullitt, according to the 'noble' opinion of the reactionaries and the enemies of Russia ought to have kept his mouth shut. He ought to have remained silent and allow the black press freedom of action in its black work.

"William Bullitt refused to do this. He knows the truth about Russia. Conscience and duty dictated to him to divulge the truth to the whole world and by doing so shorten the sufferings of the millions of the Russian nation, whose only quiet is that it wants to solve by itself its problems of centuries and its internal affairs.

"The truth about Russia is beginning to come to the surface. The truth about Russia is an eyesore to all the enemies of the Russian people. Bullitt's report is now talked about in Washington, Paris, London and Rome.

"The more truth there is known about Russia the sooner will come to an end the adherents of Kolchak, Denikine, Odenroff and others like them."

VOL. 3, No. 847. OCTOBER 24, 1919

Last page, column 1, first part of Editorial "Fools and Music."

"Every evening, at a theatre where operatic performances in the German language are advertised, there gather crowds, led by a newly-formed organization in America. The name of this organization is 'the American legion.' This is a union of Russian people, transferred to American soil. Its problem is to hunt foreigners. Today these gentlemen decided, come what may,

to seize by the throat the artists who want to sing in the German language before a public who wished to hear them in songs composed by German musical genius. They are looking askance also at the Russians. Tomorrow they will begin to grasp by the throat those who will think of speaking, writing, singing, thinking in the Russian language.

"This bestial rabble — rabble not in the sense that it is composed of tramps and beggars — nay, among them, like among the Russian Black Hundred pack, there are many gentlemen of high standing and well-filled money pockets; this lowly rabble brought together everything that exists in the American people of the base, boasting, bestial and obtuse."

Middle portion of above article:

"Behind the obscure crowd, as in the Russian pogroms, stand the wily political tricksters. The mayor of the city of New York justified this movement. With his mayoral authority he issued an order prohibiting the performance of German music. He said that German music cannot be heard because the war with Germans still continues."

VOL. 3, No. 848. OCTOBER 25, 1919

Last page, column 1, first paragraph and last portion of Editorial, "Logical end."

"Has the industrial conference actually broken up? naively inquires a capitalist newspaper in one of its foremost articles." Last part of same Editorial:

"To the reactionary representatives of labor and to thinkers this conference is a good lesson.

"Capital does not wish and does not want to enter into close union with labor. Capital goes its own way, has its laws and aims.

"Labor also follows a definite path to a definite purpose. When these two giants meet, it will not be for the peaceful agreement, but for a decisive grip, which will have to decide the quarrel between labor and capital.

"It was not difficult to foresee that from this industrial conference there would remain but a memory, which will be forgotten in the whirlwind of world events, as were forgotten many Utopian dreams and groundless aims.

"No reforms, no industrial conference, no peace conventions, etc., can decide so important, so mighty a question, on which is based the present system.

"This must not be forgotten by all who live in our age.

"Between labor and capital there is a definite struggle, a spectacular duel, which will decide this quarrel. And there is no one, no one in the world able to call out 'stop!'"

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17. THE NEW YORK "CALL"

Published daily at 112 Fourth Avenue, New York City by The Workingmen's Cooperative Publishing Association.

President, S. John Block; Treasurer, L. A. Malkiel; Secretary, Julis Gerber.

Daily circulation: About 31,000, according to the testimony of S. John Block, president of the company which publishes this paper.

(This publication which has been denied the use of second class mailing privileges of the Post Office Department has been approved as the official organ by the Socialist Party, Local New York.)

We reprint here certain of the articles appearing in the New York "Call" which, among others, were made the basis of the revocation of second-class mailing privileges to this paper by the Post Office Department of the United States.

(Issue of July 20, 1917)

APPLYING THE GUILLOTINE

"War for Democracy!" a placard read,
The Colorado miner shook his head.
"Small nations' rights," a politician cried,
"Hypocrisy!" the Irishman replied.
"Your country calls! Into its army come!"
"My country," mused the dweller of the slum.
"End to atrocities," said some one, shocked,
But at this St. Louis Negroes mutely mocked.
"The right to assemble is sacred here."
From Boston came an unmistaken jeer.
"We have free speech," the teacher taught her class,
"Two years, ten thousand dollars' fine, my lass."
"Freedom of press no power from us can seize,"
A post official otherwise decrees.
"Free citizens, kill German junkerdom!"
"Draft," laughed the wage-slave, toiling for a crumb.

(Cartoon)

This cartoon (reprinted from the "Masses," August, 1917) represents a group of corpulent gentlemen gathered about a table and apparently discussing war plans. A figure stands in the doorway representing someone who apparently has attempted to interrupt the conference about the table, and whose interference apparently is resented by the group. The figure represents Congress, and the following language appears below the cartoon: "Congress: 'Excuse me, gentlemen, where do I come in?' Big business: 'Run along, now! We got through with you when you declared war for us.'"

This cartoon is referred to in the opinion of Justice Rogers in the case of The Masses v. Patten (246 Fed. 47), the judge stating that the Postmaster General was not clearly incorrect in declaring this matter to be in violation of the espionage act.

(Issue of August 3, 1917)

DRAFTED MAN NOTIFIES BOARD HE WILL NOT TAKE EXAMINATION FOR ARMY

Abraham A. Weinstein, whose number in the draft is 1476, brought to the "Call" yesterday a letter with a request that it be published. It was a copy of one that he had sent to the Exemption Board (No. 118).

Weinstein said he was forced to take the position he did because of the refusal of the government to recognize conscientious objectors other than members of "well organized religious sects or organizations whose creed or principles are opposed to participation in war."

Weinstein felt that he was entitled to have the public know why he had refused to appear for physical examination and that his only method of doing this was to give out a copy of his letter to the board. The "Call" therefore publishes the following copy of that letter:

"NEW YORK, *August* 2, 1917.

"CHAIRMAN OF EXEMPTION BOARD 118,
"STUYVESANT HIGH SCHOOL, CITY.

"DEAR SIR.— I take the pleasure of informing you that I shall not appear for physical examination in reference to the draft as

a protest against the refusal of the government to recognize conscientious objectors. I am opposed to this war of nations, knowing they will benefit none but their instigators. As a Socialist and as a man I recognize the one enemy — the governing classes and the master classes of the world — as they are both united in the oppression and suppression of the masses. I refuse to lay down my life or to take the life of my brother in Germany and Austria to perpetuate the sort of democracy which we have here or to implant it abroad. My opinion of this democracy can be better voiced in the words of Carlyle, 'They are not tended; they are only regularly shorn. They are made to do statute labor, to pay statute taxes, to fatten battle fields (called fields of honor) with their bodies in quarrels which are not theirs, their hand and toil in every possession of man; but for themselves they have little or none.'

"This is the democracy the masses have here, and you want me, against my will and conscience, to kill; to rob; to commit every atrocity, only that this may continue to exist.

"I refuse.

"Yours respectively,
"ABR. A. WEINSTEIN, 1476."

(Issue of August 5, 1917)

(Cartoon)

THE WHIRL OF THE WORLD

This cartoon represents the figure of death in a military uniform pointing the way to the death theatre, and to the side reading "Fourth Year reel of 'Death dance of the lunatics of the world;' price of admission, an arm, leg, eyes, mind, or your life." Approaching the figure of death and apparently seeking admission is the figure of a workingman who says: "My boss said for me to see this show."

(Issue of August 6, 1917)

(Cartoon)

A COLLECTOR WHO COLLECTS

The figure of Death is represented as having invaded the family circle and laying a paper on the table marked "Cost of war $848 per annum for each family," and says, "Before you eat, pay this."

(Issue of August 19, 1917, "Call's" Sunday Magazine)

WHY THE U. S. IS AT WAR

Why did the United States enter the war? Thousands of reasons are given, from the "to make the world safe for democracy" explanation of President Wilson to those of George Sylvester Viereck and Jeremiah O'Leary. But, though reasons are as plentiful as blackberries, and infinitely more varied, the question still is asked.

. . . . . .

What were these rights of ours that needed protection? Evidently, the right to trade, to sell to any of the belligerents who could take delivery of the goods, anything they wanted and we had for sale — guns, shot, shell, explosives, and war material and supplies of all kinds. The Central Powers were the only ones that could not take delivery of the goods. To them, it seemed that what we insisted on as a moral right was the right to sell their enemies material to kill them. Naturally, they considered they also had a moral right to put an end to this one-sided traffic, but, as they could not possibly do it without killing American citizens and sinking American ships, they went ahead killing and sinking. They say, that we had no moral "right" to supply material to kill them, and we say we had a moral "right" to sell and trade anywhere with all who were able and willing to buy. The two "rights," therefore, collided, and eventually war resulted.

They were both "moral rights," both parties said so.

And now there is war and we won't give up — until Germany consents to renounce her policy — and Germany won't give up until we consent to renounce ours.

That is the start of an explanation, at any rate. And, so far as it goes, it is correct. It shows that the war started out of capitalist "rights" on this side, at least, property rights, trade rights.

And, as this condition developed and intensified our capitalists saw, further, that Germany was not beaten, and might not be beaten without the help of the armed forces of the United States. They say, also, that if that condition came to pass, not only would the money they loaned to the Allies be lost, but that a victorious Germany would invade the United States after disposing of its European enemies and hold the country up (the country being a synonym for themselves in this case) for indemnity.

The "Tribune" says nothing about that, but that is necessary to round out its explanation. When we say that the United States went into the war for material interests there is nothing reprehensible or shameful about it. The fact is simply as we have pointed out. That capitalist reasoning was sufficient, and we are strongly of the opinion that it was correct also. And from this point of view it is not at all difficult to explain why the United States entered the war.

(Issue of August 27, 1917)

GIVE THE POOR TRUSTS A CHANCE

By SCOTT NEARING

The entrance of the United States into the World War on April 6, 1917, was the greatest victory that the American plutocracy had won over the American democracy since the declaration of war with Spain in 1898. The American plutocracy urged the war; shouted for it; demanded it; insisted upon it, and finally got it.

The plutocracy welcomed the war — not because it was a war, but because it meant a chance to get a stronger grip on the United States. The 2 per cent. of the people (1 person in each 50) who own 60 per cent. of the wealth of the United States are no different from the other people of the country— they are no more selfish, greedy or ferocious. They realize that war is barbarous, and they would avoid it if they possibly could. They also believe that there are some things worse than war — the confiscation of special privileges, the abolition of unearned incomes, the overthrow of the economic parasitism, the establishment of industrial democracy. The plutocrats would welcome a war that promised salvation from any such calamities; they would also welcome a war that promised greater foreign markets, the destruction of foreign competition, more security for property rights and longer lease on life for plutocratic despotism.

(Issue of August 28, 1917)

THE VICTORY OF AMERICAN PLUTOCRACY

By SCOTT NEARING

The American plutocracy was magnified, deified, and consecrated to the task of making the world safe for democracy. The brigands had turned saints and were conducting a campaign to

raise $100,000,000 for the Red Cross. The malefactors of great wealth, the predatory business forces, the special privileged few who had milked the American people for generations became the prophets and the crusaders, the keepers of the ark of the covenant of American democracy.

. . . . . .

When Germany announced a blockade of England by the submarines as complete as the blockade which England has established over Germany and warned American shipping away from the waters surrounding the British Isles in the same way that England has warned American shipping away from the waters surrounding Germany, the American business interests put up a bitter cry of protest. The situation was critical. American business stood to lose billions. The President hurried to the rescue with his preposterous phrase "armed neutrality," and asked Congress for permission to place guns and gunners on American merchantmen. While the President asked for this authority as a peace measure, it was pretty clear that armed neutrality would mean war the first time that an armed merchantman met a submarine.

(Issue of August 31, 1917)

THE GREAT MADNESS

Chapter 7. The Liberty Loan

The Liberty loan was important to the American bankers who had financed the Allies, because it guaranteed allied credit. There were other things about it, however, that were even more significant than its assistance in international business. It gave the local business men a chance to do a piece of work of the utmost importance to their own security.

Everybody who was in touch with American public opinion on the sixth of April knew that the war was not popular. People were apathetic, indifferent, or actively hostile. There was little display of enthusiasm, except among the business men and their immediate adherents. The Liberty loan gave plutocracy a chance to put in every American home an economic argument (a bond paying 3½ per cent.) in favor of standing behind the government.

. . . . . .

Some day, when all of the facts are collected, the story of the sale of the Liberty loan will be told, and it will be as hateful,

as barbarous, and as brutal as any event since the war contracts of the Spanish-American War.

. . . . . .

The Liberty loan was a signal victory for the plutocracy, and an equally signal defeat for the democracy. It did more to bulwark the position of the plutocratic despots of the United States than it will ever do for liberty in Europe.

. . . . . .

The Liberty loan was probably more effective than any other single weapon in the hands of the business world as a club with which to coerce workers. Heretofore the employer had run his own business as he pleased; now he was able to go further and tell his workers how they might spend their income.

(Issue of September 7, 1917)

TO THE ABATTOIR — VIA FIFTH AVENUE

March, march, march!
Making sounds as they tread,
Ho! ho! how they step
Going down to the dead!
Every stride, every tramp,
Every footfall nearer;
And dim each lamp
As the dark grows drearer;
But ho! how they march,
Making sounds as they tread
Going down to the dead!

March, march, march!
Making sounds as they tread
Ho! how they step
Going down to the dead!
How they whirl, how they trip,
How they smile, how they dally,
How blithesomely they skip,
Going down into the valley;
Ho! ho! how they march,
Making sounds as they tread
Ho! how they skip,
Going down to the dead!

March, march, march!
Earth groans as they tread!
Each carries a skull,
Going down to the dead!
Every foot is bolder,
'Tis a skeleton's tramp,
With a skull on his shoulder!
But ho! how he steps,
With a high-tossing head,
That clay-covered bone,
Going down to the dead!"

(Issue of September 15, 1917)

A COMPARISON

By GRACE ANDERSON

Just as sincere and as much to be pitied are the mothers of today, whom we see giving their sons to be butchered in the present war. And to what end is the sacrifice made? We are told that the god democracy demands this and we comply.

As the war goes on, and neither side seems any nearer to victory, the people of the warring nations are reflecting on the utter futility of it all.

As long as the capitalists can blind the people to the real issue, just so long will the war continue. By every means in their power; by pressure brought to bear in certain quarters; by swift punishment of speakers against war; by causing the people to become partners in war finance through the purchase of Liberty Bonds; even by psychological words launched at the right moment, as, "Save democracy," "Do your bit," etc., are the financiers hiding from the people the true cause of the prolongation of the war.

(Issue of October 7, 1917)

HAS THE WORKINGMAN A COUNTRY TO DEFEND?

WHY THE ALLIES FIGHT

It is very plain that this war is not being waged for democracy but for groups of capitalists who desire the economic control of the world, and whose shouts for democracy are but efforts to blind the people to make them fight the battles of capitalism.

(Issue of September 16, 1917)

A SONG OF DEMOCRACY

Lives there a workingman so dense
Who has not yet the common sense
To see that flags and forms of state
Of which the masters proudly prate,
Are but the stock in trade of those
Who fatten on the people's woes,
And with such symbols still divide
The folks whose backs they want to ride?

. . . . .

When will the workers of all lands
Throw off their immemorial bands?
The lying loyalties they cheer?
Their slave adolatries of fear?
And stand beneath one common sky,
As one to live, as one to die;
To own no flag, no state, no mood,
Except the workers' brotherhood?"

(Issue of September 14, 1918)

(Letter to "Call")

"EDITOR OF THE 'CALL':

"DEAR COMRADE.— The 'Call' has in its editorials continuously supported the Bolshevist government, needless to say, from a sincere conviction that the Soviet government championed the cause of the working class in Russia and elsewhere.

"The 'Call' has, with few exceptions, published contributions supporting the Bolsheviki; it has undoubtedly never suppressed contrary opinions, but those in our party opposing Bolshevism happened to remain silent.

"You no doubt will, in the interest of fair play and with a free party press be good enough to publish a few articles on the subject differing from the view of the majority.

"Fraternally, yours,

"BELA LOW."

(Issue of September 30, 1917)

WAIT

Wait till these ragged vagabonds,
Now swarming o'er the land,
Are clothed and fed,
And drilled and led,
And feeling the guiding hand
Of some clear-headed leader
Bred upon the battlefield,
Some new Napoleon of the West,
Whose master hand can weld
The sword, the scepter, too, as well —
Some daring son of Mars —
Some hero of a hundred fights
Who laughs at death and scars —
Wait till his marching myriads come,
Poor vagabonds no more
But every one a soldier trained —
A dog of death and gore.

(Issue of January 5, 1919)

Article by SAMUEL SCHMALHAUSEN:

"Come, little brother, be not downcast. The swelling chorus of the Brotherhood of Sham fills the discerning heart with a richer music than heathen man is attuned to. Let thy wicked heart be purged and thy conscience be made whole, and thy face be uplifted, for the merry Yuletide is here. Truth (as witness the American newspaper reports on Russia); Justice (as witness the punishments meted out by gentle Christian judges to American revolutionary Socialists); Charity (as witness the reign of profiteering in our God-fearing land) — these three (Truth, Justice, Charity) dwell side by side in our land, the healing virtues of a civilization founded on force and fraud, and rescued from a bloody oblivion by the sensitive reverence for their betters, by the superstitious acquiescence in the tyrannical rule of a mighty feudalism on the part of the masses. The war of the nations is well-nigh over; the war of the classes has well-nigh begun. Long live the revolution! Down with the Christian Brotherhood of Sham!"

(Issue of August 20, 1919)

APPEAL TO WORLD'S WORKERS

A pamphlet signed with the names of Lenin, Trotzky, and Tchitcherin, was addressed "To the Toiling Masses of America, France, Britain, Italy and Japan: An Appeal of the Russian Workmen and Peasants' Soviet Government."

It is as follows:

> "The Anglo-French bandits who seized the Murman Railway are already executing Soviet railway workers. By order of your government, Allied troops are cutting off the bread supplies from the Russian people in order that the workers and peasants be compelled to put their necks once more in the yoke of the Paris and London stock exchanges.
>
> "Your governments have sworn they would demolish Russia because our workers have tried to overthrow the yoke of capitalism.
>
> "You, the sons of toilers, who rose in a body when the British textile workers wanted to aid the American slave owners, are now becoming the executioners of the Russian revolution.
>
> "Such is the degradation to which your rulers would reduce you."

Threats are made in the pamphlet of "two blows for every one against the Soviet." It concludes:

> "Long live the solidarity of the workers of the world! Long live the solidarity of the working people of America, France, England, Italy and Japan with the Russian workers! Down with the bandits of international imperialism! Long live the international revolution!"

(Issue of August 22, 1919)

GERMANY

(Extracts from a manifesto issued by the Women's Socialist' International)

It is both the honor and duty of Socialist women of every country to march, as advance guards for world revolution and world peace. Imperial peace attained by the sword and disloyal

peace through diplomatic means are both unacceptable. The only peace possible is one under the protection of revolutionary Socialism.

(Issue of August 6, 1919)

THOUGH JAILED, HE SPEAKS

DEBS'S DAILY MESSAGE

The Socialist Party, organized by the workers themselves, truly typifies their class, and is committed in every atom of its being and every line of its platform and policy to their industrial emancipation. It stands fearlessly and uncompromisingly for the overthrow of the labor-robbing, war-breeding, and crime-inciting capitalist system, and for the establishment of an industrial democracy in which the collective workers shall be in control of industry, own their own tools, and take to themselves the entire product of their labor.

(Issue of November 22, 1918)

(Letter to "Call")

THE RED FLAG

(To the tune, "Maryland, My Maryland")

The People's flag is deepest red;
It shrouded oft our martyred dead;
And ere their limbs grew stiff and cold
Their heart's blood dyed its every fold.

CHORUS

Then raise the scarlet standard high!
Within its shade we'll live and die.
Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer,
We'll keep the Red Flag flying here.

Look round! The Frenchman loves its blaze;
The sturdy German chants its praise;
In Russia brave its hymns are sung;
America swells the surging throng.

It well recalls the triumphs past,
It gives the hope of peace at last;
The banner bright, the symbol plain,
Of human right, of human gain.

With heads uncovered, swear we here
To bear it onward with a cheer,
Held high aloft above the fray,
The emblem of a new-born day.

. . . . . .

If some one will write something better let him do so without delay, for there will be ample need for many folk songs in the revolutionary spirit. In the meantime, I suggest that Socialists clip the above, take it with them to Socialist meetings and make the echoes ring with its mighty melody, so that it can be heard even by Mayor Hylan down in Tammany Hall.

ELLIS O. JONES.

(Issue of August 18, 1919)

SOLDIERS DESERTED ITALIAN BOURGEOISIE IN GENERAL STRIKE

"Please ask all the American comrades to let us know what they are doing," he continued. "We heard rumors that there was to be a general strike in the United States on the fourth of July, and we wanted to join, if it were true, and intended to be international. We have demonstrated our strength and solidarity now, and want to co-operate with all those fighting the class struggle throughout the world."

(Issue of November 8, 1918)

WORD RUSSIA WANTS TO HEAR

When the American working class comes face to face with that condition, it will send to the citizens of the Russian Republic the only message they care to hear from us, and that is, that we have made the same answer to our tories that they have made to the tories of Russia.

(Issue of November 11, 1918)

SOCIALISTS REJOICE AT BIG REVOLT IN GERMANY

But it was the portent of world events that thrilled and electrified and inspired the audience, as it showed by its prolonged cheers and stampings and shouts and applause when the German revolution was but alluded to, when the prediction was made by Lee that the Soviet government, the Russian Socialist Republic, would live because it had given the signal to the peoples of the world, to which they were responding, or when Ervin asserted that the working class would kill the crowned or uncrowned autocracy everywhere, even as the beast — the Kaiser's autocracy — had to die.

(Issue of November 17, 1918)

WHEN THE WORKERS OWN THE WORLD

The right to exploit is valid today, but will be doomed with the uprising of the working class of the world. Russia has set the precedent and the workers will follow in their footsteps all over the world.

The "right of the proletariat" is the right to own the world, and they will own the world as soon as they will organize the might to assert its right.

(Issue of November 17, 1918)

(The Call Magazine)

EDITORIAL COMMENT— PEACE 1918

Oh, America! When will you, too, join the great procession? When will your workers unfurl red banners and proclaim themselves part of the free children of earth? Was the glad day of celebration, when they threw down the master's tools and knew not the master's voice, when for a few brief hours they did with their lives as they willed, prophetic of the near future, the first faint earnest of what soon is to be?

(Issue of November 18, 1918)

SOCIALISTS DEFY RAIN TO EXULT IN REVOLT

Charles Solomon, who held the crowd breathless as he analyzed the occurrences of the day and roused his hearers again and again

to storms of applause, called attention to the difference between the amount of the blood shed in the Russian and the German revolution and said that difference was accounted for by the superior education of the Germans.

He said: "Education determines revolution. We, here in America, can determine what kind of a revolution we shall have by the amount of working-class education the workers of this country shall receive."

(Issue of January 1, 1919)

THE TURNING POINT IN HUMAN HISTORY, SAYS HILLQUIT

A happy New Year, comrades, to you and all of you, here and elsewhere.

To the 150,000,000 proletarians of factory and field in all Russian territories, the pioneer-warriors for human rights and human dignity, for liberty and bread. May the new year bring them unity and power, victory and peace, and deliverance from all reactionary onslaughts, domestic and foreign.

To the workers of Germany and Austria and Poland and Bohemia, freed from the choking yoke of their sanguinary political and military rulers. May they achieve in the new year their emancipation from economic slavery, and may they rear upon the unshakable foundations of true democracy the enduring structures of free, happy, and pacific Socialist republics.

To the workers of Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Italy, who are emerging strong and valiant and true from the capitalist purgatory of blood and ruin. May the new year bring them added influence and power in their respective countries, to the end that justice, peace and security be assured to their own peoples and to all the nations of the world.

To the workers of the United States, the rear-guard in the onward march of revolutionary international labor. May the new year bring them enlightenment and progress, and may they conquer for themselves that position in the government of their country to which their numbers and economic importance entitle them.

A Happy New Year, a happy new era, a happy new world.

The coming year will probably mark the turning point in human history. It will be a decisive year for International

Socialism. It will bring us great triumphs and conquests, but also hard struggles and trials. Let us meet them like men and like Socialists, comrades — loyally, courageously and unflinchingly.

A happy New York, a happy new era, a happy new world!

MORRIS HILLQUIT.

Saranac Lake, N. Y.

(Advertisement)

I. W. W. MASS MEETING — HARY LLOYD, OF SEATTLE, WASH.

Leading I. W. W. speaker of the Pacific Coast, just released on $10,000 bonds from the Federal prison at Leavenworth, Kansas, after serving one year of a ten-year sentence, will speak on the famous Chicago I. W. W. trial. Lloyd was a defendant, together with 113 other workers in this trial, the longest and most bitterly contested struggle of labor in modern courts. Will speak at the Labor Temple, Second avenue and Fourteenth street, tonight at 8:15. Come one, come all. Admission free.

Auspices of the New York Defense Committee.

(Issue of October 18, 1919)

DEBS FACES DEATH IN PRISON, BUT WON'T RECANT — HUMANIST IS EAGER TO DO HIS PART IN STEEL GIANTS' WAR

WON'T RETRACT ANY UTTERANCE

My attitude has not changed one whit since I came to prison. I would not take back a single word; I would not retract a single sentence. I will make no promises of any kind or nature to obtain my freedom. It would not be freedom if obtained by any retraction, promises or apostasy. To me that would be the worst slavery.

WOULD EMULATE LIEBKNECHT

That is the way I want to come out. That is the only decent way. I want to come out as Liebknecht came out. The proletariat of Germany shook the empire to its foundations, and the beasts of Berlin readily found it convenient to unlock the barred doors.

18. "ADVANCE"

Editor: Joseph Schlossberg.
Business Manager: Jacob S. Putufsky.
Circulation: Including foreign langauge editions, 78,500.

Jacob S. Putufsky, of 1277 Shakespeare avenue, the Bronx, New York City, testified that he was the business manager of this publication; that Joseph Schlossberg was editor-in-chief, and Ira W. Bird, associate editor. The "Advance" is the official organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and has a circulation of about 25,000. It is not self-supporting, according to the witness. The "Advance" is printed in the English language, and paralleling it there are gotten out other publications: "Fortschritt," a weekly Jewish publication, with a circulation of about 20,000; "Il Lavoro," published in Italian, with a circulation of between 13,000 and 14,000; "Darbas," a bi-weekly, printed in Lithuanian, with a circulation of about 3,000; "Industrial Democracy," in Polish, and "Industrial Democracy," in Bohemian, with a circulation each of about 2,000. Also, a paper called "Rabochy Golos," a Russian publication, which was just started at the time of the examination and then had a circulation of about 1,500.

The attitude of this publication during the war was unpatriotic, and reflected the declaration and principles set forth in the War Program and Proclamation of the Socialist Party of America as adopted at the St. Louis Convention April 6, 1917. It is more fully discussed in another section of this report dealing with industrial unionism.

THE "NEW MAJORITY"

Editor: Robert M. Buck.
Published weekly at 166 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

(Editorial)

HE'D BE DEPORTED TODAY

Abraham Lincoln's birthday is February 12th. The man who saved the Union and emancipated the slaves is honored in public schools, in the daily press, from the platform and pulpit as one of the greatest characters of the world, and rightly so. Yet the Emancipator uttered sentiments during his term as president for which men and women today in a supposedly free country are being deported, jailed, persecuted and terrorized.

In his inaugural address, March 4, 1861, Lincoln said:

> "This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."

With all due respect to Lincoln's memory, it is a good thing that he is not living today. If this revolutionary doctrine were brought to the attention of Attorney-General Palmer, Lincoln would either be serving twenty years in jail or facing deportation proceedings.

(Issue of February 7, 1920, Vol. 3, No. 6.)

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19. THE "INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST"

Editor: Harry W. Laidler.
Assistant editor: Caro Lloyd Strobell.
Published at 70 Fifth avenue, New York city.
Circulation: 4,000.

(Formerly published bi-monthly, except June, July, August and September, and later merged in the "Socialist Review.")

Its object is to "promote an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men and women." Mrs. Florence Kelley is the president of the society; Evans Clark is the first vice-president, and H. W. L. Dana is second vice-president; Albert de Silver is the treasurer. Other persons connected with this association named by the witnesses were: Louis B. Boudin, Emily Balch, Helen Phelps Stokes, Mary R. Sanford, George Nasmyth, and Horace M. Kallen; also Norman Thomas, Jessie W. Hughan, Freda Kirchwey, Vida D. Scudder of Wellesley, Charles Zueblin, Caro Lloyd Strobell, Arthur Gleason, Louise Adams Grout, Nicholas Kelley, Alexander Trachtenberg, Darwin J. Meserole, Robert W. Dunn and Winthrop D. Lane. The circulation was given as "a little over 4,000." It is published every two months during the college year, excluding June, July, August and September. The publication is run at a financial loss, which is made up by voluntary contribution and by the dues of the society. Among the contributors were the following: Mary R. Sanford, 90 Grove street, New York, $1,800; Helen Phelps Stokes, $1,000; William F. Cochran, of Baltimore, Md., $500; Dr. John R. Haynes, Los Angeles, Cal., $500; William Bross Lloyd (now

under indictment as one of the organizers of the Communist Party in Chicago), Chicago, Ill., $100; Dr. John H. Gifford, Omaha, Neb., $75; A. M. Todd, Kalamazoo, Mich., $150; Ellen G. Sahler, Central Park South, New York City, $200; Max Senior, Cincinnati, Ohio, $100; William Sargent Ladd, New York City, $200; Lucy P. Eastman, $100; Mrs. Victor Sorchan, $250; Mrs. A. H. Dakin, Amherst, Mass., $100. The other contributors whose contributions ranged from $2 to $25 were not named.

The information above set forth was obtained from an examination of Harry W. Laidler.

In the issue for April–May, 1919, where, under editorial notes, reference is made to the "Socialist Review" which was then about to be established, we find the following:

THE RECEPTION OF THE MONTHLY IDEA

The prophesied monthly has thus far met with much enthusiasm. "I want to tell you," writes Prof. Vida D. Scudder, "how thoroughly I approve the idea. The Quarterly is sane and vital, and it does have a scope different from that of any other radical organ. I am really in earnest about this. I have lately snubbed two other people, pretty well known, who asked my opinion about starting magazines, on the ground that the 'Liberator' and the 'World Tomorrow' and the 'Nation' and 'Forward,' etc., etc., were all that was needed. But not one of these occupies your field, which I take to be the temperate yet audacious and enlightened study of the tremendous change in progress from the Socialist point of view. I earnestly hope that you can carry out the plan, and shall be glad to help in any possible way. This college, for instance, is simply alive with the sort of questions your Review would answer."

Similar messages have been received from John Haynes Holmes, Florence Kelley, Adolph Germer, Percy Stickney Grant, Charles W. Ervin, Arthur Gleason, Wesley C. Mitchell, Harry A. Overstreet, and many others. "The times call for a fearless and comprehensive statement of the Socialist message," declares Mr. Holmes. "Furthermore, this should be especially directed at the minds of our young men and women everywhere, for the Great War has prepared these minds for the sowing of the seed of radical social change. I shall hope to help in such little ways as may be possible to me in making this publication a fine success."

(Issue of May–April, 1919.)

In an article in the same issue entitled "Two years of the Russian Revolution" by Alexander Trachtenberg, one of the executive committee of this society, and who is director of labor research in the Rand School of Social Science, we find the following on page 32:

"Menaced by foreign military forces, the work of social and economic regeneration is now endangered. The Russian revolution is the heritage of the world. It must not be defeated by foreign militarism. It must be permitted to develop unhampered. It must live, so that Russia may be truly free and, through its freedom, blaze the way for industrial democracy throughout the world."

(Issue of April–May, 1919.)

At pages 47–48 of the same issue we find the following in regard to the I. W. W.:

THE I. W. W.

The government has taken occasion during recent months to continue its prosecutions of the members of the Industrial Workers of the World. On April 1, 1918, it began its five months' trial of the leaders of the I. W. W., which ended in the conviction of ninety-three of the original 166 defendants and to sentences of imprisonment in Leavenworth penitentiary of from one to twenty years. Among the prisoners are William D. Haywood, general organizer, Vincent St. John, former general organizer, the members of the executive board, the organizers of all the larger industrial unions of the I. W. W., and the editors of "Solidarity" and most of the I. W. W. papers.

"The persecution of the organization throughout the whole period of the trial," declares the Civil Liberties Bureau, "from the first Department of Justice raids on September 5, 1917, to the present, is incredible. The offices have been repeatedly raided, many times without even the pretense of a warrant; mail of all sorts has been arbitrarily held up for months by the post office; express companies have been prohibited by the Department of Justice from taking shipments to or from the I. W. W. and Federal Secret Service men have continually hounded the organization in its work of conducting its legal defense. Even sympathizers not connected in any way with the organization have been similarly treated by the agents of the government. All

attempts to get into the public press a fair statement of the vital industrial issues involved have met with a torrent of abuse and misrepresentation."

Forty-six defendants, on January 25, 1919, were convicted and sentenced to terms ranging from one to ten years in the famous "silent defense" trial in Sacramento, California, where forty-three of the defendants refused to employ a lawyer, or to offer evidence, in order to express their utter lack of faith in the ability of the court to do them justice.

There were also the Wichita, Kansas, trial, involving twelve of the Chicago and thirty-eight new defendants, the Omaha, Nebraska, case, involving twenty-one of the Chicago and twenty-eight other defendants, and the Spokane, Washington, prosecution, involving twenty-eight new defendants. In addition there have been numerous other trials of individual members of the I. W. W. Several statutes have been recently passed, practically making it a criminal offense to hold membership in the I. W. W. and many have been deported recently through the efforts of the Department of Labor.

"The I. W. W.," continues the Civil Liberties Bureau, "is obviously engaged in a terrific struggle for the right to exist. It is radical labor's faith in the United States. They need now the help of all sympathizers, all believers in their right to represent the needs of a great group of unskilled workers — their right under the guarantees of the Constitution." — H. W. L.

(Issue of April–May, 1919.)

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20. "MENTAL DYNAMITE"

While this is not a periodical, the fact that at least eleven editions of this booklet have been printed, the imprint on the Eleventh Edition reading, "200,000," we think it may properly be included in this section.

This booklet is written by George R. Kirkpatrick, who states that he is a lecturer for the New York City Board of Education.

The preface reads: "These little lessons are addressed to those who are pleased with our political republic and squeezed by our industrial despotism."

On page 4 appears the following legend, around a cartoon showing a soldier in the uniform of the United States army, leaning

on his gun, the bayonet therefore piercing the right hand of a workingman: "Soldiers, cossacks and militiamen are to the employer class what beaks are to eagles and tusks are to tigers."

We reproduce herewith Lesson 20 in said booklet:

"LESSON TWENTY

"ON WAR

"(The paragraphs following on this page are from 'WAR—WHAT FOR?')

"Let us see:

"IN THE NEXT WAR WHOSE SONS SHALL BE SHOT?

"The aristocrat's wife is not worrying about whose children are to be destroyed in the next war. She knows already that her sons will not be destroyed in battle; her sons will not stand before Gatling guns; her sons will not be torn and lie bleeding, groaning, screaming and cursing on the steel-swept battlefield by day or through the long night; her sons will not fester and sicken and die in dismal battlefield hospitals; she knows that her sons will not be pitched into nameless trenches—buried like dogs; her flesh and blood, her slain sons, will not be brought home to mock her aching heart.

"That is settled—positively.

"She belongs to the ruling class.

"The ruling class protect her and the men and boys she loves—loyally.

"But the working-class mother—the humble mother of wage-slaves—she feels no such security. Herod and Mars invade her home to steal the men and boys she loves. The rude fist of war is ever ready to crush her.

"Capitalists WANT wars.

"Politicians DECLARE wars.

"Preachers PRAY FOR VICTORIES in wars..

"Workingmen FIGHT in wars.

"SOCIALISTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD SHOUT WARNING TO THE TOILERS.

"IF THE MASTERS WANT BLOOD LET THEM CUT THEIR OWN THROATS.

"We don't want other people's blood and we refuse to waste our own.

"Let those who want 'great victories' go to the firing line and get them.

"If war is good enough to VOTE for or PRAY for, it is good enough to GO to — UP CLOSE where bayonets gleam, swords flash, cannon roar, rifles crash, flesh rips, blood spurts, bones snap, brains are dashed — UP CLOSE where men sweat, freeze, starve, kill, scream, pray, laugh, curse, go mad and die — UP CLOSE where the flesh and blood of betrayed men and boys are ground and pounded into a red mush of mud by shrieking cannon balls and by the iron-shod hoofs of galloping horses and the steel-bound wheels of rushing artillery.

"They say 'WAR IS HELL.'

"Well, then, let those who want hell, go to hell."

On the title page is depicted a gun with affixed bayonet in the hand of a soldier. The bayonet is directed toward the ground and is piercing the arm of a working man. The picture is entitled "Hired Hands," and underneath appear the following words:

"A bayonet is a stinger, made by the working class, sharpened by the working class, nicely polished by the working class, and then 'patriotically' thrust into the working class by the working class — for the employer class — the ruling class.

"The busy human bees sting themselves — at present."

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21. "LIBERATOR"

Published at 34 Union Square East, New York city, by Liberator Publishing Co., Inc.
Editors: Max Eastman, Crystal Eastman.
Associate Editor: Floyd Dell.
Business Manager: Margaret Lane.
Contributing Editors: Cornelia Barns, Howard Brubaker, Eugene V. Debs, Hugo Gellert, Arturo Giovannitti, Charles T. Hallinan, Helen Keller, Robert Minor, Bordman Robinson, Maurice Stern, Alexander Trachtenberg, Louis Untermeyer, Clyde Weed and Art. Young.
Circulation: Monthly, 50,000.

The second-class mailing privileges of the "Liberator" were withheld by the United States Post Office Department.

Miss Margaret Lane testified she was the business manager of this publication, and that it had a monthly circulation of about 50,000. She testified that it was not self-supporting, but was subsidized through the sale of stock at $10 a share. She furnished the following list of stockholders:

S. Barrow, Matilda Ballin, Katherine Beck, Maurice Berman, Mrs. Frances B. Biddle, Alice C. Broomslider, Sol Bruck, Charles Chaplin, Mrs. Isabel Clark, Mrs. M. A. Cohen, Gideon Cohen,

W. Cope, Harry W. L. Dana, Miss Babette Deutsch, A. C. Dick, Wallace Douglas, Margaret L. Dwight, Charles E. Edgarton, Karl Ericson, Miss Meta J. Ericson, Mrs. Alice C. Irwin, A. M. Field, Sarah Bairdfield, B. M. Firey, Dr. Ellsworth Fleming, Alfred Ball Forrest, Frank Bros., Dr. Joseph Frankel, J. S. Freeman, Clara Kingsley Fuller, Mrs. K. C. Gartz, Mrs. Anna D. Geller, Mary Gruening, C. F. Gutcherle, Kathleen Hamill, Otto Hanson, Dr. Henry Hartung, A. Heller, Mrs. Constance Herreschoff, Harrison Hires, F. S. Holmes, Lieut. L. D. Holren, Laura M. Horix, Mrs. Louis C. Huck, W. H. Uisheld, Miss L. Hunt, Mrs. Robert Hunter, Mrs. Circe C. Jack, C. F. Johns, Wm. Templeton, G. J. Johnson, Brewster Jones, Mrs. Rudolph Jordan, Albert Castner, Helen Keller, Wm. H. Knauel, Daniel Kiefer, Christian Kalvenesso, Leo Kling, Q. H. Knaub, Walter Knollenberg, Paul Koner, Hilda M. Kramer, Regina J. Kromacher, Mrs. E. C. Lewis, Fay Lewis, Alice Lewisohn, Allen Lincoln Langley, L. Andrew Larsen, David Liebman, Miss Augusta Lillienthal, Margaret A. Lindsey, Wm. Bross Lloyd, Mrs. L. W. Lloyd, Lucille B. Lowenstein, Peter Loomis, J. H. McGill, Mary McMurtrie, J. Maltz, Morris Marshak, Mrs. May Benzenberg Mayer, Theresa Mayer, Rachel H. Menken, Patrick Mestie, F. J. M. Miles, R. S. Mitchell, Mrs. R. Mitchell, Prof. Wesley C. Mitchell, Casper Mohnl, Abraham Muchinkoff, Arthur E. Mueller, E. C. Murdock, Forrest H. Murray, Chas. Nannon, Ida A. Noetzal, Eleanor Norcross, Mary Norton, Spurgeon Odell, Peter Oppenheimer, John Orth, Viola I. Paradise, Mrs. Elsie Clews Parsons, Lorenz Peterson, Edward R. Peters, Herbert E. Phillips, B. Praskowski, A. E. Press, Robert Pres, Muschamp A. Raabe, Nick Radwolff, Emil Rath, Miss Gladys G. Rathmore, W. Ravensworth, Fred Rowitser, S. Roxworthy, M. Reichgott, Wm. C. Rempfer, E. L. Riddell, Ella Riggel, Emil Ries, Edw. Roebling, Elizabeth Rochman, Ernest A. Rosenthal, Chas. Runyon, Mary Sands, Matilda C. Schaff, John B. Schlessinger, Chas. S. Schnepf, Russell Scott, Mrs. Mildred Scott, Laura M. Sedgwick, Theo. Shapiro, Albert de Silver, Mrs. Margaret de Silver, Dr. Wm. H. Simmons, Edwin Q. Smith, Mary R. Smith, Nellie M. Smith, Anna Bertha Specht, Leo D. Stein, Douglas B. Sterrett, Dr. R. B. Stuve, Dr. Jessie F. Streeter, Lizzie Themper, W. J. Tierney, Gustav Thurmaner, Horace W. Truesdell, Florence Guerlin Tuttle, Louis Untermeyer, J. J. Van Rynn, Geo. E. Vincent, Geo. Wagner, Lillian

D. Wald, May Walden, Russell H. Waldo, Mrs. E. McC. Wales, F. Weinheimer, Charlotte A. Whitney, Elizabeth C. Whitney, Albert Wideman, Jennie A. Wilcox, Mrs. Rose O'Neill Wilson, Hugo Wittman, Col. C. E. S. Wood, F. R. Woods, J. B. C. Woods, Workmen's Cooperative Assn,, Workmen's Soldiers and Sailors' Council, Miss Liebe Zapler, D. Zeiser.

(Editorials by Max Eastman)

The sailing from New York harbor of the "Soviet Ark," containing deported European workingmen, is one of those events which signalizes the passing of a period in history. This might be described as the period of the Myth of American freedom. It is true that a great forward step was taken by our republic in the abolition of kings and the feudal nobility; indeed the wealth of unoccupied land and unseized opportunity created almost a real or economic freedom in our earliest days. But nevertheless our culture and our government were actually established and moulded upon the principle that the owners of land and capital should rule the proletariat. As capitalism develops and the proletariat acquires a genuine body and power, the real nature of these institutions becomes apparent. The "Asylum for the oppressed of all nations" turns out to possess the most perfect bouncing system ever struck off by the hand of man.

A SIGNFICANT PICTURE

The American liberals feel very disturbed in their hearts over the sailing away of the Buford. The "New Republic," with a journalistic courage that is admirable, makes the following statement:

> "A policy has been pursued by Congress and the Administration which must force those who have any respect for American traditions to take the unpopular side, and insist that even where anarchists are concerned the principles of liberty of speech and opinion and of due process of law which are imbedded in our constitutional structure must not be set aside. That no man shall be held to account merely for his opinions, however obnoxious they may be, that no man shall be deprived of his liberty without a fair judicial trial, these are among the fundamentals of true

> Americanism. . . . If we do not repent and expiate the anarchist deportations and sedition prosecutions of 1919, as we repented and expiated the prosecutions under the alien and seditious laws of 1798, our national worship of liberty and due process of law will indeed have a hollow sound."

To those who sailed away on the Buford, our national worship of liberty and due process of law has long had a hollow sound. Most of them were not anarchists, many of them were not even revolutionists; some were veterans of the war for democracy; one at least had never heard of Alexander Berkman. But it is safe to say that they were all completely disillusioned of the dream of liberty and opportunity which brought them here; and had they been treated with decent regard for their rights as human beings and members of families, had they been supplied with adequate clothing and provisions for their first days in a strange, cold and starving country, there would have been little dismay or surprise in their hearts. The moment of surprise and dismay was long past. Conscription for a war in Europe was the final blow to their too faithful hopes and dreams. However long it may take the "New Republic" to learn it, the poorest foreign laborer in the United States has known since June, 1917, that our boast of a superior liberty and regard for human rights is hollow and absurd.

To those, therefore, who believe in clearly perceiving real facts, and advertising them as widely as possible, this deliberate shipping back to Russia of a boatload of unsubmissive slaves seems a fine and wholesome thing for the world. It is a great advertising picture of the true state of affairs. It explodes the romance that has hypnotized Europe for a hundred years, and that made Woodrow Wilson's great sanctimonious international swindle possible. It will never be possible again. The dreamers and revolters against tyranny are travelling East instead of West, and the eyes of all the true lovers of liberty in all the world are turning in the same direction as they go.

ANARCHISM

This picture of the true facts has been made more perfect and more instructive to the international proletariat by two events of great importance. The first was the arrival of a letter from Ludwig Martens, the American Envoy of the Russian government, extending a welcome in the name of his government to

Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman and all those agitators of liberty, whatever their creed, whose presence is unendurable to the American republic. In this connection it is worth while to remember that on June 9, 1918, a decree was issued by the Soviet Government "establishing the right of asylum for all aliens persecuted in their native countries on account of their political and religious convictions." So it is not only as citizens of Russia that the deportees are welcome to the Soviet Government, but as patriots of liberty in the world.

The other event which perfected the significance of the picture was the clear and definite statement made by the leader of the deportees, Alexander Berkman, that he intents to co-operate with the Soviet Government upon his arrival in Russia. This does not mean that he renounces the anarchist faith, or that he thinks the day of agitation and propaganda toward a greater freedom is past. He knows that human society, even after capitalism is overthrown, will still have need of that brotherly rebellious idealism of which anarchism is an absolute expression. But it does mean that he will not allow the *absoluteness* of that idealism to get in the way of the practical process of overthrowing capitalism. He will stand with the working class throughout that process, even though to the long sacrifice of his personal life and liberty, he must even add a sacrifice or postponement of the assertion of his social ideals. In short he is a proletarian and revolutionary, not a bourgeois and Utopian, anarchist.

(Issue of February, 1920.)

EXAMPLES OF "AMERICANISM"

By MAX EASTMAN

In the Chicago "Tribune" I read the following account of a speech by Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., to the American legion:

> "He was cheered by 3,000 listeners grouped around the Khaki and Blue club in Grant park as he told them:
>
> > "You will always find us ready to stand for the ideals of this country handed down by our fathers and tempered by Europe's fire. First, last, and always we are 100 per cent. American.
> >
> > "'Bolshevists, the I. W. W. and red flag Socialists,' he cried, 'I see as criminals, to be treated as such. Don't argue or temporize with criminals. Go to bat and meet 'em head on.'"

I may be a little over-sensitive, but as I read these words I felt that the members of the American Legion had been advised by their most conspicuous leader to assault and if necessary murder me, and several million like me in their opinions. I am complaining of this crime of Roosevelt's. Complaints would be futile. A district-attorney would laugh in my face. What I am complaining of is the further propagation by intelligent people of the idea that a regard for due process of law is a distinguishing American characteristic. The opposite is true. There are crimes and pogroms and persecutions elsewhere, but America is the only place in the world where people seek office by boasting of their contempt for the legal and constitutional rights of men.

(Issue of February, 1920.)

In this February 1920 issue appears a cartoon by Bordman Robinson, entitled "Checkmate, gentlemen!" It shows Nicolai Lenin at one side of the table and Wilson, Lloyd George and Clemenceau on the other with a checker-board before them, with the following significant caption:

"There are just two moves they can make — war against Russia which will mean revolution at home; peace with Russia which will mean the spread of Soviet principles throughout the world."

In the cartoon Lenin is pictured with a triumphant, self-satisfied expression; Wilson, Clemenceau and Lloyd George are depicted as thoroughly frightened and apparently at a loss what to do.

It is rather difficult to describe in words a cartoon, or the effects produced by it, but this cartoon clearly indicates the wishes and the fond hopes of the publishers of the "Liberator."

TO MY BABY

(From a conscientious objector in prison.)

Tiny little baby,
Eyes as bright as stars,
Every day they twinkle
At Papa through the bars;
Don't you start a-crying,
Straighten up your face,
Your dad has gone to prison
To free this bloomin' race.

CHORUS

Go to sleep, my baby,
Don't you weep nor wail,
Wilson's in the White House,
Papa's in the jail;
Mamma's in the laundry
Washing clothes for me,
And everybody's working
For world-democracy.

Quit your crying, baby,
Lonely little waif,
Papa's in an iron cage
To make your future safe;
All the other daddies
Have gone and left their wives,
And all the kids on our street
Are playing with their knives.

Here's your bottle, baby,
Skin as soft as silk;
Easy on the rubber,
Easy on the milk;
Just a little swallow
And give it back to me;
For most all the baby food
Has sunk into the sea.

Bye-lo, little baby,
Let your crying cease,
You'll go to jail with Papa,
If you disturb the peace;
Close your little eyelids,
Don't you peep nor yell,
Half the dads in Christendom
Have died and gone to hell.

FLOYD HARDIN.

(February, 1920, Vol. 3, No. 2, Serial No. 23.)

THE REAL THING

It is good to see the signature of William D. Haywood signed once more to these strong simple moving appeals sent out by the I. W. W. General Defense Committee, to know that he is free if only for a few months, and back on the job.

"We are appealing the Chicago and Sacramento cases," he writes. "The financial cost will be tremendous, but we are determined to give normal and rational-minded judges an opportunity to review the meager evidence against us. We urge you to be alert and open-minded. The decisions in these cases are of as much importance to you as to the men in prison or to those of us who will have to go back to prison if these cases are not reversed."

To raise an I. W. W. defense fund is the hardest thing in the world. Its enemies, not content with arresting its leaders by the hundreds and holding them in prison for months and even years awaiting trial, destroy its property, and hold up its mail so as to make the raising of funds for legal defense almost impossible. It is an outlawed organization trying to fight a difficult legal battle against a government which does not even recognize its elementary right to exist.

The violence and persistence with which the persecution of the I. W. W. is carried on suggests that in the faith which holds them together their enemies secretly recognize the very soul of truth. What is this terrible truth? Perhaps it is the paragraph with which the famous Preamble opens:

> *"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life."*

(January, 1920, Vol. 3, No. 1, Serial No. 22.)

In an article at page 5 et seq., in the December, 1919, number, entitled "Pittsburgh or Petrograd" by Floyd Dell, we find the following:

PITTSBURGH OR PETROGRAD?

The injunction against the coal strike was intended as a knock-out blow to labor. It promises to be rather a knock-out blow to

conservative leadership in what is now the life-and-death struggle of American labor.

American labor moves slowly. But it has commenced to help push toward its culmination the world-crisis of capitalism. Without as yet understanding Internationalism, the American working class is lining up with the workers of all countries in the gigantic battle which is to test the power of the present world-order to endure. Without as yet believing in Revolution, it is undertaking its part in the industrial war which is the beginning of Revolution. Without knowing that there is a class struggle, it is vastly and terrifically at war with its class enemies.

This does not mean that any immediate revolutionary results are to be expected in this country. But it means that aroused and enlightened European workers will not have to fight the battle of the working class alone. Their American brothers, even though they do not know how or why, are with them. American labor has entered the world-wide working-class coalition against capitalism.

Capitalist newspapers, sensing the tremendous significance of the present industrial situation in America, try to dramatize it by talk of Bolshevik plots and plotters. But we know that economic forces are the real conspirators. Events are writing Bolshevik propaganda of a sort that cannot be suppressed. The story of these days is a vivid elementary Communist pamphlet which no American Lenin could hope to improve on. The injunction against the coal strike is a lesson in the A. B. C.'s of Marxian economics.

Capitalism has determined to give the workers a lesson. That is to say, the workers must be driven back to their holes. The whole power of military force and political chicane have been concentrated to accomplish this, and in the first encounter may very well succeed. The workers will have learned their lesson. But it will not be the one that capitalism started out to teach them.

The workers are perhaps beaten — this time. They have no organization prepared to engage in this kind of struggle. The A. F. of L. is a lumbering, inefficient, peacetime affair. Can it, under stress of circumstances, adapt itself to the necessities of modern industrial warfare? That is what these days will determine. If it cannot, the labor movement — even at the cost of a

temporary and disastrous setback — will have to reorganize on new lines for the deadly earnest struggle in which it is engaged,

. . . . . .

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

All this while, in his office in Pittsburgh, William Z. Foster had been quietly though perhaps anxiously awaiting the inevitable. Foster is different from the usual type of labor leader. He is less the politician, and more the intellectual. It is his habit to see ahead. He got the habit as a member of the I. W. W. If he has a fault as a labor leader, it is the defect which customarily accompanies his kind of merit: he has somewhat too precise a mind. When he was a member of the I. W. W., this intellectual precision led him to dot the i's and cross the t's of the I. W. W. doctrine in a little pamphlet which he has since had much reason to regret. And when he visited Europe and saw the trend of the labor movement there and revised his calculations, he left the I. W. W. and came into the A. F. of L. for precise reasons with which every editor in the United States is now acquainted. The intellectual honesty which distinguishes his type prevented him, when on the stand at Washington, from even pretending to disavow his motives. And though his present tactics enjoin a discreet silence about those motives, they are an open secret. He is in the A. F. of L. to assist that organization in its transformation into a modern labor organization. . . .

. . . . . .

THE FINAL QUESTION

Meanwhile, the destiny of the A. F. of L. is being determined in a new situation, in the face of all the world. With the most brazen and cynical candor, the United States Government has placed itself on the side of capitalism. Every law, every Constitutional guarantee, every traditional pretense of neutrality, has been tossed aside. The workers are to be crushed by naked force.

The workers can make only one reply: organization on a grander scale and with a program of really efficient and united action.

It only remains to be seen whether their present leaders will make this reply for them, or whether they shall have to make it for themselves. FLOYD DELL."

(December, 1919, Vol. 2, No. 11, Serial No. 21.)

(Editorials)

THE RAILROADS

In less revolutionary times the demand of the railroad brotherhoods that "American railroads be vested in the public, that those actually engaged in conducting that industry, not from Wall Street, but from the railroad offices and yards and out on the railroad lines, shall take charge of this service for the public," would sound almost like a revolution. "To capital, which is the result of yesterday's labor," say the brotherhoods, "we propose to discharge every just obligation. . . . We demand that the owners of capital, who represent only financial interests as distinguished from operating brains and energy, be retired from management, receiving government bonds with a fixed interest return for every honest dollar they have invested in railways."

Th New York "Times" calls this "a venture into radical socialism — a very long step toward the principles of Lenin and Trotzky and of Soviet Government."

Of course the establishment of a fixed hereditary aristocracy of government bondholders is not actually a revolutionary step, but it brings us to a point from which a revolutionary step appears more simple and its necessity more obviously apparent. It is not a long or difficult inference from the knowledge that capital is the result of yesterday's labor, to the assertion that it belongs to to-day's laborers. That the railroad workmen will prove capable of making that inference, far sooner than any of us expected, appears not so much in what they say, as in the tone of voice in which they say it. They present their demands in the form of an ultimatum to the President rejecting his compromise proposal, and although they talk only of raising a ten million dollar fund for political propaganda, the threat of a general strike to back up this propaganda is implicit in their militant attitude. And that is in fact "a step in the direction of radical socialism." Perhaps it is an actual beginning of the dynamics of revolution in America.

We reflect with regret that Eugene Debs was born into Socialism at such a time, and under such influences, that it led him away from the actual industrial conflict to the lecture platform and the political rostrum exclusively. What a torch of inspiration his spirit would be in the railroad unions to-day! They will come to him in time. They will see the identity of his idea with their purpose before they are through, and they will remember

his service in the old days, and perform their duty of releasing him from prison. But how much faster he could have led them to that point.

(Issue of September, 1919, page 5.)

BELA KUN

There is reason to believe that Bela Kun fully realized the blow to the international revolution involved in the resignation of his government, and that he held out with persistent courage until his overthrow became inevitable. When that happened he was cool-headed enough — he was sufficiently disciplined in the school of practical revolutionary intelligence of which Lenin is the master — to resign. His resignation is a less damaging blow to the revolution than his violent overthrow and the massacre of his supporters would have been. Therefore, we rejoice that he was not persuaded by any emotional rebels into making a gesture of martyrdom.

The Hungarian proletariat arrived at their dictatorship without passing through the experience of "moderate" Socialism, or of coalition with the bourgeoisie. They are now passing through that experience. They are well on the road to a complete disillusionment, and Bela Kun, although not nominally in power, is more powerful than he was before. This at least is our sober inference from the facts at hand, and we can say without any bluster of false hope, "The Hungarian Soviet Republic is dead — long live the Hungarian Soviet Republic!"

(Issue of September, 1919, page 6.)

RACE AND CLASS

There is cause for hope of an ultimate adjustment of the race problem, in the fact that the Negroes are showing some power of resistance to white persecution. If large groups of negroes have learned enough in the army about their own value and power, so that they are ready to defend themselves unitedly against criminal assaults from the whites, these assaults will be far less frequent. The first fruit of this new attitude of the Negroes may be seen in the following despatch from Gilmer, Texas: "Four white men

charged with lynching Chilton Jennings, a Negro, here on July 24, were arrested to-day after investigation by the Upshur County Grand Jury." If the four men are convicted, it may establish a precedent for which a few "race-riots" is not too large a price to pay.

It is to be hoped, however, that the Negroes will realize that the economic problem, the problem of exploitation and class rule in general, lies in the heart of the race problem, and that it is more important for them to join revolutionary organizations of the general proletariat than the special organizations of their race.

(Issue of September, 1919, page 7.)

THE REBEL

"They chained his wrists across,
And the clean music of his lips they pressed
From silence into loss.
The slim red stains about his mouth and breast,
Widened and dripped. . . . We thought that he had died. . . .
Felt sudden at our hearts life's dross.
Yet . . . there was once another tried,
And nailed upon a cross.

KATHRYN PECK.

(Issue of September, 1919, page 19.)

A PRISON MAGAZINE

The latest and most daring enterprise in American radical journalism is — or doubtless we should say was — the "Wire City Weekly." It is the product of a group of men whom the United States Government has imprisoned, tortured, and some of whom it has killed, in the effort to break their spirits. It is the last and most flagrant proof of the failure of that effort. It has already been extinguished by the huge hoof of American militarism; but it has existed, and should not be without honor among us.

"The 'Wire City Weekly,' published every week at Wire City, Kansas. Circulation — secret. One of the 1,500 Bolshevik papers in America. Barred from the Post-office as First-Class Matter." So runs the description at the top of the editorial

page. It is the organ of the Soviet in the United States disciplinary barracks, the military prison at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas.

This militant journalistic defiance of militarism is typewritten and carbon-copied, one or two columns to the page on sheets of typewriting paper, with hand-made covers, one of which is reproduced here.

And its contents — well, what do you think its contents would be like? Guess again. It is not a record of the brutalities, the filth, the tyranny of Ft. Leavenworth. It is not a cry of protest. It is a variety of things, but first of all it is a very jolly, good-natured publication. It treats the prison very much as a witty dramatic critic treats a bad play — it laughs at it. It is a paper written by men who are interested in ideas. But it is not solemn. It has the easy, good-humored critical quality of the conversation of radicals the world over. It is the kind of paper Socrates and the other philosophers would have got out if the Athenian government had shut them all up in a dirty jail together; they would have gone on arguing, and making jokes about each other as well as about their jailers.

On the first page of the first issue is this "Lusty Birth-Cry:" So clamant a community as Wire City was bound sooner or later to find a channel for its manifold vibrations. In the natal number of the "Weekly," the promoters do formally invite the clamorous of all sorts to proclaim, declaim and acclaim through this organized medium. Wobbly poets and Socialist lecturers, religious seers and mystics, children of God and children of the Devil (particularly the numerous latter), anarchists, allies, pro-Germans, pro-Americans, Internationals, Fenians, Sinn Feiners, Bolsheviki, Republicans, and EVEN Wilson Democrats are welcome to our columns.

(Issue of September, 1919, page 49.)

IN COMMUNIST HUNGARY

By CRYSTAL EASTMAN

Before the war, they told me, Bela Kun was an obscure Socialist secretary in a small city of Hungary, employed by a Workingmen's Insurance Association. During the war he was one of those fortunate military prisoners in Russia who saw the Revolution. He organized thousands of Hungarian soldiers for

the Russian Red army, was prominent in the revolution, served close to Lenin, and became an intimate and trusted lieutenant. Lenin had planned to send him to Germany, but at the last moment changed his mind and sent him to Hungary. He arrived last November, and at once began a revolutionary agitation. At the time, there was no Communist movement in Hungary. The present Commissars were for the most part inactive members of the Socialist Party. Bela Kun had hardly arrived, however, before the strong men came out of their obscurity in the discontented ranks of the party and joined him. By February they were all in jail — the whole Communist executive. Another executive was formed at once and the agitation went on, but this time completely underground. The proletariat was turning more and more toward the Communists.

During all this period Karolyi, the pacifist liberal who had dismissed the Hungarian army, was premier. There was no force to defend the bourgeoisie; the Communists felt that a single demonstration of power would deliver the city into their hands. They planned a coup. Two cannon were secretly placed on the mountain across the river, from which the city could be bombarded, and a great street demonstration was arranged for Sunday, March 23d. At the climax of the demonstration it was planned to demand the immediate release of Kun and the other leaders; and if they were not free within two hours, to bombard the city. But the demonstration never occurred. Hungary did not even come this near to a violent revolution. By Friday, March 21st, the Big Four's ultimatum had been received, making such inroads on Hungarian territory that even Karolyi was unwilling to accept it. He prepared to evade responsibility by handing the government over to the Social Democrats. But the Social Democrats were wise; they did not venture to accept it alone. They realized that they could not succeed without the co-operation of a certain group of strong men in the city jail. So they went to the jail, then and there accepted the Communist platform, and formed a government with Bela Kun, each group being equally recognized in the division of offices.

On that same night, Friday, March 21st, Bela Kun walked out of jail, ruler of a completely blockaded nation of nine millions, pledged to abolish private capital and establish a Communist society, and at the same time to lead his country in a desperate war of defense on four fronts — Rumanian, Serbian, Czecho-Slovak and Italian.

Bela Kun is a young man (they are all young), probably twenty-nine or thirty. He is stocky and powerful in physical build, not very tall, with a big bulging bullet-head, shaved close. His wide face with small eyes, heavy jaws and thick lips is startling when you first see it close — I am told it is a well-known Magyar type — but his smile is sunny and winning, and he looks resolute and powerful. He has a superhuman capacity for hard work. His title is Commissar of Foreign Affairs, but there is not the slightest doubt in anyone's mind that he is in every sense the head of the government. He is described by his comrades as a "great agitator," a man of real revolutionary talent, a "genuine Socialist statesman," the "first statesman Hungary has had in seventy years." Their eyes glow with pride in him. "The rest of us are nothing," said Lukacs, Commissar of Education. "We do our part, but there are hundreds like us in every country. It is nothing to the European movement whether we are hanged tomorrow or not. If Kun were killed it would be a serious loss to the revolution."

Bela Kun gave me a written message to the workers of America, which I cabled for publication in the July number of the "Liberator." He also gave me written answers to some of the questions that were in our minds in America. He said that they had learned much from the experience of Russia — both what to do and what to avoid. Perhaps it was a reflection of his own personal growth in Russia that made him say, "We certainly learned, from the Russian example, self-sacrifice."

He also said, "We learned the proper form of dictatorship there."

I asked him whether the Hungarian dictatorship was more or less strict than the Russian, and he said it was more strict. "The Russians made many experiments," he said, "before they found the proper form of dictatorship. We have been saved those experiments."

I asked him whether he found necessary a complete suppression of free speech and press, and this is his reply:

> "We do not practice general suppression of free speech and free press at all. Workmen's papers are published without the intervention of any censorship. Among workingmen there is perfect freedom of speech and of holding meetings; this freedom is enjoyed not only by the workmen who share our views but also by those whose views are different. The

anarchists, for instance, publish a paper and other printed matter. There are also citizens' papers, for instance, the 'XX Szazad' ('Twentieth Century'), a periodical published by the society for sociology, without any control or restriction being exercised upon it. We only suppress bourgeois papers having decided counter-revolutionary intentions.

"We are doing this not because we are afraid of them, but because we want in this way to obviate the necessity of suppressing counter-revolution by force of arms."

He did not say how long he thought the dictatorship of the proletariat would last, but he was very emphatic in describing it as a condition which belongs only to the period of transition from capitalism to communism. I quote his words again:

"We consider the dictatorship as a transitional form of government only, justified by the state of revolution and war alone. As soon as the danger of counter-revolution is over and peace returns it will be possible to establish in all respects real and complete freedom of speech and press, which up to now has never existed. For up to now the so-called freedom of press was really a privilege of capitalist interests only."

In answer to my question about bloodshed — whether it will be possible for the Hungarian government to establish communism without violence except against invading armies, he said:

"Not completely. It has happened several times that persons have attacked us with the force of arms and killed some of our political delegates. In such cases we have, of course, to make reprisals against the murderers. *We are doing, however, everything in our power to persuade our former oppressors, by the demonstration of our strength, to refrain from every attempt to impose their yoke on us again.* Our effort has been so far successful; only very slight bloodshed has occurred. What some foreign papers have published to the contrary is absolute falsehood."

In regard to the attitude which communists should adopt toward the centrists, the pacifists — men like Longuet in France and Robert Smillie in England — he said:

"We do not consider them adversaries and we profit by every occasion to distinguish them clearly from people like

Renaudel and Scheidemann. We hope that within a short time they will come to see their place on our side."

Of course, we would all like to ask Bela Kun a thousand questions, seeing that we cannot reach Lenin, but these are the principal ones to which I secured his answer in his own words for quotation.

(Issue of August, 1919, pages 5, 6.)

RECRUITING

The Red Army recruiting propaganda interested me perhaps more than anything else I saw in Hungary. I remember when I first caught sight of big photographs of Lenin decorating a newsstand. It was the same friendly, quizzical, half-smiling picture we had on our January cover, and it suddenly peered out at me through the murky dimness of a country railway station, where our train stopped for an hour on the all-night trip from Buchs to Buda-Pesth. I must have been a little lonesome, because I felt like crying when I saw Lenin's face, and I said to myself, "Lenin is my father, and I am coming home!"

Next morning in Buda-Pesth I found the newsstands, the pillars, the walls, every blank space, shouting with revolutionary posters. It seemed to me that Por and the other Commissars of Propaganda, in the two short months of their work, had put the National Security League, the American Defense Society and all the other patriotic poster designers of America wholly in the shade. The revolutionary placards are all red, almost wholly one color. They are everywhere, on every wall of every street — enormous sheets many of them, some good drawings, some bad; very daring and simple; all emphatically modern. One is a great bold red figure running with a flag — "To Arms!" There is a soldier charging with a bayonet — "He who is not with us is against us!". "Save the Proletariat," "Defend the Revolution," "Join the Red Guard!" — these are the phrases repeated again and again, but never a word about Hungary, never a note of nationalist appeal.

At the moving pictures it is the same. . . . All these recruiting posters are thrown on the screen. Then come Red army scenes — soldiers marching to the front, warships on the Danube, battle scenes, wounded Red guards. Everywhere the desperate appeal to arms, but never a suggestion of nationalism. This seems to me immensely significant. It is a tribute to the sincerity and purity

of purpose, the intellectual integrity of these revolutionary leaders, that never, even in the darkest hour of despair, did they appeal to the people to defend Hungary against invasion from its ancient enemies, Italy, Bohemia, Roumania. . . .

It is a small incident, but I think it shows how rapidly all our passionate national hysterias — amazingly vital as they often are — will pale and disappear beside the deeper realities of this new struggle.

The great war is over. The revolution has begun. And we've got to choose new sides. The other day in the British Parliament Winston Churchill, Secretary for War, in the course of his reply to Colonel Wedgewood's able arraignment of British intervention in Russia, turned suddenly to Wedgewood — a Liberal who recently joined the Independent Labor Party — and asked ironically:

> "If my honorable and gallant friend is so enthusiastic about these Bolsheviki, why doesn't he go and join them?"

Without a moment's hesitation Wedgewood replied seriously:

> "If this is going to be a class war, that's my side."

And so it goes.

(Issue of August, 1919, Vol. 2, No. 8, Serial No. 18.)

FOLLOW US

By MAXIM GORKY

The victors, who a short time ago, proclaimed to the whole world that they were destroying millions of men for the victory of justice and the happiness of all peoples, have now forced the conquered German people to accept the terms of an armistice which is ten times harder than the Brest-Litovsk peace and which threatens the Germans with inescapable hunger. From day to day the cynicism of the inhuman policy of the imperialists becomes clearer and threatens more and more openly the peoples of Europe with new wars and fresh bloodshed.

President Wilson, who yesterday was the eloquent champion of the freedom of peoples and the rights of democracy, is equipping a powerful army for the "Restoration of Order," in Revolutionary Russia, where the people have already realized their lawful right to take the power into their own hands and are striving with all their might to lay the foundation for a new

political order. I will not deny that this constructive work has been preceded by an often unnecessary destruction. But I, more than anyone else, am justified and in a position to explain, that the cultural metamorphosis which is going on under particularly difficult circumstances, and which calls for heroic exertions of strength, is now gradually taking on a form and a compass which has up to the present, been unknown in human history. This is not an exaggeration. But a short time ago an opponent of the Soviet government and still in many respects not in agreement with it, I can yet say, that in the future the historian, when judging the work which the Russian workers have accomplished in one year, will be able to feel nothing but admiration for the immensity of the present cultural activity.

Is it because of the slight transgressions of the Russian Revolution against humanity, is it because of the lack of highmindedness on the part of the Russian workmen toward their conquered class enemies, that the imperialists of Europe and America are taking the field against Revolutionary Russia? No, the case is not so beautiful or so idealistic as the papers of Europe, France, America and Japan represent it. The matter is much simpler. The imperialists of the three continents fear the operation of the new influences which may hinder the fortifying of political conditions and institutions that can strengthen their power over the wills of the people; conditions, in consequence of which a small minority disposes of the wills and lives of the majority, that minority which evoked the senseless, bloody battles.

One would think that all sensible and honorable men must see clearly the hypocrisy and the stupidity of the foundations of the capitalist system. It seems as if this were the time to convince all honorable and thoughtful men that capitalism has lost its constructive force and is a relic of the past, is a hindrance to the development of world culture, that it calls forth enmity between individuals, families, classes and nations and that the beautiful dream of the great brotherhood of nations cannot be accomplished as long as the irreconcilable struggle between labor and capital still survives. I do not deny the services of capital to the working portion of humanity, out of the flesh and blood of which it created the bases for a transition into a new, perfect and just order of society by means of Socialism. But now that the damnable war has disclosed the complete shabbiness, inhumanity and cynicism of the old system, now, its death sentence has been pronounced.

We, Russians, a people without traditions and on that account bolder, more rebellious and less bound by the prejudices of the past, we have been the first to tread the path which leads to the destruction of the outworn conditions of capitalist society, and we are convinced that we have a claim on the help and sympathy of the proletariat, of the entire world, and also of those, who, even before the war, criticized sharply the present conditions of society.

If this criticism was honest, then all honorable men in Europe and America must recognize our right to shape our destiny in the manner we think necessary. If any of the intellectual workers take a true interest in the solving of the great social problem, they must protest against those who strive for the re-establishment of the old regime, who wish to destroy the Russian revolution by the shedding of Russian blood, to subject Russia to their rule in order later to exploit it as they exploited Turkey and other countries, and as they are now preparing to exploit Germany. This is the true wish of the imperialists. This is their sacred task.

The leader of the campaign against Russia is Woodrow Wilson. The torch of the Russian Revolution which throws its light over the entire world, is held firmly by the hand of Lenin. The proletariat and the intellectuals will choose which one represents their interests most nearly, the representative of the outworn, life-destroying minority rule, or the leader and teacher of new social ideals and emotions, who is the embodiment of the beautiful ideals of the workers — of freedom of labor among all peoples. . . .

Existing under the menace of conquest by the robbers, they proclaim to the workers and to honorable men in all the world: Follow us to a new life, for the creation of which we are working without sparing ourselves or anything or anyone else. For this we are working, erring and suffering with the eager hope of success, leaving to the just decision of history all our acts. Follow us in our struggle against the old order, in the work for a new form of life, for the freedom and beauty of life.

(Issue of June, 1919, page 3.)

THE INTERNATIONAL CLASS STRUGGLE

In this ultimate exposure of the piratical purpose at the heart of the war for democracy, how happy are all the revolutionists who oppose it — and how humbly penitent, if they ever failed or faltered for a moment in loyalty to the great truth that it was entrusted to them to know! Let there be no more failure and

no more faltering. These imperialistic pirates who have ripped open and mutilated the wounded body of the German nation after surrender, are at the same time engaged in the cold-blooded murder by starvation of hundreds of thousands of men and women and little children in the towns and cities of European Russia. They are starving them because that is the only way they can prevent the truth that has been demonstrated in Russia from becoming known to the whole world. And while they are starving them, they are supplying arms and ammunition and soldiers to the few remaining minions of the Czar and of Big Business to shoot them down. And they are raiding and slaughtering the people of Hungary in the same deliberate manner and for the same desperate purpose. Remember with what horror we read only a year ago that the Germans were "closing in on Petrograd" and "plunging toward Moscow" in violation of an armistice and of the rights of a defenseless nation? Remember how these Germans were played up in the papers as dishonorable robbers and butchers of men, until even some of us Socialists who ought to have known better, were almost ready to enlist against them under the colors of the Allies? And now in the same columns of the same papers we read that the Allies are "closing in on Hungary," the Allies are "plunging toward Budapest," in violation of an armistice and of the rights of a defenseless nation. Do we have to be instructed that the Allied governments, too, are dishonorable robbers and butchers of men? It is all very plain now even to the mind of a child. The war for democracy, the war that we who love the people of the world and care about their peace and freedom and happiness, have to wage, is the war between the Communist International and the League of Imperialist Nations. The line is so clearly and fearfully drawn that there can be no doubt and no confusion in the heart of any Socialist any longer.

We cannot treat with these, the murderers of our comrades. We cannot send delegates to them to plead and persuade, to beg for amnesties for our prisoners, to pray for the incorporation of social reform measures in the constitution of their League of Nations, as the Berne Conference did. It is time for all pleading and appealing and associating ourselves with these governments to cease. It is time for us, in every act of our organization and in every word from our press and our platforms, to wage the class war against them.

That is the reason why the entire Socialist Party of Italy, through its executive committee, has withdrawn from the old

international which organized the Berne Conference of Social Patriots, and affiliated itself with the Third International summoned by the Soviet government in Moscow.

That is the reason why the Socialist Party of Switzerland, although the Berne Conference was held in their own capital, refused to send delegates to that conference.

That is why the Socialist parties of Serbia, Roumania, Denmark and Norway refused to send delegates to that conference.

That is why Loriot, the spokesman of the Left Wing of the French movement, denounced the conference, saying:

> "You have come together not for the purpose of finding a Socialist solution for the tragic problems that have followed in the wake of this greatest of all capitalist crimes, but for the purpose of finding some sort of justification for the governmental, nationalistic, chauvinistic neo-war-Socialism that flourished upon the ruins of the Socialist movement after the outbreak of the war.
>
> "You are here, not in order to give expression to your determination to fulfill your Socialist ideals, but in order to document the agreement of the International with the policies of Wilson, the representative of American multi-millionaires.
>
> "You have met, finally, and above all, to condemn the tremendous struggle for freedom that is spreading out from Russia all over Western Europe. . . ."

That is why the Socialists of the Left Wing in almost every other country have their own organization and their own spokesmen and their own press, through which they have repudiated the Berne Congress and the old international which organized it.

And that is why at last, even in the United States, we have a Left Wing, with its own organization, and its own spokesmen, and it own press. We know that the international class struggle is being fought to a finish in Europe, with all the weapons and forces of propaganda that are available on either side. There is no middle ground left. Every thinking man and woman there is either for the revolution or against it. And every one here too. And we are for it, and we cannot tolerate the silence of the official party in this the most critical hour in all the history of the revolutionary hopes of mankind.

(Issue of June, 1919, pages 5 and 6.)

LENIN THE COMMUNIST

Hero-worship of Lenin is a very different thing from revolutionary Socialism. And yet Lenin is in the position of leadership, and he not only leads, but in his mind and character he *typifies* the proletarian revolution — its scientific spirit, its abandonment of ideologies and stage-eloquence, its inflexible will, its simplicity, and courage, and generosity, and consecration. Therefore a slander against Lenin is an offense to all revolutionists, and it is surprising to find such a slander in "Pearson's Magazine." Frank Harris is not a scientific Socialist, but he is a good literary rebel, and he is enough the man of the world to know that this exceeding prig and little political Oscar Wilde portrayed in his May issue as "Lenin the Aristocrat," could not by any caprice of destiny have become the leader of a proletarian revolution.

(Issue of June, 1919, page 8.)

(Editorials)

The final act of revolution in Hungary, establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat, was accomplished without the killing or wounding of a single man or woman. It was a judicious surrender by the ruling class in the face of superior power. Some of us had hoped that when half the world was communist, such events might happen in the remaining half. That they should begin so soon is a higher tribute to the success of Russia's experiment than our imaginations had dared to pay.

Socialists who understand the underlying forces which made the Hungarian revolution inevitable, may be excused for smiling at the reports from Paris that it was due to a misunderstanding of the Allied peace terms! It was due to a contradiction in the very nature of our economic system, a contradiction will give rise to similar revolutions or attempts at revolution, in every capitalist country, at every grave economic crisis that shall arise, until the new system is established throughout the world.

(Issue of May, 1919, Vol. 2, No. 5, Serial No. 15.)

THE INVINCIBLE I. W. W.

Sometimes the look of a man or a place is more significant than a lot of statistical information. And the statistics about the number of I. W. W. members who have been arrested, and the

months of their imprisonment, seem to me to be rather beside the point, since I went into the I. W. W. headquarters the other day and talked to some of the men just released from Ellis Island. I had gone in there looking for the victims of our latest form of governmental tyranny. The statistics of their suffering seemed to me important. But I didn't find any victims. Nothing like it! I never hope to see anything less like victims than that crowd there. They had suffered, it is true — suffered all that flesh and blood can suffer from the brutality of an infuriated employing class. But they were not beaten men. They were men who could never be beaten. They were not a sorry crowd of persecuted unfortunates, just released by a lucky chance from prison and the doom of exile, and left stranded without money or decent clothes a thousand miles from home. They were something else and something very distinctly not to be pitied. They were, somehow, the winners — not the losers, of the late unpleasantness; not because they had got released from Ellis Island and were not going to be deported — that didn't matter at all. No, they were part of an organization that whether here in New York, or there on Ellis Island, or back in the filthy jails of the Northwest, or in the lumber camps and cities from which they came, was pushing the enemy back further and further every day. They were part of a great army which didn't retreat — which could fight in a prison as well as in a forest or a town, and in England or Sweden or Russia or Scotland as well as here, and which never stopped fighting. These men carried with them, wore visibly, the sense of that invisible internationalism. These that I saw were simply a company of skirmishers, victorious skirmishers — resting, talking quietly of the next day's work, and thinking of the Big Push to come. . . .

The headquarters of the I. W. W. at 27 East Fourth street is a big bare room, severe as an early New England church. A blackboard on the wall set forth in neat white lettering like a text the declaration of the I. W. W. preamble: "*The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life. Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system. . . .*" — and the announcement of a

Sunday morning meeting. Seated over by a window was an old but rugged man, reading. He read, not as the tired clerk reads his newspaper in the subway, or as a tramp reads in the public library on cold days, but as a student reads: the book he was reading was a volume on economics by Professor Ely. He was a lumberjack, and one of the released deportees. Another came in, young and ruddy, a miner; he had been picked up in Colorado and had joined the "Red Special" at Chicago. The others, who came in one by one, were mostly from the lumber industry. And they all had about them a pioneer quality — the hard-handed, kindly, confident, quiet strength of those who are accustomed daily to put muscle and guts and everlasting patience into the job of conquering the wilderness. They are what one thinks of as "American" at its best — what that word meant while it still meant something, and when America took her fame from the free strength of her westward-cutting frontier edge. These were men of that stamp — not the sort of men who would sink without a protest into the slavery of capitalism, believing what they were taught and trying to be respectable. They were the other sort — workingmen and fighters, proud of their class, loyal to its interests, ready to look the boss in the eye and tell him to go to hell. But they had been ignorant of two things — just what was wrong, and just how to go about it to set it right. They learned these two things from the I. W. W. And then, in the lumber camps of the Northwest, as in every place where these teachings have reached, there was a new kind of strike. Floyd Dell.

(Issue of May, 1919, Vol. 2, No. 5, Serial No. 15.)

ROBERT MINOR IN RUSSIA

In reply to an editorial of ours we have received many interesting letters about Robert Minor and about anarchism — including a very lovely one from Emma Goldman, which we mean to publish in the near future. More important than all these letters at the moment, however, are Minor's own words in personal correspondence with a friend in this country. We have read more than we publish, and on the basis of what we have read, we urge his friends to form no opinion at present of the motives which actuated his cablegrams to the American press.

(Issue of May, 1919, Vol. 2, No. 5, Serial No. 15.)

WHAT ARE YOU DOING OUT THERE?

This magazine goes to two classes of readers; those who are in jail, and those who are out. This particular article is intended for the latter class. It is intended for those who wish to prove themselves friends of American freedom rather than those who have had it proved against them.

The relation between these two classes of people is embarrassingly like that in the old anecdote about Emerson and Thoreau. Thoreau refused to obey some law which he considered unjust, and was sent to jail. Emerson went to visit him, "What are you doing in here, Henry?" asked Emerson. "What are you doing out there?" returned Thoreau grimly.

That is what the people who have gone to prison for the ideas in which we believe seem to be asking us now.

And the only self-respecting answer which we can give this grim, silent challenge, is this: "We are working to get you out!"

That is our excuse, and we must see that it is a true one. We are voices to speak up for those whose voice has been silenced.

There are some silences that are more eloquent than speech. The newspapers were forbidden to print what 'Gene Debs said in court; but his silence echoes around the earth in the heart of workingmen. They *know* what he was not allowed to tell them; and they feel that it is true.

It would be wrong to think of this as an opportunity to do something for Debs; it is rather our opportunity to make ourselves worthy of what he has done for us.

There is nothing more important before the friends of American freedom at this moment than the task of effecting the release of the political prisoners who have been sent to jail during the war. . . .

It is hard to speak of these men without paying them the tribute of admiration which such conduct as theirs must necessarily arouse in any lover of heroism. During the war the expression of such admiration laid one open to an indictment under the Espionage Act; for the bureaucratic mind, which cannot understand heroism, is incapable of realizing that such courage cannot be created by pamphlets or speeches any more than it can be destroyed by curses and kicks. But if hearing the story of the conscientious objectors will not make the public feel disposed to emulate their conduct, it will nevertheless arouse in that public

a just anger against the government which subjects them to such treatment; for though few of us have the stuff of martyrdom in our souls, we all have a sense of fair play. The whole story of the treatment of conscientious objectors is one which the government might well wish, for its own sake, to be left untold; and our bureaucracy will, if it is wise, see that the scandal is obliterated before it receives too much publicity. FLOYD DELL.

(Issue of January, 1919, Vol. 1, No. 11.

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22. THE MARXIAN

Published by Marx Institute at 469 Schenck Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Business Manager: Harry Fish.

AIM OF "THE MARXIAN"

As the name of this magazine implies, its primary purpose will be to spread among the working class a deep, fundamental and comprehensive knowledge of Socialism as understood and taught by Marx. In the universe light is latent everywhere, yet it requires a sun to manifest that light on a great scale. Likewise, in society light is latent everywhere, yet it requires a Marx to manifest that light on a great scale. The class struggle assumed historic significance, and the course of social evolution became apparent, and the working class came into ever greater power, only then when Marx shed the light of a master mind on the inner mechanism of social life. And it is this light which the working class need in their onward march towards their historic goal. It is the aim of "The Marxian" to foster in the working class a desire and to cultivate in them a capacity to seek after such knowledge and to understand it thoroughly, so that the members of the working class should not need to look into the mouth of self-styled Marxists or reputed leaders in the Socialist movement for light and knowledge, as they were compelled to do until now. It will be the aim of this magazine to make the members of the working class competent enough to read and understand the truths and the principles of socialism and to judge of them in the light of our greater master minds.

23. THE SOCIALIST REVIEW

Published at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, by the Intercollegiate Socialistic Society.

Editor: Harry W. Laidler; Managing Editor: W. Harris Crook.

SEEING RED

"Up to January 14, 1920, some five thousand 'Reds' have been 'corralled' or 'rounded up' by the Department of Justice, while at least two thousand more were still due for arrest before the end of June, according to the announcement before the House Appropriations Committee of Commissioner of Immigration Caminetti when pleading for a fund of one million dollars to continue this campaign." (Evening "Sun," January 14.)

Since our December issue went to press the apparent attack upon radicals of various types has developed considerably. The time-honored baiting of the I. W. W., now seemingly a fully licensed process for the spare time of local and federal officials, has been extended to "reds" of the Emma Goldman type, as witness the "Soviet Ark:" from there to a wholesale nation-wide sweep for members and leaders of the Communist and Communist Labor parties, and finally the Albany attack upon the parent body itself, the Socialist Party. . . .

THE NEW YEAR RAIDS

Further raids on a larger scale than ever and nation-wide in character occurred early in the New Year. The majority were Federal in their inception, though one or two cities, notably Chicago, stole a march on the Federal authorities and organized a hunt of their own on a state basis. This time the varied membership of two political groups was the main quarry. "There is no pretense that the few thousand victims of the round-up had counselled crime or instigated violence. The men and women who were arrested were charged simply and solely with being members of the Communist or Communist Labor parties. Adherence to the platform of these parties, publicly adopted in open convention a few months ago, was deemed sufficient to warrant deportation and imprisonment." ("New Republic," January 14.) The general accusation against these two parties is that they advocate the overthrow of the existing form of government by force and *violence*. Coupled with this charge is that of being

anarchists, disbelievers in any organized government, a sign of loose thinking on the part of those who make the charge.

In point of fact the Communist Party declared its purpose to be "the education and organization of the working class for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which will lead to the abolition of the capitalist system and the establishment of the Communist society." The same party defines "*revolutionary* industrial unionism"—a phrase seized upon everywhere as proving their belief in *violence*—as the training, disciplining, and equipping of the proletariat for the complete control and management, operation, and administration of industry by the workers themselves." Louis Fraina, a prominent member of the Communist Party, declares point blank, "the proletarian revolution is not fostered by *violence*, but it makes use of industrial power and organized force." ("Revolutionary Socialism," p. 336.) Any students of Prof. John Dewey of Columbia will hardly require this explanation of the very important distinction between the use of *force*, economic or industrial (such as a "folded arms" strike), and a resort to violence (such as the French Revolution), yet the statements from our leading officials and editors confuse the issue in precisely this manner.

Similarly the Communist Labor Party defines its ultimate aim as "the creation of an industrial republic wherein the machinery of production shall be socialized so as to guarantee to the workers the full social value of the product of their toil." (Italics ours). It is interesting in this connection to recall Charles M. Schwab's reputed remark that "nothing creates value but labor." (New York "Times," January 6.)

Finally the most hunted and detested of organizations, the Industrial Workers of the World, at the close of a long editorial on the Centralia tragedy in which the suppressed facts of the case are stated, declares:

"Members of the working class: rally to the defense of the I. W. W. Adequate legal defense must and shall be provided for every imprisoned member of the I. W. W. Organize, organize! *Peaceable*, economic, direct action will yet triumph over the direct, brutal, physical violence of the capitalist class!" ("New Solidarity," November 25.)

(Issued in February, 1920, pp. 151, 152, 153.)

The Socialist Review will not be the first journal to recognize them, the signs of coming times. Honored comrades precede it. But it will differ from the "Survey," for it will leave on one side the praiseworthy philanthropic work of social salvage which is the primary concern of that brave organ. It will differ from the "Liberator," for while it flies the Red Flag as dauntlessly as they, alongside of Old Glory, it sees larger and more varied groups gathered under that glowing protection. It differs from the "New Republic," for it is not liberal but radical, from the "World Tomorrow," for the stress is secular, from the "Nation," for it is concerned less with showing how rotten things are than with noting the new life springing everywhere from the muck. It differs from all of these; to each and all it owes a debt, but it claims a place among them as being akin and yet distinct.

From the highland of communal vision the "Review" will present month by month a fresh, a co-ordinated survey of the advance of the workers of the world to power; careful, as true internationalists, to report progress all over the earth.

(Issued in December, 1919, page 48, 49.)

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24. RAND SCHOOL NEWS

This is the official bulletin of the Rand School of Social Science, and published at 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

We reprint herewith an article on page 4 of the June, 1919, issue which appears to be the valedictory address of a pupil of the school, named Oscar Edelman.

VALEDICTORY

By OSCAR EDELMAN

Tonight we meet for the last time as Full Time Students of the Rand School. The happy days we have spent together during the past six months will never come back.

But, comrades, let us not be sad at parting for we have before us the most inspiring task of history. We are living in an age of social changes, of great transformations. Tonight as we are gathered here to say good-bye, our comrades in Europe are working against great odds, trying to establish Industrial Democracy. For half a century, the workers of Europe have been hard at work

in their labor organizations: represented on the political field by the Socialist Party, on the economic field by their labor unions. For half a century the message of class consciousness and class solidarity had been preached to the workers of Europe. And the workers of Europe responded to the clarion call of Karl Marx, "Workers of the world, unite!" In Germany, France, England, Italy, Russia, and Austria-Hungary, there arose the most powerful political movement that the world had ever seen. Lasalle, Bebel, and Wm. Liebknecht in Germany; Lafargue, Guesde and Jaures in France; Hyndman and Kier Hardie in England; Ferri and Turati in Italy; Plechanoff in Russia; Victor Adler in Austria; these and many others gave their lives to the movement of the proletariat.

The World War

Then in August, 1914, came the great World War. Before the onrush of war hysteria the organizations of labor were helpless for the time being. Under the pretense of "National defense" the workers of each country were led to the slaughter. For several years the great struggle raged. The world seemed to have gone mad, when in March 1917, came the glorious news of the Russian revolution. Under the inspiration of the Russian revolution, the workers in other countries began to break loose from the fetters of social patriotism. As conditions changed, a new leadership came into existence; in Russia, Lenin and Trotzky; in Germany, Karl Lieb of the Spartacans, Ledebour and Haase of the Independents; in France, Longuet and Loriot; in Italy, Labriola and Serrati; in England, Macdonald, Snowden and McLean; in Austria, Fritz Adler; and in Hungary, Bela Kun. The second anniversary of the Russian revolution found the Kaiser of Germany in exile, and the Soviet Republic in Hungary.

In America

And now let us look to America, our own country. For many years American statesmen watched the growing tide of Socialism on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. They said that Socialism was a specific European product which could never take root in American soil. For a long time this seemed to be true. The first representatives of modern Socialism in America were the German exiles who were forced to leave Germany after the revolution of 1848. Their agitation failed to bring results because the industries of the country were undeveloped.

A little more than a generation ago, agriculture was still the main industry of the country. Land was cheap and easy to acquire. Those in the East who were dissatisfied could take the advice of Horace Greeley, who said: "Young man, go West."

Today, however, the American frontier is closed. We have become an industrial nation. Within recent years, capitalism has become firmly established in the United States. The economic background for a real labor movement is here. The America of yesterday, a country of comparatively free and independent producers, has given way to the America of today, a land where capital is more firmly intrenched, than in any European country.

OUR TASK

In America, we have a longer road to travel, greater obstacles to overcome. Because of historical conditions, the labor movement in America is conservative and more backward than the labor movement of Europe. For us, as students, Socialists and labor unionists our work is laid out. We must help educate the workers of America so that their slogan, "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work" be replaced by the revolutionary slogan, "abolition of the wage system." We must teach them the true meaning of Internationalism and Industrial Democracy. We must help our fellow-workers to see the vision of a new social order.

We see today, that one of the greatest handicaps to our Russian comrades is the weakness of the American labor movement and the strength of American capitalism. We are seeing more clearly than ever before, that the workers of one country cannot emancipate themselves without the support and co-operation of the workers in other countries.

In the great world-wide struggle which is taking place today, we must take active part. We must not fail, we must not falter. The ideals which inspired Marx and Engels, Bebel and Lassalle, the ideals which today inspire Debs and Lenin, are the ideals which inspire us — the ideals of International Socialism. Long live International Socialism! Long live the Socialist Party of America! Long live the educational work of our movement and the Rand School of Social Science!

(June, 1919, Vol. II, No. 4.)

25. NAYE WELT

Published at 175 E. Broadway, New York City, by Jewish Socialist Federation.

Editors: Jacob B. Salusky, Dr. B. Hoffman and Maurice Vagin.

Weekly circulation about 6,000.

In connection with this publication there have been published various booklets, among them one entitled "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat" by Hall Rogoff, from which we quote the following:

Paragraph 1, page 7, under chapter titled, "The defenders of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

"History teaches us, that through evolution, through natural developments alone, no ruling class in society has yet ever been deposed from its power. The feudal aristocracy which lost its importance in society in the eighteenth century, did not surrender its position good naturedly. It defended its position by force, with lead and iron. Workingmen cannot depend on '*peaceful* evolution;' they must prepare for a revolution, and class-dictatorship."

Paragraph 3, same page:

"Socialism does not believe in the State. It wants to annihilate it entirely."

Page 8, same chapter:

"The Socialist movement rouses the workingmen to revolution, it preaches to them class struggle, awakens within them class consciousness, makes all necessary preparations for a Socialistic order. When society is ready for the overturn, when the Socialist organization feels that the moment has come, it will make the revolution. To prescribe when and how this should be done, is impossible. This is a thing which must be determined separately in every country, because the circumstances in every country are different. No sooner than the revolution is made, however, the first aim of the Socialists must be to seize the government, the state, by whatever means they can succeed in doing this with and then their rule must establish the dictatorship of the Proletariat.

"This dictatorship will be employed for one thing, to eliminate capitalism by force, take away by force the capital from private owners and transfer it to the ownership of the community. After this work is finished, there will remain nothing more for the dictatorship, for the PROLETARIAT STATE to do. The industries will then be managed by the workingmen, through their Soviets. The economic order will be carried out through the Soviets. Until now the State had a function, a task, to defend the ruling class against the oppressed classes. But now, when private ownership is entirely eliminated, the oppressed class, the bourgeoisie, whom the dictatorship of the proletariat will dominate, will entirely disappear, then what is the State needed for? There will then be no more State, no more dictatorship. There will be only a Communist order, which will be managed by the workingmen themselves, that is, by all the inhabitants of the country, through Soviets, or through some other similar system."

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26. THE COMMONWEALTH

The last number of which appeared in August, 1919, was published at 17 East 15th Street, New York City, the Rand School of Social Science Building, by Henry Jaeger, General Manager of the Paper Box Makers' Union. Its circulation was 7,000 monthly, according to the testimony of Mr. Jaeger.

VENGEANCE

By KATE RICHARDS O'HARE

For 1,000 years society has pinned its faith on vengeance, and the world is full of prisons, burdened by courts, hampered and cursed by the blind stupidity of legal procedure, harassed by the ignorance, wilfulness and maliciousness of judges, and bedeviled by the odious tribe of parasites called lawyers. And every prison is full and every judge is busy grinding out social vengeance, and crime is ever on the increase. Now it has become a crime to have an opinion, in the United States, and the judges are working overtime sending us to prison because we have ideas and ideals, and prisons will be just as effective in curing ideas and crushing ideals as in curing crime! I know! I have eaten prison bread, slept in a prison cell, slaved at a prison sewing machine, and my ideas are clearer and firmer than ever, and the prison-fanned

flame of my ideals burns with a glow that passes through stone walls, travels over land and sea, and kindles the flame of social reconstruction in the hearts of men and women I have never seen.

(From Vol. 1, August, 1919, No. 5.)

DEBS

By HENRY JAEGER

Eugene V. Debs was found guilty and sentenced to ten years imprisonment. He was found guilty by an American jury and by an American judge, yet somehow the American people do not share that view. They cannot believe that Eugene V. Debs is actually guilty. Somehow or other the Constitution insists on still using the phrase, "unabridged freedom of speech," and between Debs and the Constitution on the one side, and the jury and the judge on the other, our American plain folks stand divided.

. . . . . .

Some nineteen hundred years ago a Carpenter denounced the practices and the injustices of his time. He was crucified.

We can see him writhe in the agony of pain, we can see the red blood-drops dripping from his body, we can see his cheeks becoming pale and we can see his eyes growing dull. Life itself seems to be vanishing. The Carpenter is dead.

We can see a handful of people gathering in an obscure corner of the world beginning to discuss the philosophy of the Carpenter. We can see more and more people entering into the discussion until to-day the whole world is interested in the humble words of the humble Carpenter that was crucified. The Carpenter is dead, but his teachings were never crucified. . . .

Debs, they may send you to prison. You may die a martyr for the cause you so nobly espouse. They may torture your body, they may persecute your being, but your principle they can never imprison. As long as men will go hungry, as long as children will be in need of clothes, as long as want and poverty shall prevail, so long will the spirit of Eugene V. Debs unite mankind with an ever greater zeal in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. . . .

Debs, you dared when others failed, you spoke when others were silent, you marched on when others shrunk. You are indeed the standard bearer of the revolutionary forces of America.

In the hearts of the American people the name of Eugene V. Debs shall be indelibly printed, and whenever and wherever uttered it will add as a stimulant in the great work of the abolition of all class rule. . . .

Debs, we talk of democracy and send you to prison; we boast of free speech and demand that you be silent; we sing of liberty and deprive you of your freedom, and this we call civilization. . . .

These are the days of rapid action and quick changes. These are the days that battle the greatest minds. In these days the strongest Czar becomes the playtoy of the people, the most vigorous kaisers flee in fear of bodily harm.

The prisoner Lenin replaces the Czar of Russia and the Socialists of Hungary replace its emperor. These are the times when the idol of to-day becomes the outcast of to-morrow, and the prisoner of to-day becomes the leader of to-morrow.

Let destiny inscribe your name and give you a fitting place, and all humanity will truly love you as some of us do now, and will think of you as our beloved Eugene V. Debs.

(From the April-May Issue, Vol. 1, No. 2 and 3.)

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27. THE ARBITRATOR

Office of Publication: P. O. Box 42 Wall Street Station, New York City. Issued monthly through the Free Religious Association of America in the interest of progressive thought and social advance.

INTERVENTION TRAGIC FARCE

They (the Soviets) are propagandists; day and night they agitate, they preach and they print — and for some reason, the more loudly we proclaim that their propaganda is false, the more deeply we seem to dread its success! Since when have we lost our faith in the might of truth? Since when have we decided that the error must be fought with bullet and machine-guns? Surely there must be some dark secret here, some skeleton in our family closet.

BOLSHEVISM BIG STRIKE

The truth is that we have seen in Russia a gigantic strike, an I. W. W. strike, if you please; and it was successful. The workers have seized the factories, and now we call for the militia to

drive them out. The very existence of capitalism depends upon their being driven out; as the phrase is, "they must be made an example of." But we foresee that it will mean bitter fighting, it will take half a million soldiers and a year's campaign; and suddenly we find that we cannot count upon our soldiers! Canadian troops mutiny at Vancouver and refuse to go to Siberia, and the censor suppresses the news! British troops mutiny at Folkestone and refuse to go to Archangel, and the censor suppresses the news! French troops — the censor has succeeded in France, so we don't know what the French troops did. But this much we know, the governments are giving up their plan to put down the great strike by force, and are falling back on a campaign of starvation, combined with propaganda to protect the people at home against the Bolshevist idea.

(On page 5 issue of June, 1919, Vol. 2, No. 1.)

On page 7 we find an article entitled "Real Dangers in Bolshevism and How to Help Russia," by Jerome Davis, Manager of the Y. M. C. A. in Russia, as follows:

"From the first day of that revolution the Soviets were the real power back of the government. It would have been almost impossible to do Y. M. C. A. work without their co-operation. The soldiers everywhere believed in their Soviets. Had Kerensky given all power to them, he might have remained in control. The people cared little for the form of government. The peasants wanted land, the soldiers peace, and the workmen control of their factories and more bread. The Bolsheviks won because they appealed to the ignorant masses with the popular slogan, 'Land, Bread and Peace.' Bolshevism is simply Socialism applied in a country where 80 per cent. of the people are illiterate. It is a natural product of the oppression and injustice of the Czar's regime. No American can say that if he had been brought up amid that terrible social injustice, he would not now be a Bolshevist. Hundreds of honest Russian soldiers have joined the party from sincere and idealistic motives.

"Get clearly in your mind the difference between the Soviet and the Bolsheviks. The Soviet is a form of government while the Bolsheviks are a party. To-day the Bolsheviks are in control of the machinery, but they may not be to-morrow or the next year.

From July, 1917, until I left Soviet Russia in September, 1918, I had charge of all the government relations for the Y. M. C. A. and so came to know the conditions and the leaders in the successive governments. I think the article by Upton Sinclair is the fairest statement about Russia I have read from a Socialist. Yet I feel that the American people should know some of the real weaknesses in Bolshevism, not the false propaganda so prevalent."

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28. THE FORWARD

Office of Publication: 175 East Broadway, New York City.

Editor: Victor Abraham Talman; Manager: B. Charney Vladeck.
Daily circulation: 161,000.

The following is taken from the issue of December 15, 1919, page 1, columns 4 and 5:

PUBLIC SCHOOL CHILDREN WILL BE OBLIGED TO SWEAR THAT THEY ARE TRUE TO AMERICA

"To strengthen partriotism, and in order that no revolutionary spirit, God forbid, might permeate the small children of the public schools, the board of education decided upon a patriotic demonstration that all children must take oath of loyalty and devotion to the fatherland. One of the points of the oath is to obligate oneself to fight against all revolutionary movements, like Bolshevism, Anarchism, I. W. W.'ism and others who are against the government."

Same issue, page 4, editorial entitled "The Technical War Condition in America:"

"A resolution was introduced in Congress which demands that once and for all the war should be declared as ended. The resolution proves that in fact the war ended over a year ago and due to the technical reason that peace was not ratified by the senate we are theoretically at war with Germany. It demands, therefore, that this contradiction should be settled by a declaration of Congress.

"Accompanying this report on this resolution advice comes from Washington that this resolution is supported but by very few representatives, and it is almost certain that it will not be accepted.

"The reason the majority of Congressmen agree on this resolution is easy to understand. They know fully well that the biggest

sufferers of the technical war condition in the country are mostly the radicals, the workingmen, the big masses. The capitalists, the wealthy, the business people, suffers but little from it.

"Technically we are still at war with Germany, yet this does not prevent the big business men of America to negotiate with Germany about business. This does not prevent the big bankers of America to negotiate about loans with the countries of the former foe. They are allowed to do this because in fact the war is ended.

"But not so do they treat the affairs that concern workmen and radicals. Because the country is technically at war with Germany an injunction was issued against the mine strikers. While we are still technically at war the espionage act remains in force, and the foreign language newspapers that have no special permit must make translations of their articles, and when a radical lets slip off too strong a word, he stands in danger of being sent to prison for twenty years.

"Because we are technically at war there are several liberties in relation to speaking and writing still limited, and it is understood that the limitations are not for the conservatives, but for the radicals. The conservatives have in the midst of the conflagration of the war chosen to overstep the law and make bitter attacks on Wilson, and they never touched them.

"Here is the real reason why Congress doesn't concern itself if the technical war condition remains. The classes whom they represent do not suffer from it anyway, and the classes who do suffer therefrom have, unfortunately, no representatives in Congress."

Issue of December 17, 1919, page 6, last part of editorial entitled "Coal Strike Ended, What Next?":

"The time has gone by when you can turn the head (or pull the wool over the eyes) of organized labor with arbitration courts, conciliations, and the dependence on the good sentiments of persons, etc. Organized workmen in America know their might and understand how to use it. They know that the aim must be to procure everything that they produce, and that to arrive at this goal they must strive through lawful, political means to secure a voice in industry itself.

"The old remedies of the capitalistic politicians will no longer work. In these new times new radical remedies will have to be

applied which will be worked out by the new doctors in our sick society — the radical leaders of all branches of the workers' movement."

Issue of December 16, 1919, page 1, headlines: "Kolchak Gives Away Enormous Portions of Siberia to Japan."

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29. VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS

Office of Publication: 12 Mt. Morris Park, West, New York City.
Editor and Publisher: Wm. J. Robinson.

Monthly Publication: Circulation between six and seven thousand; not self-supporting.

THE MEANEST FEATURE OF THE ESPIONAGE ACT

The civilized world has not seen anything more brutal, more lawless, more autocratic, more licentious than the gag law known as the Espionage Act. This act, the real purpose of which was not to catch spies — for there are other laws to deal with spies, and, as a matter of fact, not a single spy was caught by that law — but to strangle free speech and free press, has been characterized as it deserves to be by every genuine liberal and radical in the country.

But there is one feature that all critics have overlooked. And I consider that the meanest, the dirtiest, the most damnably cunning feature of the law. I refer to its name: "*Espionage Act.*" The purpose of giving the act such a name was distinctly to besmirch and to throw suspicion on everybody who dared to tell the truth or who ventured to express disagreement with the war or its methods of conduct. There are many people who, while not hesitating to express their opinion about the war or its conduct and even willing to suffer for the truth, would recoil from anything savoring of espionage and would feel horrified to be suspected of any spy activities. And the framers of the law, with devilish cunning, knew that, and they deliberately gave the act such an unsavory name.

And so it was that when anybody said that the profiteers wanted the war to go on, he was accused of "espionage." Now, what has such a statement got to do with espionage? If anybody said that the Germans were human beings and that some of the atrocities reported about them were manufactured in the news-

paper offices, he was accused of "espionage." If one said that conscription might be a practical necessity, but that it was nevertheless morally a crime, he was accused of "espionage." If one protested against the brutal treatment of conscientious objectors he was accused of "espionage."

HUNGARY AND POLAND

Read what wonderful things are being done in Hungary. See how its Soviet government is doing its utmost to destroy chauvinism, to establish peace and harmony, and to inculcate love for all nations. Even in the schools the jingoistic teaching of history has been forbidden, and the pupils are taught that all nations and races are equal, and that one must love all humanity as we do ourselves. Now compare Hungary with the miserably chauvinistic government of Poland. See how racial hatred is fanned and fostered by its foul aristocracy and military junkers, and witness the tortures and bloodshed in which the brutalized people and army indulge. Compare the two countries. Are the Hungarians as a whole really more humane, more gentle, more civilized than the Poles? I don't know. Perhaps. To me it seems that the difference is only in the mode of government in the leaders. The leaders of a country and the mode of government do have an enormous effect on the behavior of a people. And it is all bosh to say that the people always have the kind of government they want. Very often the kind of government a people have is due to pure accident. Do the people want Kolchak? A handful of wretches want him. The people do not want him, and he would not last a week if he were not supported by treacherous England and the money-lusting French bourgeoisie.

Yes, compare Hungary with Poland. What a difference! All we can say is: Long live Soviet Hungary, and down with the reactionary, anti-semitic Polish government, the pet of Great Britain and France, with its medieval virtuoso premier, and its savage army.

IF

. . . . . .

If Clemenceau and Pichon, Lloyd George, Balfour and Northcliffe, Orlando and Sonnino, General Mannerheim and Pade-

rewski, Sazonoff, Kolchak and Denikin, Senators Overman, Nelson and King, Adolph S. Ochs and nine hundred editors-publishers of his ilk, Samuel Gompers and his reactionary crew, were tied in a bundle and gently deposited at the bottom of the sea, this would be an easier world to live in and the perplexing problems which are now confronting us would be more certain of a satisfactory and rapid solution.

And for good measure we would agree to throw in Ole Hanson, General Leonard Wood, Senator Lusk, Attorney-General Newton, W. J. Ghent, William English Walling, Archibald E. Stevenson, and even — but let him remain unnamed.

(Issued in August, 1919, page 8, inside and outside covers.)

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30. SOVIET RUSSIA

Place of Publication: 110 West 40th Street New York City.
Editor in Chief: Santeri Nuorteva.

Published by the Bureau of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.
Weekly circulation: From 12,000 to 30,000.

This publication is a propaganda organ for the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, and, according to the testimony of Nuorteva, it is running at a loss, the deficit being paid for by the Bureau.

The paper sells at 10 cents per copy.

Contains propaganda articles written by Lenin and Trotzky, and by various persons whose sympathies are with Soviet Russia.

THE WAR IN RUSSIA

(Strategical and Political Reflections)

By LIEUT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

The hysteria against Bolshevism that England has been spreading so ably, seems to have effected her more than any other country.

In a real paroxysm of madness, the British politicians began trying to persuade the world that in the near future the Red armies would sweep away all obstacles in Europe and Asia, and, like the famous hordes of Attila and Tamerlane, would invade the European and Asiatic countries.

And these wild imaginings of certain foolish politicians and half-baked military experts are introduced to the civilized world while the Soviet armies are only defending their own territory and victoriously clearing it of those who have laid a scheme to destroy the Russian Soviet Republic and to conquer the richest part of it.

On January 7th, in a letter to the London *Times*, Lord Sydenham, the great authority on eastern questions, dealing with the "Bolshevist danger," says: "I cannot help viewing the whole situation in the Far East with grave anxiety. In Europe, Bolshevism will ultimately exhaust itself. The terror cannot be indefinitely prolonged, as the French revolutionaries discovered, but Central Asia may remain for years a source of danger. If India escapes, Persia may become involved; Khorasan lies open to Bolshevist activities from Merv, while, if Lenin's agents can control the Caspian, the northern provinces will come under the curse."

Then the honorable lord expresses fears that Turkey and at last China may become Bolshevik states and finally the famous prophecy of the kaiser, with regard to the "Yellow Peril," may become a reality.

Therefore he calls the motto "Hands off Russia!" "a parrot cry of dupes who do not realize the terrible responsibility which they have incurred."

So, in order to prevent such a "disaster," it is Great Britain which must be allowed to conquer Russia, China, Afghanistan, Persia and Turkey; it is the army of the Allies that is to walk victoriously through the countries named, for the sake of democracy.

(Issue of January 31, 1920, Vol. II, No. 5.)

SOVIET RUSSIA WELCOMES REFUGEES

(Statement from the Russian Soviet Government Bureau)

January 27, 1920.

Mr. Martens today received a cablegram from Maxim Litvinoff, Assistant People's Commisar for Foreign Affairs, at Copenhagen, transmitting the following message from Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman in Petrograd to a friend in New York:

"We were met at the Soviet border and at Petrograd with tremendous enthusiasm. Our reception was inspiring.

Enjoying the hospitality of Petrograd, the deportees are quartered at Smolny Institute. They will be sent to work wherever they desire. The people here are cold and hungry but their spirit and devotion are marvelous. After two weeks we will go to Moscow."

(Issue of January 31, 1920, Vol. II, No. 5.)

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31. THE PROLETARIAN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE PROLETARIAN UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

Published at 174 Michigan Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

STORM CLOUDS GATHER

By DENNIS E. BATT

In the past it has been generally accepted that America was the one country wherein all men were the possessors of certain inalienable rights, where liberty, fraternity and equality ruled supreme. These ideas have been inoculated into our minds from infancy; press and platform and pulpit have extolled the inestimable benefits flowing from American institutions. We have been told times without end that the will of the people was at all times supreme; that the constitution guaranteed freedom of expression to all and provided ample means for any changes that the sovereign people might ordain, and that the congress was forbidden to pass any laws abridging the rights of free speech, free press and public assemblage.

But actual facts have shown that these fine words are but a snare and a delusion; liberty and equality have turned out to be a means whereby a powerful minority is enabled to oppress and dominate a majority. In the eyes of the ruling class the "sacred" constitution has about the standing of a Hun treaty. To the intelligent and conscious worker the boasted freedom has become but a sorry joke; the freedom of the press exists only so long as papers sing the song of industrial and financial overloads. Prison terms have effectively gagged those who raised their voices to protest the ravishing of the workers; the rights of free assemblage have vanished into thin air before the effective swinging of the policeman's club. The forces of oppression, in the control of the capitalist class, have been used to break any opposition to their

will. Any movement that threatened their right to rob and rule the workers has been branded as un-American, seditious, disloyal. Vituperation and slander has been heaped upon those who would not bow the head and bend the knee before the idols of capitalism. Playing upon the sentiments of the unthinking masses by painting horrible word-pictures of wild-eyed "Bolshevists" planning a regime of rapine and terror, the press has succeeded in dividing the workers into two hostile camps. Under the guise of patriotism mobs have set upon individuals and inflicted injuries which in many cases resulted in death. Headquarters and offices have been raided and wrecked; armed bands have dispersed meetings and so intimidated the workers that in many cities it is impossible to hold any meeting of a radical nature. All this has been condoned and often commended by the ribald press. Public officials, guardians of the public weal, have proven pliant tools of the capitalists.

To maintain the constitution and enforce law and order, lawlessness is encouraged; to vindicate the integrity of American institutions the country has been turned over to the gentle mercies of mob rule. Public meetings, free press and free speech have become dangerous to the welfare of the capitalist system and therefore must go.

(Issue of December, 1919, Vol. II, No. 8.)

In an article in the same issue at page 10 under the title "Sarfor Sesartus" by Dennis E. Batt we find the following:

"*We are quite ready to acknowledge that general unrest and strikes are grist for the mill of the revolutionary movement; but it is our task to organize this unrest and give it intelligence.* Unrest in itself will not accomplish the transition from capitalism to the co-operative commonwealth, or even transfer the control of society from the hands of the capitalists to that of the workers. We are a part of the working class and must work as a part of it, not as an intelligentzia which is leading the working class. Our task as workers who understand the nature of the struggle is to relay that understanding to the working class as a whole, and this cannot be done by concealing the mistakes of our activities."

(Issues of December, 1919.)

REVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL ACTION, THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM

(Fifth Instalment)

THE VALUE OF MASS ACTION

If mass action means the conscious efforts of the organized informed mass of revolutionary wage workers against the few oppressors, we are for it. The recent propaganda of "Mass Action," however, is based on the theory that the workers are ready for it. So far from the mass of the workers being revoluary, not even the membership of the various parties claiming to be Socialist is fit material for revolution.

"Mass Action" has been defined as something more than industrial unionism and strikes. We are told that industrial unionism can only reach the mass of the workers after the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is accomplished. Writing in the 'New International' (February, 1918), S. J. Rutgers said:

> "Industrial organization has its limits beyond which we cannot go at the given moment of our action. Large groups of workers will continue for a certain time to organize in craft unions and although we will tell them they are wrong and fight them, where injurious to our class, still they will be a factor in our revolutionary struggle for or against. . . . We are convinced that the technical development of the capitalist world makes conditions ripe for the Socialist Commonwealth at this very moment, that only our lack of power stands in the way of the realization of our hopes."

What is this mass action? How does it express itself?

Louis Fraina ("Revolutionary Socialism," P. 196) explains it as "the instinctive action of the proletariat, gradually developing more conscious and organized forms for certain purposes.—It is extra parliamentary in method, although political in purpose and result, may develop into and be itself developed by the parliamentary struggle."

It is then instinctive action which may develop into the parliamentary struggle. "Organizations," says Fraina, "have a tendency to become conservative" and he relies upon the workers "acting instinctively under pressure of events." Masses acting instinctively, however, are a poor reed to lean upon. Instinct

is blind. Unconscious action when unaccompanied by reasoning denotes a low mental state. Instinctively, mobs become war mad, break up meetings of Socialists and engage in all kinds of unintelligent conduct due to their little education and reasoning power. The intellectuals and capitalist orators know this and they can easily mislead the workers who act instinctively. What we are suffering from is the instinctive actions of the mass right down the history of the working class. Only when they are educated in Socialism and cease to act as instinctively as mules will the workers be ripe and ready for emancipation.

(Issue of October, 1919.)

ALL IN THE NAME OF LIBERTY

By DENNIS E. BATT

With a callousness and brutality unequalled in any other country (with the possible exception of Japan, our imperialistic ally in the struggle for world democracy), the government of this country has thrown into jail countless men and women of the organized labor and socialist movements. Hundreds upon hundreds of our fellow-workers have been summarily arrested, tried and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, there to suffer under the brutal treament of degenerate jailers. And for what? Simply because they refused to declare the class war suspended while the nations battled with one another.

Many of these men and women have committed no crime other than that of being members of labor organizations of one sort or another. Unrelentingly and to the best of their ability they have carried on the class struggle — and for this they now lie in jail. They are our Comrades; they have fallen in the struggle. Let us ever remember that we must carry on the fight they were forced to relinquish when they fell into the clutches of the powers that be.

The apologists and lick-spittles of the capitalist class endeavor to give the impression that these men and women are but common criminals who have been jailed for violations of the law of the land. But what are the laws which they have violated? Class legislation — measures designed to protect the interests of the capitalist class. Surely we have had evidence enough to bear out

the statement that the machinery of government is used almost exclusively in the interests of the exploiters of labor. One has but to review the history of the past two years to understand that.

Upon the entry of this country into the world war the crusade of oppression began. We soon found that the right of free speech did not exist. It was clearly demonstrated to us that Might makes Right. Thick-necked, bullying officers of "justice" began to apply the iron heel of oppression, both figuratively and literally. Guardians of "liberty" lost no opportunity to disturb and break up our meetings. The Czar was proven a mere amateur. America was thoroughly Prussianized. Our (?) public officials were applying the methods found most useful by the world's most famous autocrats. These indeed were dark days, but darker were to follow.

The offices of labor organizations and the members thereof were the legitimate prey of every amateur would-be snoop in the land. Under the direction of the Department of Justice raids were made upon the headquarters of these organizations and the homes of the members. Literature and records were carried away for "evidence;" in one way or another many organizations were crippled in handling their work. All in the name of liberty.

Papers that dared to voice the protest of the workers were "Burlesoned." The Thought Censor's autocratic power was used to make difficult the maintaining of the labor and Socialist press. Without even the formality of the usual mock trial, issue after issue of papers were held up in the mails, thereby failing to reach the readers. The results were ruinous to these papers. All in the name of liberty.

In Arizona, hundreds of workers were loaded into cattle cars, deported into the barren desert and there left without food or drink because they dared to strike for better living conditions. Because they insisted upon a larger share of the wealth they produced they were subjected to this abuse and torture. The Federal Government was cognizant of this outrage but nothing has been done to punish the patriotic lovers of law and order responsible for these barbarities. All in the name of liberty.

Many were arrested at Socialist meetings and, without any charge whatsoever being placed against them, were shanghaied into the army. Many were arrested and held incommunicado for a period of time, the next heard of them they were wearing a

uniform and preparing to do battle for democracy and freedom. All this is in the name of liberty.

Jails throughout the country held many workingmen who were imprisoned for months without any charge being placed against them. Filthy jails were overcrowded with the militant members of the working class in the effort to still the voice of protest. "Rights" that were supposed to be inalienable were ruthlessly ignored. The Constitution became a "scrap of paper." In Butte, Frank Little, a cripple, was taken out in the night and choked to death at the end of a rope, after being maltreated by a gang of the "best citizens." Frank Little's crime was organizing the miners in defiance of the copper barons. All in the name of liberty.

More than a hundred members of the I. W. W. were "rounded up" and haled to Chicago for trial; of these ninety-three were finally convicted. They were accused of conspiring to lend aid and comfort to the enemy. In reality their crime was that the only enemy they recognized was the capitalist class. The history of that incident is a narrative of atrocities committed against the workers, equalled only by the brutalities of the Huns and Turks; a tale of men seized in the night by Vigilantes (patriotic lovers of liberty!), beaten into insensibility and in some instances killed. It is a story of ceaseless struggle between masters and slaves. All of the forces of the state were mobilized in behalf of the masters; prison sentences totaling hundreds of years have been meted out to the victims of the profit-lust of capitalism. All in the name of liberty.

A list of the names of men and women who have been outraged under the guise of "patriotic activity" would fill pages. A general resumé of these persecutions reads like a page from the history of the inquisition in its palmiest days. Through the connivance of the public press, and the suppressive powers of the government, the facts have been kept from the public. Nor is the arrest and conviction of these men and women all that they have suffered. Inside the prisons they have been brutally discriminated against. Many are the stories that have emanated from Leavenworth and other federal prisons telling of political prisoners being beaten with clubs by thugs employed as guards. All in the name of liberty.

Lured to these shores by the enticing advertisements of the capitalist class many workers have found that the boasted liberty

and prosperity was but a sham used as bait to coax them here. Upon trying to better the conditions in the industries by organizing themselves they discovered that the capitalist class of this country is as ruthless and brutal as the one they fled from in Europe. Becoming loud in their protests against the treatment they receive, they are being seized and imprisoned, and ostensivly held for deportation. Many of them would gladly leave the country if the authorities would grant them passports. This, however, is not done. The masters do not want them to leave the country, rather they would have them remain and be contented, docile slaves. The whole of the governmental machinery is used to break up the organizations with which these workers resist the aggressions of the capitalists. No means are too vile or contemptible to use in order to accomplish this disruption. All in the name of liberty.

Unknown members of the rank and file have fallen victims of this struggle. Their courage and deeds unsung, they have borne themselves well in the privations through which they have had to pass. Not only the rank and file have had to suffer but also the officers and so-called "leaders" of these organizations. To cap the climax, and as though to show contempt for the working class, the best beloved of Labor's spokesmen was seized and imprisoned. For having continued his struggle in behalf of his fellow members of the working class, 'Gene Debs is serving a life sentence in a Federal prison — for ten years means a life sentence to the aged champion of the workers. Liebknecht suffered less at the hands of the Prussian Junkers. For years Debs has voiced the protest of the workers against the exploitation of capitalism. He was but voicing as he had voiced before that protest on the fateful day at Canton. But the masters had found that Debs was dangerous to their supremacy, and his sentiments were outlawed. For delivering the same message that he had delivered for years, for fighting the same fight that he had always fought, he must spend ten years in a felon's cell. All in the name of liberty.

With head unbowed and spirit unbroken, Debs has given us an example of courage we will do well to emulate. With unflinching determination he has entered his prison cell, cheered by the thought that we "out here" will carry on the struggle to which he has given the best years of his manhood. And the class-con-

scious workers will not fail him. By the pressure of our organization and education of the workers we must force the masters to give up our Comrades. We can expect nothing but the most bitter opposition from the capitalists and their henchmen.

It is essentially our fight — the workers fight. These men and women have fallen in the class war, and it is the working class that must free them. We can depend upon no one but ourselves in this work and, therefore, we must do nothing to obscure the class nature of the struggle. To do otherwise would jeopardize the success of the movement for which these our Comrades have gone to jail.

The immediate future is pregnant with the promise of working class victory; we must lose no opportunity for advancing our cause. With the arrest and imprisonment of our comrades the capitalists have issued a challenge to the workers. Our comrades must be released. The gauntlet is at our feet. Let us not hesitate but pick it up and hurl it back in their teeth.

(Issue of June, 1919, Vol. II, No. 2.)

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32. THE MODERNIST

Published at 25 East 14th Street, New York City.

Edited by James Waldo Fawcett.

Published by The Modernist Association.

FOREWORD

This is an era of War and Revolution, of struggle and revision, of contest and change. It is an era when the souls of men are being sorely tried, when many are hurt and discouraged, when many are weary and sad. It is the era of the greatest strife the world has even seen; civil war has torn the earth throughout the whole progress of five long years. In the crucible of this awful conflict every tradition, every inherited standard, has been tested; many laws have been destroyed, many pretences have been abandoned.

As the definite result of the war two once powerful autocracies have fallen; Kaiser and Czar have been overthrown, two mighty empires have collapsed. In the sky of Russia a new star has appeared, a star *progressing westward*, watched now by the poor and downtrodden of every land with shining, eager eyes.

The new dawn of freedom is proclaimed; the people are marching on the strongholds of oppression. Soon the masses everywhere will be lifted up and made glad by the Great Victory. The old world is dying, but a "better world's in birth!"

In such a time men — mere individuals — are sadly overwrought. Struggle reflects struggle. Chaos reigns on every hand. The very atmosphere is electric with impending revolution, revision and reconstruction in all the affairs of life. The past is dead. Only the present is reality. We dream of the future, but we may not see it yet as it will truly be. We may remember the days that are gone. But today — we may live! And even though we are caught in a tidal wave of change we are glad to live!

Our duty, the obligation of the present hour, is the work of preparing for what is to be. The handwriting is plain upon the wall of destiny. "The future belongs to the people!" Lest our children curse our names let us build with thoughtful vision. Our responsibility is very grave. We are laying the corner stone of a new civilization, and on our present deeds the *City of Comrades must be established.*

No one to whom these words may come will be wholly exempt from at least a little share of the work we have to do. No one will want to stand aside in such a time. Never before has Man had such an opportunity to serve his fellows and his sons.

Man's dream is coming true. Out of the tumult and disharmony emerges the new world.

As we love beauty and truth, as we wish for freedom and happiness, so must we labor. Only the best in word or deed is needed; only the finest can be used.

All the good in the world is held in the soul of Man, all aspiration, all hope, all justice. Discovery and *organization* lie before us, invite, command us to advance.

The MODERNIST will strive to be an expression of our own time and our own work. The interpretation of the ideals and events in which we ourselves have part, the service of humanity to the limit of our ability, is the burden of our task.

JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

(November, 1919, Vol. I, No. 1.)

HORACE TRAUBEL — A TRIBUTE

PERSONAL MEMORIES

Traubel's philosophy was founded on Christ's one commandment, "that ye love one another." Love — that was the word stamped on Traubel's heart. With Whitman and Tolstoy he stands for the love of man for man, of mob for mob, of state for state. These three are the noblest teachers of our time. They are so splendid that I almost fear they will be canonized by the greedy church. Imagine St. Walt and St. Horace! The revolution must come if only to save them from this fate.

Traubel's message is a development of Whitman's message. Whitman taught Democracy. Traubel taught Socialism. With Whitman, Democracy was an end. With Traubel, Socialism was a means. Traubel was a communist Socialist. That is, he believed in the community, the mass of the common people. The salvation of man rests in his own hands. With Shakespeare, Traubel says: "To thine own self be true."

Traubel was a Socialist because Socialism will accomplish the emancipation of humanity from wage slavery, war and injustice. He was a communist because he believed in mass happiness. He was a revolutionist because he was tired of waiting. He wanted to be free immediately. Why delay? He was an extremist, too; because he wanted the whole of freedom, not the part. But the background of all his thought was Love.

In this connection I want to speak of his sincerity. I never have met any other man so deeply sincere as Horace Traubel. He believed in the people, he believed in himself. He believed in Love. And he believed in the power of Love, in the justice of Love, in the rightness of Love. He trusted people. He trusted himself. By this I do not mean that he never asked questions. He did doubt at times. I have known him to be undecided; but never on the essentials. He never doubted Love, he never doubted people. He might be puzzled about a little detail here or there, but never about the whole. But when he had a question, he asked it honestly and expected a true answer. It did not matter if the question *was* self-addressed.

I never knew Traubel to exaggerate or lie about anything. He had a rich, full life. His memory was crammed with stories. I heard some of them many times; they were always the same. Here is a true test. If he had been careless of the truth he would

have met his Waterloo in this field. As a result, I would believe anything Traubel said. If he had asserted that black and white are the same color, I should have believed him.

His passion for humanity, his deep sincerity, his love of truth forecast his belief in the Social Revolution. He loved humanity, he desired the people's happiness, he wanted each man to be free, to be noble; he wanted the best; he wanted the expansion and expression of the human soul. So — that we may be free to live and love according to the highest standard — he believed in striking off our chains.

JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

(November, 1919, Vol.I, No. 1.)

AN APPEAL TO THE LABOR CONFERENCE

The Boston police strike is now to all intents ended; the dead are buried, the injured, let us hope, are in a fair way to recovery, and, with the coming of the steel strike and new race riots in Omaha, public attention has turned to other things. But the fundamental issue raised in Boston — the right of civil employees to affiliate and strike — still remains, and the entire question is to be reopened by the White House conference of October 6th in the consideration of the case of the affiliated Washington police. Until the problem is finally solved we live in constant danger of renewed outbreaks.

President Wilson denounced the Boston strike as "a crime against civilization," in which, doubtless, he was quite correct. But he tactfully refrained from mentioning the crime *of* civilization *against* the Boston police. Had the City of Boston by a stroke of the pen cut the wages of its police in half, and had the police then "downed uniforms" in a fit of righteous rage, we should have heard less of the criminality of the police and more of the criminal foolhardiness of the City of Boston. But let the City of Boston sit idly by, for all the world as if they thought that their police ate, drank and clothed themselves in gold, while their real wages in meat, bread and broadcloth were cut almost precisely in half by rising prices, and their despairing alliance with the organization which more than any other had

prevented such veiled wage-cuts in other occupations becomes an outward and visible sign of an utter inward depravity. . . .

J. ADAMS EMERY.

(November, 1919, Vol. I, No. 1.)

AN APPEAL TO THE BRITISH PEOPLE

If ever we British people had need to be ashamed of our country it is now. If ever we had need of a great courage, it is now.

We have helped to force upon Germany a humiliating peace; but that peace is a greater humiliation for us. Germany will survive the blow we have struck her. We can never survive its shame.

Our government has broken its plighted word, has failed to keep faith; we are dishonored. We are all sons and daughters of Britain; the Government acts in our name; for its evil deeds we must all share the responsibility and the ignominy.

If we are silent now, on the occasion of this great wrong, this unsurpassed triumph of might over right, the condemnation of Eternal Justice, of generations unborn, will be upon us.

An unexampled opportunity lay before the Governments of the victorious nations; they have cast it like chaff to the winds. Had they had faith in men, in truth, in God, they might have laid the foundations of a new world, and the peoples have escaped forever from the nightmare of war and the fear of force. But they had no faith. . . .

Thus, the war that was to have re-created the world has hastened its destruction; and the nations that were to have won their souls and vitalized their moral consciousness in a war for freedom have well-nigh lost their souls, and become demoralized beyond belief.

. . . . . .

WILFRED WELLOCK.

(November, 1919, Vol. I, No. 1.)

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33. THE SOCIAL PREPARATION FOR THE KINGDOM OF GOD

Issued quarterly by the Christian Socialist Publishing Company, Inc., Utica, N. Y., Rev. A. L. Byron-Curtiss, Secretary.

The particular number herein referred to was edited by the organizing secretary of the Church Socialist League. It con-

tained articles by Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the "Nation;" Scott Nearing, of the Rand School; Paul Jones, "deported" bishop; Harold Brewster, of Bisbee, Arizona; Norman Thomas; Irwin St. John Tucker, who is now under sentence of twenty years, having been convicted for a violation of the Espionage Act, and George Bernard Shaw.

REVOLUTION

Revolution, next to love, is the greatest thing in the world. Without it, humanity could make but little progress. "Except ye be converted and become as little children," is Jesus' beautiful way of demanding revolution in personal character. Every New Year resolution vanishes away in mere sentiment unless it is charged from the dynamo of revolution. All real life is a series of revolutions, from nights to days, from winters to springs, from the smallest embryo to the passing of a soul into eternity.

Likewise every political state depends largely upon revolution for its vitality. Our own country was born in the throes of revolution. Every progressive nation has tasted at this fountain of life. Would that the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution could appreciate the mighty significance of their calling, and measure up to the stature of their illustrious forefathers in fighting against tyranny. Indeed, George III dwindles to a dwarf in comparison with the monster Mammon, which has well nigh swallowed up civilization and is still fattening upon the blood of exploited men, women and little children in all parts of God's beautiful earth. This false god must be overthrown, and the Church must lead the Holy Revolution. Otherwise, He who overthrew the tables of the money-changers in the temple will come with vengeance and overthrow capitalism everywhere — first from the precincts of His sanctuary and then in all the myriad avenues of heartless profiteering.

(Issue of October, 1919, Vol. VI, No. 4.)

RELEASE THE POLITICAL PRISONERS

What is the General Convention going to do about Political Prisoners? Our jails are full of them — men and women whose only crime consists in disagreeing politically with the present government. Indeed, some were locked up for agreeing with what the head of the present government said in his book, "The

New Freedom." These prisoners are receiving horrible treatment as Dr. Thomas points out in his article in this magazine. Many of them are serving twenty-year terms for remarks made in private conversation. "Political prisoners have already been released in Germany, and it behooves us not to be behind hand in our generosity toward opposing minorities. Spiritual freedom is the foundation of all national greatness, and we are confident that you will not hesitate to take such steps as will firmly establish that great principle for the citizens of this country"—this from a petition to the English government signed by seventeen bishops, as well as many of the prominent people in England, including Viscount Bryce, Viscount Morley, Lord Buckmaster, the Marquis of Crewe, and eighty-three members of the English Parliament.

Can we of the American Church do less?

(October, 1919, Vol. VI, No. 4.)

THE WEAPONS OF THE SPIRIT

No one can have followed sympathetically the story of the C. O.'s in Great Britain and the United States without rejoicing in the comradeship that has developed between the religious and the radical objectors. Leaders like Clifford Allen have frankly accepted the religion of Jesus; American Socialists have undergone solitary confinement for the sake of Russian sectarians, and young men have entered prison as Christians and come out Christian revolutionists. The fruits of this comradeship are already being seen in the industrial conflict. The great strikes in Seattle, Winnipeg and Lawrence have all numbered among their leaders Christian ministers, and have all scored moral as well as economic triumphs by refraining almost wholly from methods of violence.

Christianity has been discredited by the world. Anyone capable of pronouncing that "we should forgive our enemies—is an enemy of the United States," said Prof. Alfred W. Brooks in an article written at the request of the National Security League. And may not the defenders of this present world be rightly on their guard? Are the beatitudes of the sixth chapter of Luke addressed to the Haves or the Have-nots, the prosecutors or the prosecuted under the law?

Our oldest ideal of revolution still stands in the Magnificat. "He hath put down the mighty from their seats and exalted them

of low degree." May it not once more be the task of Christianity to turn the world upside down, that the blood-red banner may again stream forth at the head of a martyr host as the Son of God goes forth to war?

JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN.

(Issue of October, 1919).

THE WRECK

Of course, I do not overlook the fact that some brave souls, notably in the Unitarian Church, have fought the good fight, notably our brave John Haynes Holmes. I know of a Catholic priest who has been most outspoken against the war from the day we got into it and has preached against it Sunday after Sunday, defying the authorities to come and take him and, of course, they have not dared. But these are the exceptions that prove the rule. Others like them have made untold sacrifices rather than surrender to Mars and Mammon. Their devotion alone makes it worth considering whether there is much to be saved from the wreck of the Church. At best we must have more independent churches of the type of John Haynes Holmes's. And the question really before us is whether the time has not come for the development of congregations fortified by the ethical culture idea. Alas, the Ethical Culture Society in the face of the greatest problem of ethics that has ever confronted the world could say nothing. None the less in sound ethical teaching lies the one hope of a wiser and better world.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD.

(Issue of October, 1919).

THE CHURCH AND CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

I am writing this statement on the second day of September, almost ten months after the signing of the Armistice which ended the war. There are still over 200 conscientious objectors in prison in the United States. Until recently all conscientious objectors were confined at Fort Leavenworth, but during the summer, a large number of them were transferred to Fort Douglas, Utah, and a smaller number to the military prison at Fort Alcatraz, in San Francisco Bay. Incidentally it is worthy of note that the government thought it necessary to transfer these

prisoners of conscience handcuffed throughout the long journey although the War Department well knew they would scorn to try to escape. This is not the worst of the story. Possibly today, certainly until very recently, six conscientious objectors are confined in the dungeons at Ft. Alcatraz in solitary cells. These human beings are kept for two consecutive weeks on a diet of bread and water. They sleep on stone floors. Virtually there are no toilet facilities. The walls of the dungeons are so damp that a man's clothing are wet through if he leans against them and the darkness is so dense that a man can scarcely see his hand a few inches from his face. Of course such cells are infested with vermin. In Fort Douglas where the men were until recently kept under very mild confinement, save for absurd restrictions of mail privileges, a very rigorous policy has been instituted. Most of the men are on a diet of bread and water; some of them are in solitary cells. One of them, Howard Moore, winner of a Carnegie medal, has been severely beaten up by a guard. Conditions at Fort Leavenworth have been accurately and impartially described in Mr. Lane's articles in "The Survey." In these prisons, clean and unclean, moral degenerates and fine upstanding young Americans, prisoners of conscience, men guilty of slight infraction of military discipline and dangerous criminals, are confined indescriminately under a policy of iron discipline which has lead to at least two general strikes within the prison. . . . No other policy is tenable, especially in a Church which traces its apostolic succession back to the man who declared, "We ought to obey God rather than man." True, the individual conscience may not be infallible; it cannot be corrected by the political state nor can Christians tolerate the doctrine that mistakes of conscience can be cured by chains and imprisonment. The Church which has steadily supported the state in its policy of coercing war's heretics, is a Church which has denied its own right to speak with the voice of God to the hearts of men. The conscientious objectors have not asked for sympathy. One who knows the best of them would not desire to offer to their triumphant courage the insult of sympathy; rather it is the Church that needs our concern — the Church which is committing suicide by her neglect of the things which pertain to her salvation.

Norman Thomas.

(Issue of October, 1919).

34. THE MESSENGER

A RADICAL NEGRO PUBLICATION

Place of publication: 2305 7th Avenue, New York City.

Published by Messenger Publishing Company Inc.

Editors: A. Philip Randolph, Chandler Owen; Business Manager: Victor R. Daly; Contributing Editors: W. A. Domingo, Geo. Frazier Miller and Wm. N. Colson.

Circulation: 33.000 copies per month. This is according to the statement of Victor R. Daly.

This publication is circulated in New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Washington, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, Boston, Atlanta, Charleston and Columbia, S. C., and Texas.

In another section of this report reference has been made to A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen as instructors in the Rand School of Social Science.

This periodical is published by colored men for circulation among colored people. A large part of the stockholders are white people.

In another portion of this report dealing with negro propaganda, reference has been made to this periodical, and the influences that it is seeking to exert upon the colored men in this country looking toward their conversion to revolutionary radicalism.

ONE BIG UNION

The monistic interpretation of human actions and human institutions have ever increasing confirmation in the march of historical events. The League of Nations is the highest manifestation of capitalism, politically expressed. It is the final consummation of a process of integration in world-politics — proceeding from petty balances of power, such as triple alliances and ententes. This is but the reflex of a similar trend of integrating Finance — Capital. This imposing, colossal and gigantic aggregation of capital must and will provoke a counter irritant — a One Big Union. The organization of labor upon the basis of industry can no more be checked than could the rise of capitalism upon the ruins of feudalism have been checked. Trade Unionism has played its part. It has had its period of usefulness. It is not

only now no longer useless, but, like the vermiform appendix it lurks to cause disease. It hinders the "march of the iron battalion of the proletariat" to industrial democracy. The One Big Union can only express the One Big Aim against the One Big Enemy for the One Big Cause — the cause of capturing the world for the workers in a period when capitalism has reached its final stage of development.

THE GREAT 'GENE

Noble 'Gene, thou that seest and singest of the end of the old and of the beginning of a new world; of capitalism's temples robed in fire, falling, and of Socialism rising. We salute thee, 'Gene! With a heart as big as the world and as broad as humanity, you have extended your hand of comradeship and greeting, across mountains of corpses and rivers of blood and tears, to your brothers of Russia and Hungary struggling in the birth pangs of a proletarian revolution. You have dared to state to the money lords of pelf and power, of sword and blood that the old world of slaves is perishing and a new world of freemen will take its place. It is for this and only this, that thou are languishing enchained, gagged and strangled by the red and reeking hand of freedom's greatest foes. It is you, 'Gene, yes, our 'Gene, to whom labor owes more than to any other soul in America, the debt of giving you freedom. Yet giant labor, unmindful of its power, still slothfully sleeps, while the heart of our 'Gene is torn and bleeding. Though thou art suffering, thou art still majestic in thy sadness at the piteous cries of mankind. Though thy forum roars no longer, thy spirit, like the evening star, yet gildest the phantom shores of Time. Liberty in America is dead, while thou art prostrate under the iron heel of capitalism in the dark, dank and cavernous dungeons of dirt, disease and death; and labor's escutcheon of honor is sullied and disgraced. Great 'Gene, we salute thee! We hallow thy name, thy works and days, we, the most crushed of peoples, loved thee since first thy struggles for economic justice began. Yes, our 'Gene, harbinger and prophet of the noblest philosophy ever conceived in the mind of man.

DRAMA OF THE BOMBS

By George Frazier Miller.

As a befitting introduction to our May Day Celebration, the news of "Radical atrocities" was flashed through the land, and as the wire bore desired, if not wholesome, fruit in stirring up nation-wide resentment against all radical elements of the community, and set the police into vigorous prosecution — or persecution — of the perpetrators of these "dastardly offenses," it was thought that the cause of "justice and safety" might be handsomely promoted through the repetition of these depredations on the first of the following June.

The more vicious and reprehensible the performances of our enemies, the less difficulties we encounter in stirring popular feeling against them and the more facile our undertaking in breaking their power and destroying their forces utterly.

Such being the case, and the course of correct reasoning, we make the deduction that we promote our cause in doing, in the name of our adversaries, the things which, done by them, would naturally and inevitably work to their own undoing.

So simultaneously the bombs exploded in different cities of the country. The damage was slight in the physical results but was highly satisfactory in its psychological effects — it aroused the sensibilities of the populace resolutely to drive out all anarchic forces from the land: and the general conception of anarchy assumed a very comprehensive range.

All schools of thought, especially along economic and sociological lines — not in clear and undisputed coincidence with that of American plutocracy and oligarchy are classed under the head of anarchistic.

That classification fixed, the Socialists, because of the inroads they have made upon the general thought, and the strength they have acquired in consequence, became most naturally the objects of the deadly attacks of the moneybund, the profiteers, the stock manipulators, all who prey upon the vitals of the people, the hirelings of them and their dupes. The Socialists (the Reds they are called) were to be run to earth and eradicated from the land.

So the police were put to work ferreting out the perpetrators of these unspeakable atrocities; the newspapers reported that the police had many valuable clues and would shortly make arrests. But arrests have not been made, and the inquiry is natural and timely, why have they not been made? When questioned on this

subject, the police of New York shake their heads, signifying they had nothing to reveal — clues, it seems, were leading in the wrong direction; the indications were out of consonance with the preconceived police notion and general capitalistic wish.

The whole thing was theatrical, with the earmarks of capitalistic settings for the psychological effects aforementioned in this article.

In the writer's possession are four pictures - - they appeared in the New York World, June 4th — showing the effects of bomb explosions. The pictures give ocular demonstration that the bombs were of sufficient force to do but little damage, to wreck the doorsteps and injure the entrances to the residences where they were placed.

The relation of the bomb to the home of the Honorable A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney-General of the United States, is highly dramatic and affords an interesting study to the student of men and affairs. Mr. and Mrs. Palmer had "just retired" when their door steps were shattered.

How beautifully timed and placed was everything — how dramatic the effect!

An "assault" was also made upon the home of Justice Nott in the City of New York. The bomb that wrought havoc here was far more potent than the toy one that played its prank at the home of Mr. Palmer, for in addition to shattering the doorway of Justice Nott, it shattered the nerves of Mrs. Nott who shortly thereafter found balm and soothing in the home of a neighbor and friend.

And Justice Nott, meantime, the "object of the assassin's aim" was, "far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife," rusticating in the sylvan retreats of Connecticut's lonely hills.

The other pictures suggest the same creative mind behind the entire setting.

It is quite an old point of the drama to have the villain discredit the hero by doing a mischief which, in the general circumstances, might readily and reasonably be imputed to the latter.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

To love your fellow men
And to decry their murder
By the governments of the earth —
Has that become a crime

Deserving the brutal treatment,
Being dealth out to men
Who protested against the
Brutalities of war?
Have the high priests of Mammon
So debauched our manhood,
That we supinely submit
To wrongs that one hundred years ago
Would have brought about
The horrors of a bloody revolution?
Has it become a crime deserving imprisonment
And torture for a man
To acknowledge that he has
Conscientious scruples against war
And military service?
Is merely differing in opinion from
Those in power to be considered criminal?
Alas! if so, what better is this age
Than that when inquisitors burned
Heretics at the stake,
And religious freedom was an unknown thing?
Have we advanced beyond the disposition of
The Middle Ages,
When old women, accused of being witches,
Could be tortured and burned in the
Public square, while priests
And fanatics gloated over
The sufferings of their victims?
America, once called
"The Home of the Free,"
Of what now can you boast?
These men, your "servants"
Are treating like beasts
Are not thieves; are not murderers;
Never have been felons of any degree,
But — they protested against their fellow men
Being slain that Profiteers might
Have a feast of horrors and
Fill their coffers with blood money.
Therefore twentieth century civilization
Cries: "To your prison hells with them!"

Oh! ye fools and hypocrites!
Ye sow now, and tomorrow
Ye shall reap!
And the crop shall be bitter tears,
Agony and despair;
For those ye torture today
Shall lead the hosts of Freedom
In a vast revolution that
Shall free the earth of prisons and
Make the world a place fit for
Democracy to live in, oh
Ye exploiters and usurers!
Ye bond slaves of Capital,
Thy Hour has almost come
Then shalt thou lift thy voices
And great shall be thy rejoicing.

BERTUCCIO DANTINO.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Oswald Garrison Villard is a grandson of William Lloyd Garrison. That does not mean anything particularly to us, but we mention it because he is one of the few grandsons of abolitionists who still stands by his principles. For some years he was chairman of the executive board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. When as a speaker throughout the country, in interest of the negroes, he was abused, maligned and calumniated, he never swerved or faltered one iota but stood true to his trust.

It is as editor of the Nation, however, that we are chiefly interested in Mr. Villard. During the war, he has stood like ourselves, for peace. He was opposed to war and opposed to conscription and he had the courage to say so. He is one of the few Liberal editors who stood for civil liberty in the United States. He opposed the breaking up of Socialist meetings, the denial of halls to them and the setting aside of the constitutional guarantees of free speech and free press. He was formerly a friend of Woodrow Wilson, but when Woodrow Wilson changed on great public principles, Villard became the philosopher and went the way of public duty, rather than private friendship. His report-

ing such parts of the Peace Conference as reporters could get to, was brilliant, both for the factual presentation and the courageous way in which he presented everything obtainable, which was relevant and material. He saw that Woodrow Wilson threw aside nearly every principle of the "fourteen points" and he clearly explained it to the readers of the "Nation." Even so delicate a problem as Soviet government and Bolshevism were delineated by Villard. He has shown himself to be a true political scientist. He understands that a descriptive statement of the fact is not evidence that he advocates a thing. He has shown himself a true editorial hero, in that he has advocated strenuously and courageously the rights of his opponents in political theory. His magazine, the Nation, has truly been the most liberal magazine in America. His position has often been sounder than the position of the Radical magazines. We congratulate Mr. Villard upon his splendid magazine, the Nation, and upon the cool, calm, dispassionate way in which he has kept his poise when abused and slandered and lied about as being pro-German, etc. The future historian will record commendably those men who kept their heads during the great world war and who, despite all of the abuse and misrepresentation, born of that wicked attribute, Patriotism, still kept the fires of freedom, the light of liberty and the bond of brotherhood aburning in their hearts.

(Issue of August, 1919, Vol. II, No. 8.)

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35. THE CRISIS

Published by the Association for the Advancement of Colored People at 70 5th Avenue, New York City, conducted by W. E. Burghardt du Bois; Jessie Redmon Fauset, Literary Editor; Augustus Granville Dill, Business Manager.

Circulation: 104,000.

REMEMBER

The foundations of the present political South are built upon sand. It requires only a resolute executive in the White House and a free House of Representatives; then when the Representatives from the Southern South knock at the door, the House of Representatives has simply to say — Who votes in Mississippi, in South Carolina, in Alabama? — and to declare that upon such a basis of franchise, the so-called members of Congress have not been legally elected.

This is all. The deed is done. And the Negro is a free man.

Nor is the possibility of this so far away. A little more southern arrogance in Washington, a little more greed in the expenditure of public funds, such as occurred during the war; a little larger assumption that the South owns the United States, and the nation may awake to real democracy.

Or, again, suppose the "dirty foreigners" and the disfranchised Socialists and the disfranchised blacks should get together and vote together at the next election!

HAITI

The United States is at war with Haiti. Congress has never sanctioned this war. Josephus Daniels has illegally and unjustly occupied a free foreign land and murdered its inhabitants by the thousands. He has deposed its officials and dispersed its legally elected representatives. He is carrying on a reign of terror, brow-beating and cruelty, at the hands of southern white naval officers and marines. For more than a year this red-handed deviltry has proceeded, and today the Island is in open rebellion. The greatest single question before the parties at the next election is the Freedom of Haiti.

(Issue of April, 1920, Vol. 19, No. 6.)

OF GIVING WORK

"We give you people work and if we didn't, how would you live?"

The speaker was a southern white man. He was of the genus called "good." He had come down from the Big House to advise these Negroes, in the forlorn little church which crouched on the creek. He didn't come to learn, but to teach. The result was that he did not learn, and he saw only that blank, impervious gaze which colored people know how to assume; and that dark wall of absolute silence which they have a habit of putting up instead of applause. He felt awkward, but he repeated what he had said, because he could not think of anything else to say:

"We give you people work, and if we didn't, how would you live?"

And then the old and rather ragged black man arose in the back of the church and came slowly forward and as he came, he said:

> "And we gives you homes; and we gives you cotton; and we makes your land worth money; and we waits on you and gets your meals and cleans up your dirt. And if we didn't do all of those things for you, how would you live?"

The white man choked and got red, but the old black man went on talking:

> "And what's more: we gives you a heap more than you gives us and we's getting mighty tired of the bargain —"
>
> "I think we ought to give you fair wages," stammered the white man.
>
> "And that ain't all," continued the old black man, "we ought to have something to say about your wages. Because if what *you* gives us gives *you* a right to say what we ought to get, then what *we* gives you gives *us* a right to say what *you* ought to get; and we're going to take that right *some day*."

The white man blustered: "That's Bolshevism!" he shouted. And then church broke up.

(Issue of April, 1920, Vol. 19, No. 6.)

SEA GIVES UP BOY'S BODY; MRS. BLAKE HELD FOR MURDER

LYNCH LAW IN PARIS

Eugene Destez writes in "Le Petit Bleu" of the murder of a black American soldier at the hands of a white American officer whom he had failed to salute.

M. Destez concludes:

"In the United States, one drop of black blood in a man's veins constitutes the original unpardonable sin. Negroes are made to be martyrized, to be lynched at pleasure. That is anybody's right. 'Color prejudice' justifies everything, even crime.

"I remember hearing, when I was in New York, in 1900, that a certain large hotel had had the temerity to hire a colored man as steward and that its patrons threatened to get rid of him by violence.

"The sensitiveness of American aristocracy is to be explained, on the ground that it is so genuine, of such ancient date! And its titles — they are paid for dearly at times!

"Whatever they may think of this prejudice, Americans will have to lessen its manifestations sooner than they anticipate.

"Numerous colored soldiers have been campaigning in France. They have lived in our midst, they have made their own observations and drawn their own conclusions. They have been able to realize that here, in the old world, we pay no attention to the color of a man's skin or the shape of his head. We envisage only the heart and the mind. We extend the same grateful admiration to our Senegalese, our Sudanese, our Kabyles, and our Moroccans.

"Now many of them are about to return to their native country, decorated either with the Legion of Honor, the Military Medal, or the 'Croix de Guerre.'

"Furthermore, in the course of the stay of the American soldiers in France, many a charming idyl has been enacted between themselves — and white women.

"Those proud citizens of the 'land of liberty' have never sought really to penetrate the heart of the black man. They have always failed to realize what it might contain not only of devotion, of the power to sacrifice and to love, but also of the power to hate.

"Let them visit the halls of honor in our schools and colleges, they will find there the names of all our former colored graduates who have brought distinction to their *Alma Mater* in letters, science, art, and in every field of human knowledge.

"One of our colleagues, who has just spent fifteen years in the United States, told me yesterday of the movement which is growing in the black people of America as a result of their long sojourn in France.

"'A revolution is on foot,' he said.

"Lynch law has no place in our codes."

(Issue of March, 1920, Vol. 19, No. 5.)

36. THE EMANCIPATOR

A RADICAL SOCIALIST WEEKLY APPEALING TO THE NEGRO

Published by The Negro Publishing Company.

Editor: W. A. Domingo.

Contributing Editors: Chandler Owen, A. Phillips Randolph, both of whom are instructors at the Rand School; Richard B. Moore, Cyril V. Briggs and Anselmo R. Jackson.

Circulation: About 10,000 per week.

Reference is made to that chapter of this report dealing with Negro Propaganda for a fuller discussion of and excerpts from this publication.

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37. THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE

NATIONAL ORGAN OF THE LEFT WING SECTION, SOCIALIST PARTY

Editor: Louis C. Fraina.

Publication office: 43 West 29th Street.

Managing Council: Maximilian Cohen, John Reed, I. E. Ferguson, John Ballam, Charles Ruthenberg, Louis Fraina, Jim Larkin, Bertram D. Wolfe, Eadmonn MacAlpine, Benjamin Gitlow and Harry Winitsky.

Circulation: 16,000 weekly.

(Note: All of the foregoing have been indicted. Two, Gitlow and Winitsky, have been tried and convicted on the charge of criminal anarchy, and are now in Sing Sing Prison, serving sentences of from five to ten years. "Jim" Larkin is now on trial, charged with criminal anarchy. John Reed was recently arrested in Sweden, charged with smuggling, and is wanted by the authorities of New York State and Illinois on the charge of criminal anarchy. Louis C. Fraina, Maximilian Cohen and Eadmonn MacAlpine are fugitives from justice.)

THE LEFT WING MANIFESTO.

(Issued on Authority of the Conference by the National Council of the Left Wing.)

Revolutionary Socialism must base itself on the mass struggles of the proletariat, engage directly in these struggles while emphasizing the revolutionary purposes of Socialism and the proletarian movement. The mass strikes of the American pro-

letariat provide the material basis out of which to develop the concepts and action of revolutionary Socialism.

Our task is to encourage the militant mass movements in the A. F. of L., to split the old unions, to break the power of unions which are corrupted by Imperialism and betray the militant proletariat. The A. F. of L., in its dominant expression, is united with Imperialism. A bulwark of reaction, it must be exposed and its power for evil broken.

Our task, moreover, is to articulate and organize the mass of the unorganized industrial proletariat, which constitutes the basis for a militant Socialism. . . .

Revolutionary Socialism does not propose to "capture" the bourgeois parliamentary state, but to conquer and destroy it. Revolutionary Socialism, accordingly, repudiates the policy of introducing Socialism by means of legislative measures on the basis of the bourgeois state. This state is a bourgeois state, the organ for the coercion of the proletarian by capitalist; how, then, can it introduce Socialism? As long as the bourgeois parliamentary state prevails, the capitalist class can baffle the will of the proletariat, since all the political power, the army and the police, industry and the press, are in the hands of the capitalists, whose economic power gives them complete domination. The revolutionary proletariat must expropriate all these by the conquest of the power of the state, by annihilating the political power of the bourgeoisie, before it can begin the task of introducing Socialism.

Revolutionary Socialism, accordingly, proposes to conquer the power of the state. It proposes to conquer by means of political action — political action in the revolutionary Marxian sense, which does not simply mean parliamentarism, but the *class action* of the proletariat *in any form* having as its objective the conquest of the power of the state. . . .

But parliamentarism cannot conquer the power of the state for the proletariat. The conquest of the power of the state is an extra-parliamentary act. It is accomplished not by the legislative representatives of the proletariat, but by the *mass power of the proletariat in action.* The supreme power of the proletariat inheres in the *political mass strike,* in using the industrial mass power of the proletariat for political objectives.

Revolutionary Socialism, accordingly, recognizes that the supreme form of proletarian political action is the *political mass*

strike. Parliamentarism may become a factor in developing the mass strike; parliamentarism, if it is revolutionary and adheres to the class struggle, performs a necessary service in mobilizing the proletariat against Capitalism. . . .

The proletarian revolution comes at the moment of crisis in Capitalism, of a collapse of the old order. Under the impulse of the crisis, the proletariat acts for the conquest of power, by means of mass action. Mass action concentrates and mobilizes the forces of the proletariat, organized and unorganized; it acts equally against the bourgeois state and the conservative organizations of the working class. The revolution starts with strikes of protest, developing into mass political strikes and then into revolutionary mass action for the conquest of the power of the state. Mass action becomes political in purpose while extra-parliamentary in form; it is equally a process of revolution and the revolution itself in operation.

The final objective of mass action is the conquest of the power of the state and the annihilation of the bourgeois parliamentary state and the introduction of the transition proletarian state, functioning as a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

The attitude toward the state divides the Anarchist (and Anarcho-Syndicalist), the modern Socialist and the revolutionary Socialist. Eager to abolish the state (which is the ultimate purpose of revolutionary Socialism), the Anarchist (and Anarcho-Syndicalist) fails to realize that the state is necessary in the transition period from Capitalism to Socialism. The moderate Socialist proposes to use the bourgeois state, with its fraudulent democracy, its illusory theory of the "unity of all the classes," its standing army, police and bureaucracy oppressing and baffling the masses. The revolutionary Socialist maintains that the bourgeois parliamentary state must be completely destroyed, and proposes the organization of a new state, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The state is an organ of coercion. The bourgeois parliamentary state is the organ of the bourgeoisie for the coercion of the proletariat. The revolutionary proletariat must, accordingly, destroy this state. But the conquest of political power by the proletariat does not immediately end Capitalism, or the power

of the capitalists, or immediately socialize industry. It is therefore necessary that the proletariat organize its own state *for the coercion and suppression of the bourgeoisie.*

Capitalism is bourgeois dictatorship. Parliamentary government is the expression of bourgeois supremacy, the form of authority of the capitalist over the worker. The bourgeois state is organized to coerce the proletariat, to baffle the will of the masses. In form a democracy, the bourgeois parliamentary state is in fact an autocracy, the dictatorship of capital over the proletariat. . . .

Proletarian dictatorship is a recognition of the necessity for a revolutionary state to coerce and suppress the bourgeoisie; it is equally a recognition of the fact that, in the Communist reconstruction of society, the proletariat as a class alone counts. The new society organizes as a communistic federation of producers. The proletariat alone counts in the revolution, and in the reconstruction of society on a Communist basis.

The old machinery of the state cannot be used by the revolutionary proletariat. It must be destroyed. The proletariat creates a new state, based directly upon the industrially organized producers, upon the industrial unions or Soviets, or a combination of both. It is this state alone, functioning as a dictatorship of the proletariat, that can realize Socialism.

The tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat are:

(a) To completely expropriate the bourgeoisie politically, and crush its powers of resistance.

(b) To expropriate the bourgeoisie economically, and introduce the forms of Communist Socialism.

Breaking the political power of the capitalists is the most important task of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, since upon this depends the economic and social reconstruction of society.

But this political expropriation proceeds simultaneously with an immediate, if partial, expropriation of the bourgeoisie economically, the scope of these measures being determined by industrial development and the maturity of the proletariat. These measures, at first, include:

(a) Workmen's control of industry, to be exercised by the industrial organizations of the workers, operating by means of the industrial vote.

(b) Expropriation and nationalization of the banks, as a neces-

sary preliminary measure for the complete expropriation of capital.

(c) Expropriation and nationalization of the large (trust) organizations of capital. Expropriation proceeds without compensation, as "buying out" the capitalists is a repudiation of the tasks of the revolution.

(d) Repudiation of all national debts and the financial obligations of the old system.

(e) The nationalization of foreign trade.

(f) Measures for the socialization of agriculture.

These measures centralize the basic means of production in the proletarian state, nationalizing industry; and their partial character ceases as reconstruction proceeds. Socialization of industry becomes actual and complete only after the dictatorship of the proletariat has accomplished its task of suppressing the bourgeoisie.

(Issue of July 5, 1919, pp. 8, 14, 15.)

N. E. C. DECLARATION TO THE PARTY

Comrades, history calls to you! We must challenge Capitalism; we must rally the proletariat for the Communist struggle, in accord with our own conditions.

The Socialist Party is hampered in its activity. But August 30th, in the Chicago Convention, will mark the end of the Left Wing controversy. Revolutionary Socialism will control. You will crush the moderates. You will act! You will transform our party into a Communist Party, to express the mass struggle of the proletariat.

Then — action! Then — the revolutionary struggle!

We must go to the proletariat. We must build our movement anew. We must get the masses in our party — and answer the Communist call for action.

There are 30,000,000 American wage-workers — the force of potential revolution. Our chief task is to awaken and organize these proletarian masses, wage the working-class struggle.

It is our determination — as it is yours, comrades — to act on problems of organization. We shall, as conditions allow, develop and unify our means of action; we shall systematically develop our press under party ownership, establish a party-owned publishing house, a party school for agitators, and a comprehensive lec-

ture bureau. We shall develop the necessary technique to get your call for revolutionary action to the masses of the American proletariat.

The final struggle is coming. Our deeds in the days to come shall make proletarian history.

Comrades — prepare!

(Issue of August 2, 1919, page 4.)

SHALL THE BEAST RAPE MEXICO

However, the Anglo-American war and the Occidental-Oriental war are likely to be killed in embryo by the death of their parent, the capitalist system.

Not so the American-Mexican war. The odds are in favor of it, much as I hate to admit it and hotly as my blood boils at the thought of such an indefensible, unrighteous assault on a kindly, inoffensive people. It may not be now. It may not be for a year or a couple of years or even five years, but sooner or later, if the capitalist system lasts, Mexico will be riveted by the chains of Wall Street slavery. It is as certain as the dawning of another day.

Mexico has one hope, one real hope and only one. It is Socialism in the United States and England. The overthrow of Capitalism in the nations that want to annex her will destroy the incentive for annexations. Nothing else will, and as long as the incentive remains intervention is the inescapable consequence of the expanding trade needs of the present Anglo-American alliance.

Capitalist governments care nothing for murdered men, violated women, starving children. They care only for the profits, profits, profits. If the price of these profits is Mexican blood and tears, Mexican agony and suffering, they will pay the price without a qualm.

(Issue of August 23, 1919, p. 4.)

THE LEFT WING ANSWERS

By I. E. FERGUSON

Objection: But the workers of the United States do not yet want a revolution.

Answer: That is the misfortune, because the United States is grievously in need of the Socialist revolution.

This is the master-phrase of the opposition to the Left Wing, calculated to work upon the nervous fears of the timid and cautious. And though timidity and caution have their complete justification, there is no justification whatever for making this objection to the Left Wing.

We say that the conditions for the social revolution are here; the high concentration of wealth and the advanced centralization of industry, to such a point that supreme control is now in the hands of the dozen chiefs of the central financial institutions; the existence of the class of permanent wage-workers as the overwhelming element of the population; the adaptation of the entire national life to the military adventures of extra-territorial finance-exploitation, with a gigantic expenditure of materials and life (this expenditure being in itself the most fruitful source of finance-exploitation), the complete negation of the parliamentary democracy by open control by the financial masters, as during the war and since, and as emphasized by the agreement of the different capitalist parties on all essential economic matters, such as tariffs, banking and currency, control of public utilities, suppression of effective labor organization, yielding up of former concessions to the petty bourgeoisie in the nature of anti-trust laws, taxation at point of consumption, with minimum of taxation at the point of net profits, and Monroe Doctrine insistence upon all of South and Central America as the special imperialistic monopoly of American finance-capital.

American capitalism has reached the stage where its further progress carries with it an inevitable and terrible toll of destructiveness.

On the side of the working class there can be only a constant swelling of the ranks of unskilled, transit labor, in correspondence with the progress of the machine process and the spasmodic character of the market demands.

Capitalist mastery tends rapidly to a stage of military feudalism, turned to ruthless labor suppression and regimentation of the entire national life on the basis of a universalized militarism. The labor revolt rapidly acquires consciousness of the desperate nature of the combat, and of the futility of all processes except its own mass defiance.

(Issue of July 12, 1919, pages 7 and 11.)

38. GOOD MORNING

Published at 7 East 15th Street, Rand School Building, by Art Young.
Circulation: Estimated, 5,000.

(This is a "humorous" weekly that is frankly apologetic toward revolutionary radicalism.)

YOUR RELATION TO GOVERNMENT

Finding that some are in doubt as to their relation to the government, I make this statement to enlighten them. A government gets its authority by reason of the fact that the people delegate their power to it. Each individual gives up all right to say what is for his own good and the government assumes this right. Hence the first great truth to be noted is, a government can do no wrong. All its acts are legal, just, moral and good, as are those of its chosen servants.

If ever you happen to be a striker, or if you happen to be interested in a strike, or if you see a crowd and wander over to see what attracts it and the police or secret service men start to break your head, you must not resist. Everything the government does is for your good. Simply stand still, hold your head up so as not to make the poor overworked officer's life harder, and hope and pray that before he kills you he'll get tired and go off to refresh himself at a nearby peanut stand.

Remember the police and military are constituted authority's instruments for preserving law and order; they have all the right on their side. They may break your head, shoot you down at any time or the mounted police may walk their horses on you. This is legal and therefore right. It is part of their civic duty. But for you to protest or to strike back would be an act of violence rendering you liable to the worst penalty a law-enforcing judge can think of.

THE TROUBLE WITH THE BOLSHEVIKI

The chief trouble with the Bolsheviki seems to be that they insist upon suiting the action to the word. This is indefensible and something we positively cannot stand for.

The Bolshevists stand for Socialism. If that were all, then everything would be all right. All of us are more or less Socialists these days. Vice-President Marshall is a kind of Socialist and Taft is a kind of Socialist and Morgan is a kind of Socialist and Schwab is a kind of Socialist. We know this,

because they all admit it. In one respect they are all the same kind of Socialist, the kind that carefully avoids doing anything to bring Socialism about. Now if Mr. Lenin and Mr. Trotzky would only become that kind of Socialist, nothing would be too good for them.

Contempt for jail is the beginning of liberty.

(Issue of July 10, 1919.)

SCATTERED MUSINGS OF A JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRAT

It is so comfortable to find oneself at last 100 per cent. American! In the matter of adopting the red flag, I can, with all my heart, subscribe to that blessed phrase: AMERICA FIRST.

No one can say nowadays that he doesn't know what we fought the war for — the reason becomes clearer every day: it was to decide the momentous issue whether we should be jailed by the Kaiser or by Woodrow Wilson.

Personally, I would find the Kaiser more comfortable — his sentences are so much more lenient!

Another puzzle is no longer obscure, too: Why the Statue of Liberty turns her back on America.

I don't like sermons, but I *would* like to hear one on the text "Let not your left hand know what your right hand doeth" — preached by Woodrow Wilson and illustrated from incidents in his own life.

E. MERRILL ROOT.

(Issue of July 10, 1919.)

We give herewith copies of three advertisements appearing in this publication that are self-explanatory. "Gale's Magazine" is published by one Linn A. E. Gale, a slacker who fled into Mexico to avoid the draft. "Freedom" is published by Henry Kelly and Leonard D. Abbott, so-called "intellectual" anarchists

"KEEP HANDS OFF MEXICO!

"In one of the many articles on the Mexican situation, the Carranza administration and the growth of Socialism in the republic to the south of the United States, that regularly appears in

39. "GALE'S MAGAZINE

"Published by Linn A. E. Gale, former American newspaper man in Mexico City. Other typical articles are:

"The Soliloquy of a Slacker."
"Who Is Financing Diaz and Villa?"
"Bolshevism in Mexico."
"The New Germany."
"Before the Red Dawn."

"No Radical can afford to be without this magazine — the only Radical journal in Mexico published in English.

"Subscribe now, $2.00 a year, $1.00 for 6 months and 20 cents a copy, American money. *No Free Samples.* Special rates to news agents, Socialist organizations, etc. Remit by bank draft, international P. O. money order or personal check, but avoid sending check if possible.

"GALE'S MAGAZINE
"P. O. Box 518. Mexico City, D. F., Mexico."

COUNTY INSTITUTIONS

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40. "FREEDOM

"A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF CONSTRUCTIVE ANARCHISM

"Published Monthly by the
"FREEDOM PUBLISHING GROUP

"R. F. D. No. 1, Box 130, New Brunswick, N. J.

"HENRY KELLY, Editor
"LEONARD D. ABBOTT, Associate Editor

"*Subscriptions:* { One Dollar a Year. / Fifty Cents for Six Months.

"Name .....
"City .....
"Amount Enclosed $.....

"RED HOT AGNOSTIC PAPER

"If you want for self or friends a paper that combats all religious dogma send $1 for each subscriber and get the hottest paper published. Samples, four different, 10c. Not Free.

"THE CRUCIBLE
"1330 1st Ave., Seattle, Washington."
(Issue of July 10, 1919.)

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41. THE WEEKLY PEOPLE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

Office of publication, 45 Rose Street, New York City.

Arnold Peterson, National Secretary.
August Gillhaus, National Treasurer.

Circulation: 7,000 weekly.

"When, on November 7, 1917, the Workers, Soldiers and Poor Peasants of Russia, by a revolutionary act, put an end to the painful attempt on the part of the Russian bourgeoisie to assume the heritage of Czarism, and when, as a result of that act, the power in that vast realm passed over to the hitherto disinherited and oppressed, a thrill of delight went through the hearts of the revolutionary workers the world over.

"Here at last they experienced the first visible triumph of the class struggle, the first fruit of the world war which, unlike all its others, was wholly acceptable and was of corresponding bitterness to the capitalist foe.

". . . And we declare that, with all the power that in us lies, we shall assist them in their struggle by incessant revolutionary propaganda in order to awaken America's proletariat and, by unflagging efforts, to organize that proletariat into a class-conscious, militant body on both the political and industrial field, bent upon ending capitalist misrule on this side of the Atlantic; and . . . Resolved, that we condemn all military intervention in the territories of these countries and insist upon adherence to

a policy of absolute non-interference with the affairs of the people of these countries now engaged in the work of building the only real democracies the world has ever seen; and be it further

"Resolved, That we denounce and condemn the vicious campaign of slander and vituperation carried on by the capitalist plunderbund against Soviet Russia, a campaign conducted with such brazen mendacity and utter disregard of the dictates of common decency — to say nothing of common sense — as to throw into bold relief the strumpet character of capitalist society. We view with disgust the spectacle of a committee of the United States Senate permitting itself to be made the depository of foul tales about the nationalization of Russian women, but we realize that, in its anger and its fright, the capitalist class, when hawking these prurient tales, is only revealing its debauched inner self — repeating history as it were, by imitating a profligate Roman patriciate which habitually charged the early Christians with their own moral decay."

(Issue of May 10, 1919, page 2).

ONWARD TO THE GOAL!

By CHAS. H. ROSS

The 1919 municipal campaign in San Francisco has been the most advantageous for propaganda purposes in the history of the Socialist Labor Party. One of the strongest factors which furnished the party with the opportunity of carrying on its work of agitation was the huge strikes that have been in progress for several weeks. Thousands of longshoremen, shipyard workers, tailors, besides many others belonging to other crafts of smaller denominations, were thrown upon the streets with plenty of leisure to think, read, and reflect. That the men have been benefited in this respect goes without saying.

The Socialist Labor Party found this element a rich soil to work upon. Thousands of pieces of literature were sown and the waters of discontent have acted as a vital urge to stimulate investigation.

The street meetings which have been conducted by Comrade W. J. Kerns have been quite successful. The method used by this comrade and his assistants in disposing of "Weekly Peoples" and pamphlets is decidedly effective. Collections are taken up

during the progress of the meeting. Literature is then distributed among the audience to the amount of each collection. By this means those who have not the purchase price are furnished with the literature free. From $10 to $15 worth of literature were thus disposed of at each meeting.

The election results were more than satisfactory. The party had but one candidate in the field — Frank Carroll for supervisor. Working upon the principle that the main object in entering capitalist politics is that it serves the purpose of measuring, upon an intellectual or civilized plane, the strength of the class-conscious proletariat, with that of the dominant class, all the avenues of propaganda were open to the Party, even with one candidate, and therefore the results accomplished were as great, if not greater, than if the Party had had a full ticket in the field. At least, a concentration of effort was gained thereby, and also the work was simplified. It is not claimed that it is advisable to adopt such a plan in all cases. When the numerical and financial strength of the party will justify, then, by all means, a full ticket should be put up.

Taking for its slogan "The Party of Socialist Industrial Unionism," and centering its entire agitational work upon the principle contained therein, the party rolled up a vote of 7,426, outstripping the Socialist party mayorality vote (of which there were two candidates — Milder for the Left Wingers and Feeley for the Right) three to one, and also led the S. P. supervisional vote by one thousand.

The San Francisco comrades may well be proud of this accomplishment. Once more has the lie been nailed, that the S. L. P. is dead. "Alas, poor Yorick! Where be your gibes now?"

However, there is no desire of the Socialist Labor Party to gloat over the discomfiture of its enemies. Rather, it is grieved when it thinks of the large volume of potential revolutionary material that the Socialist Party attracted to it by its flypaper methods and which was thus turned away, winning for itself only the name of reaction. But light is breaking. Ever more numerous are the barnacles of freakishness and fadism that are being pried loose from the hull of the Socialist ship. Comrades! The Industrial Republic is rapidly shaping itself. Onward to the goal!

(Issue of December 6, 1919, page 1).

.42. THE VOICE OF LABOR

Formerly published twice a month by the Communist Labor Party of America.

Editor: John Reed.
Manager: Benjamin Gitlow.
Circulation: 5,000
Office of Publication: 1664 Madison Avenue, New York City.

John Reed, a fugitive from justice, has recently been arrested in Sweden, charged with smuggling. Benjamin Gitlow is now in Sing Sing prison serving a term of five to ten years on his conviction of criminal anarchy before Mr. Justice Bartow S. Weeks of the Supreme Court.

NOVEMBER 7TH, 1919

By Ben Gitlow

On November 7th, 1919, the Workers Republic of Russia will be two years old. The combined forces of world capital using the military butchers of their governments have for two years attempted to crush the Russian workers and have failed. The revolution is still victorious. The capitalist class and their bloody governments are trembling. November 7th, the Second Anniversary of the Soviet Government of Russia, will be the occasion for workers the world over to demonstrate their class solidarity and loyalty to their Russian brothers. The workers will on that day proclaim to the terror of the capitalist class their determination to end the greedy rule of world capitalism. The Russian Revolution was born out of the bloody carnage of the world war. When capitalism was using workers as cannon fodder, when the products of labor were consumed in ruthless slaughter of human lives, when homes were shattered by shell and destroyed, when women and children were starved and every vestige of civilized conduct forgotten, the Russian workers Republic came with its defiant challenge to the capitalist world order.

OUT OF THE SUNSET

By LOUISE BRYANT

(Dedicated to British Diplomacy)

We are the Russian children
Murdered by British guns!
British tanks have been our ruin,
British gas has sucked our breath,
British brains contrived against us,
British schemes have caused our death.

We shall rise a phantom army,
We shall march on silent feet
Into every British household,
Into every British street. . . .

Into every sun-filled morning,
Into every star-filled night,
'Till the blossoms wither blackly
And your blood is cold with fright. . . .

We are the Russian children
Murdered by British guns!

AN APPEAL FROM FRANCE

Workers, you must not, you cannot lose sight of the fact that peace will not be peace until it is concluded formally with Soviet Russia. The high cost of living will be still higher, production will be smaller, transportation will become less and less sufficient as long as peace is denied to Russia.

And that is not all.

RUSSIA WILL STRENGTHEN US

The French workers are directly interested in the welfare of the Russian revolution. They will have to renounce for a long time, all their homes if the Russian people are defeated. They will themselves suffer the consequences of a reactionary victory. The fate of all workers is closely allied, their common demands will triumph together or will be defeated together; the misfortunes in their struggles are felt all over.

The extinguisher of the flame of the Russian revolution will mean might for all of Europe.

The triumph of Denikin's knout over the Russian workers means the triumph of Ludendorff's fist over the German workers and soon the triumph of Marshall Foch's whip over the French workers.

Ponder this well! Don't wait until it is too late!

And now that we have appealed to your reason, now that we have appealed to your interests, let us also appeal to your hearts. We know that an appeal will not be made in vain "to the great heart of the working class."

BOLSHEVIK REPRISALS

A RADIO MESSAGE SENT BY SOVIET RUSSIA TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

It is with disgust and indignation that the Soviet Government learnt of the horrible inhuman treatment to which the Russian prisoners of war are subjected by the British command of Archangel.

If the British government have made themselves indirectly responsible for untold atrocities and brutalities committed on Russian workers and peasants by their agents, the Kolchaks, Denikins, Judenichs and Hallers, brutalities compared to which the methods of the Spanish inquisition were mere child's play proofs have now been obtained of similar treatment received by Russian war prisoners directly at the hands of British commanders in the North of Russia. Some red armies escaped from British captivity have reported that many of their comrades have been shot immediately when taken prisoners, that they themselves have been mercilessly beaten with buttends, placed in prisons and made to work to utter exhaustion while insufficiently fed and threatened with being shot in case of their refusing to enlist in the Slav-British counter-revolutionary legion and to turn traitors to their former brothers in arms, and that in a number of cases such threats have been actually carried out.

It is hereby brought to the notice of the British government that in consequence of the above statement, the Soviet government have found themselves compelled to withdraw the many privileges and liberties hitherto accorded to British officers,

prisoners in Moscow, as well as to those recently brought from the Onega front.

Seeing that protests can be of no avail and knowing the indifference of the British government to the sufferings of the Russians who do not support the counter-revolutionary movement, the Soviet Government had to adopt this course in the hope that it may induce the British commanders to give Russian prisoners of war a more humane treatment, thereby improving the conditions of life of their own fellow officers. The Soviet Government *will*, however, continue to treat most liberally British soldier war prisoners of the working classes except those who volunteered for service in Russia in the cause of European reaction and monarchial restoration.

As to the insolent threats contained in the radio message of Lord Curzon of Keddleston of August 10th, the Soviet Government declares that no blackmail can have any effect on their policy. Any repetition of such threats addressed personally to members of the Russian government and characteristic only of the mentality of their authors will cause the Soviet Government to consider whether they can entertain any further negotiations with the present British government even on questions like that of the exchange of prisoners.

PEOPLE'S COMMISSARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

TCHITCHERIN

THE FUTURE OF THE U. S. A.

BY SAMUEL F. HANKIN

A nation wide coal strike November 1st is a certainty. The proposal granting the miners a wage increase, but ignoring the thirty-six hour week will positively be rejected by the miners. The path for a railroad strike is being paved. Switchmen are now striking in West Pullman. Railroad workers all over the country will strike to paralyze the steel industry.

There are many great industrial upheavals now in this country making the economic situation very grave. The workers, the country over, are awakening to their class consciousness; they are learning to use their most effective tool to combat Capital — the GENERAL STRIKE.

MY OWN SHOP

"ALL'S CLEAR" FOR THE RAILROAD SHOPMEN

Get Together! Boys!

These conditions are possible because of the divisions among the men. The bosses can enforce their orders and the labor officials can ignore us because of this division. We are meeting different conditions today than we did years ago, and our present form of organization has outlived its usefulness. We have vested our officials with power and supplied them with money which they are now using against the wishes of the rank and file. The four-cent affair should convince us more than anything else about the truthfulness of the conditions pointed out. Our present affiliations are not complete and at the same time are too complex. Railroad employees should be organized and affiliated industrially, into One Big Union with one big treasury. That would bring about unity of action with large funds to back us up. It would take away the veto power out of the hands of the many sets of Grand Lodge officers, leaving the men to self-determination. We are no longer railroad craftsmen, but railroad shopmen and should organize as such.

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43. THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Formerly published by Socialist Publication Society, but now published by the Communist Labor Party of the United States at 15 Spruce Street, New York City, and devoted to "Industrial Socialism."

Editors: Jack Carney, Ludwig Lore, and Gregory Weinstein.

Circulation: 5,000 monthly.

It contains articles, among others, by Nicolai Lenin, Leon Trotzky, Rosa Luxemburg, N. Chicherin, William Bross Lloyd, Ludwig Lore, Carl Radek, N. Bucharin, Sen Katayama, Max Eastman, Eugene V. Debs, Louis C. Fraina and others.

In the November 1919 issue we find an article entitled "Hands off Soviet Russia."

HANDS OFF SOVIET RUSSIA

The imperialists of the world are continuing their infamous armed intervention in Soviet Russia. The counter-revolutionary Tsarist generals, backed up by allied troops, allied ammunition, and allied money continue shedding the blood of the Russian workers and devastating the territory of the proletarian republic.

Moreover, the Allies are tightening the iron ring of blockade around Soviet Russia, thus dooming millions of women and children to unheard of misery, starvation and disease.

. . . . . .

American workers, you must realize this and bear it firmly in mind. You must know that every American soldier sailing for Russia, goes there to shed the blood of the Russian workers and peasants who are now engaged in a desperate struggle against the capitalists of the world — those brigands of the international highways. You must bear in mind that every rifle, every cannon, every machine gun which is being sent from the United States to Russia means death for the many Russian workers and peasants who are sacrificing themselves in order that the workers of the world over may be liberated from the yoke of international capital.

Workers of America! it is not sufficient to know and to bear all this in mind — **you must act accordingly.** Your slogan must be: **Not a soldier for war against Soviet Russia, not a cent, not a rifle to help wage this war.**

This slogan has already been adopted by the British, French and Italian workers. In Great Britain, in France and in Italy the workers are refusing to load ships with ammunition and provisions destined for the foes of Soviet Russia. **The soldiers are refusing to go to the Russian fronts.**

American workers, you must follow their example! To every invitation to play the part of Cain towards your Russian brothers, to every request of the American government to enlist for active service in Russia, or to load ships for the bloodstained Russian White Army, there must be one answer: "HANDS OFF SOVIET RUSSIA!"

THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BOLSHEVIST PROPAGANDA

WHY DON'T THEY SEND YOU HOME

To the American and British Soldiers —

Did you ever stop to think why they don't send you home?

The war is over. Armistice is concluded. Peace negotiations are already being conducted. Months have already elapsed since the great slaughter has stopped.

Millions of soldiers — French, British, American are returning home from the battlefields. Millions of prisoners are returning home from prison. This is a time of joy and happiness for thousands of humble homes — the boys are coming back! Hundreds of ships are carrying American boys in khaki from the Western front back to the shores of Columbia.

Why don't they let you go home?

"Sweet Home" is waiting for you. Those whom you love are waiting for you. Your wives and children, your sisters and sweethearts are waiting for you. Your gray, old, dear mothers are waiting for you.

Are they waiting in vain?

Your mother is asking every newcomer from the front: "Where is my boy?" "Don't know! Somewhere in the steppes of Russia."

What are you doing here, "somewhere in Russia?" What do they want you here for?

The war is over because there is nothing left to fight for, and nothing to fight against.

They have been telling you that this was a war against German autocracy, against German imperialism, against kaiserism. But now there is no more kaiserism, there is no more autocracy. The German workers have arisen in revolt, and they have themselves defeated kaiserism. Themselves! — without the help of British and American troops. There is no more imperialism in Germany. The kaiser and the cruel "war lords" have fled. Germany, like Russia, is now in the land of Revolution. Germany, like Russia, will be governed not by a bunch of cruel masters, but by the people, by revolutionary workers.

Is it true that you have been fighting for freedom and democracy? If this was true you would have been sent home on the very day the German revolution broke out. But instead of home you are sent to the steppes of Russia. Why?

Because this is not a war for freedom. This is not a war for democracy, but against democracy.

Do you know that Russia is the freest and the most democratic country in the world? Do you know that all the wealth of Russia now belongs not to a small group of greedy capitalists, but to the vast majority of the people, to the workers and the poor peasants? Do you know that the land, the mines, the shops and the factories of Russia are now owned and governed by the people and

operated for the benefit of the people? Do you know that the present government of Russia — the government of the Soviets (council of workmen's and peasants' deputies) is the only real democratic Government in the world?

Of course you don't know all this. Because your masters are afraid to tell you the truth about revolutionary Russia. They are telling you lies about the atrocities of the Bolsheviks. Don't believe them! There is no disruption, no anarchy, no disorder in Russia. Revolutionary Russia is indeed, as one of your American journalists has said, the paradise of the workers and the poor.

The capitalists and imperialists of France, Great Britain and the United States, the Rothschilds, the Rockefellers, the Morgans, want to destroy this paradise of the workers and the poor. The blood-thirsty exploiters of the Entente want to defeat the revolution. Why? Because the revolution is making headway, because revolutionary ideas are being spread in all the countries. Country after country is getting revolutionized; the German workers have followed the example of the Russians. The French and Italian and British are going to follow the example of the Germans. This is the time of revolts! The workers of the whole world are going to throw off the capitalist yoke! The Russian and the German revolutions are just the first two acts of the great world revolution. The capitalists of the Entente are trembling. Don't they hear the sounds of revolt all around? Don't they realize, don't they know that "it" is coming? And this is why they want to defeat the Revolution before the Revolution defeats them. This is why they declared war on revolutionary Russia. And this is why they don't want to send you home.

You are here to fight against Democracy and Freedom. You are here to fight against the Russian workers and poor peasants.

Do you realize that in this great battle of Labor against capital, of Freedom against exploitation, of real Democracy against the fake-democracy of Rockefeller and Morgan — you are to fight on the side of your cruel masters against your brethren, against your fellow-workers? Are you not workingmen yourselves?

You are going to shed your blood and our blood for the benefit of the Allied plutocrats, for the benefit of the Rockefeller-Morgan kaiserism?

We don't want war. We want peace with your American and British fellow-workers! Don't you want peace with us? Don't you want to go home?

The war is over but a new one is starting. This new war is the class war. The oppressed of all countries are rising against the oppressors, because the war has brought so much distress and so much suffering to the poor that they can suffer no longer. Do you realize that you are shedding your blood in the interest of the oppressors and not of the oppressed? Do you realize that you are to defend oppression and exploitation and that you are to give your very lives for the interests of those who are now, after the fall of the Kaiser, the only kaisers in the world?

Do you want to sacrifice your lives in order that the capitalists may obtain a greater hold on our class, the workers? Of course not!

Demand to go home. Hold meetings in your regiments, form Soldiers' Councils, and force your demands on your Governments and your officers. If you are convinced in the justness of the cause of Labor then come over to our side and we will give you a hearty welcome into the ranks of those who are fighting for the emancipation of labor.

THE GROUP OF ENGLISH SPEAKING COMMUNISTS.

An editorial on pages 441 and 442 of the November, 1919, issue contains the following:

"In place of the all important parliamentary-political action, as understood by the old-line Socialists, will come political mass action. Strikes, general strikes, heretofore used in this country exclusively as working-class weapons on the industrial field, will be just as effectively employed on the political field for the enforcement of political demands, such as the liberation of class-war prisoners (Mooney, Debs, etc.), against the abrogation of working-class rights (abolition of the right to strike and boycott, freedom of press, assemblage and free speech). For while we all recognize that the ruling classes cannot be forced into granting working-class demands as long as the workers are only insufficiently organized, we also appreciate the possibility of frightening the powers that be into submission by the show of great numerical

strength. Here again the Socialist Party politician tells us, that he also is in favor of mass-action as soon as the masses are ready for it. But he ridicules the idea of propagating mass action 'without the masses.' It never enters his mind that mass-action like all other weapons of the working classes necessitates education and training on the part of the proletariat and that unless this preparatory work is done the 'time' and especially the working class will never be 'ready' for it.

"The last Convention that the Social-Democratic Party of Germany held before the outbreak of the war resolved unanimously in favor of political mass-action as one of the weapons to be employed by the German workers. It was the glorious end of a fight carried on for almost a decade of Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and others. But the victory of the revolutionary socialists in the German Party came too late. The masses of the German proletariat stood behind the party, the organizations were there to organize and lead such a fight. But the time was too short for the training and education of the masses to prepare them for their new role in the class struggle before the world war started, and the Socialists of Germany submitted without even showing fight. What might have happened had the Jena resolution been adopted ten years earlier, is, of course, open to conjecture. But this much seems certain, the more determined part of the organized workers of Germany at least would have begun open warfare upon the imperialistic-militarist clique a few years earlier than actually was the case.

"To prepare and arrange for such political mass action a close unity of industrial and political bodies as well as a thorough and militant organization of the workers is necessary. This is one of the reasons why the C. L. P. not only declares for revolutionary industrial unionism, but also makes it the duty of all its members to join the forces of industrial unionism already in existence in this country and to work actively in their ranks. Here, once more, the S. P. may claim a close similarity of views, inasmuch as the Chicago Convention of the old Party likewise went on record in favor of industrial unionism, as opposed to craft unionism. But on this question, too, the S. P. is like the platonic lover who entertains friendly relations with several ladies at the same time. Great care was taken not to offend the sensibilities of the American Federation of Labor. And this is only natural. A

party whose main object in life is the gathering in of votes must be careful not to estrange the sympathies of so large a body of voters as the A. F. of L. actually includes. If we recognize the absolute necessity of the industrial form of labor organization for the effective enforcement of the workers' demands, we cannot be content to advise our class concerning the proper method and form, but must assist and co-operate with it in the actual work. But the 'actual work' means not only the upbuilding of the union movement on industrial lines but also the destruction of craft unionism. You, comrades of the Socialist Party, cannot, therefore, favor industrial unionism and the A. F. of L. at the same time. You must know that the A. F. of L., as fundamentally constituted today, is a hot-bed of reaction and a bulwark of capitalism, and you must say so. In its double-faced treatment of the question of unionism, the Socialist Party reflects the attitude taken by important groups among its supporters, the United Hebrew Trades of New York for instance, and similar bodies. The question of industrial unionism has become too big an issue to allow it to be the plaything of clever politicians."

On page 444, under the heading of "Dynamic Class Struggle," we find the following:

"The class struggle is the ever present stream of life of society, is the heart that drives the fluid of life through its veins. Naturally, it is also fought by those parts of the two classes that are ignorant of its existence. It is fought by the not class-conscious workers in spite of their belief in a harmony of interests between capital and labor. This struggle, though it is carried on unconsciously, has a tendency to create an understanding of its character. And that is its most dangerous aspect. As the understanding on the part of the workers grows it becomes increasingly dangerous for capitalism. The revolutionary character of the class struggle grows, because the working class, once conscious of the essentials of the class struggle, tires of the endless struggle and tries to get at the root of the evil by striking at the class character of society itself. The greatest problem of the capitalist state, therefore, is to camouflage this struggle to prevent the workers from recognizing its revolutionary character."

In the May, 1919, issue in an article entitled "Church and School in the Soviet Republic," by N. Bucharin, we find the following:

THE BELIEF IN GOD AND IN THE DEVIL IS A CONFUSION OF THE MIND OF THE WORKERS

One of the instruments for the obscuring of the consciousness of the people is the belief in God and the devil, in good and evil, spirits, angels, saints, etc., in short — religion. The masses of the people have become accustomed to believe in these things, and yet, if we approach these beliefs sensibly, and come to understand where religion comes from, and why religion receives such warm support from the bourgeoisie gentlemen, we shall clearly understand that the function of religion at present is to act as a poison with which the minds of the people have been and continue to be corrupted. And then we shall also understand why the Communist Party is so resolutely opposed to religion.

THE WORSHIP OF THE SOULS OF THE DEAD RICH WAS THE FOUNDATION OF RELIGION

Present-day science has pointed out that the most primitive form of religion was the worship of the souls of dead chieftains, and that this worship began at the moment that, in ancient human society, the elders of the tribe, old men more wealthy, experienced and wise than the rest of the tribe, already had secured power over the remaining members. At the very outset of human history, when men still were in the semi-ape stage, they were equal. The elders did not put in their appearance until later, and then began the subjugation of the other members. Then also the latter began to worship the former, and this worship of the souls, of the dead rich is the foundation of religion; these "saints," these little gods, were later transformed into a single threatening deity, who punishes and rewards, judges and regulates. Let us see then why it was that this conception of things arose among men. The fact is that man always attempts to see things little known to him in the light of those with which he is well acquainted. He measures them with the yardstick of what he knows and understands. A scholar has recorded this example: A girl who had been brought up on an estate on which poultry-raising was extensively practiced, was constantly occupied with eggs; eggs were contantly dancing before her eyes; and when she was confronted with the sky full of stars, she declared that eggs were scattered all over the sky. Any number of such examples

might be given. Man observed that there were those who obeyed and those who issued commands; and he was constantly confronted with this picture; the elder (later the prince) surrounded by his aides, was the wisest and most experienced, the strongest, the richest, and he issued the orders; and in accordance with his instructions the others acted; in short, they obeyed him. These relations were observable at all seasons and at all hours, and gave occasions to an interpretation of all occurrences as being due to similar causes. On earth, as it were, there are those who command, those who obey. Perhaps, people thought, the whole world is to constructed.

THE BELIEF IN GOD IS A BELIEF IN SLAVERY

In short, the belief in God *is an expression of the vile conditions on earth*, is the belief in *slavery*, which is present, as it were not only on earth, but in the whole universe besides. It is of course clear that there is no truth in these things. And it is also clear that these fairy-tales are a hindrance in the path of human progress. Humanity will not advance until it has become accustomed to seek for a phenomenon as its *natural* explanation.

In an article in the August, 1919, issue, by Karl Radek, entitled "Development of Socialism from Science into Action," we find the following under the subtitle of "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat:"

"The Socialist Workers' Revolution in Russia shows the European proletariat the way which leads to power. The press of world capital is crying that this is bloody, is yelling about the rough, violent character of the Revolution. It has every right to do so. It was created by Capital to be an organ of the battle against the working class, and it is its duty to throw dirt upon and to spit upon the first Workers' Revolution in order to frighten the workers of the other countries with its Medusa head. But how comes it that the Axelrods, Martoffs, and the — *risum teneatis!* — Kautskys use the violence of the Revolution as a ground of complaint against it? *They used to defend the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat against the Reformists.*

"What does dictatorship mean? *Dictatorship is the form of government by which one class forces its will ruthlessly upon the other class.* During the period of social evolution, in which

one class is preparing itself for the struggle for power, it foregoes the use of force because it is too weak to use force. It is only gathering together, concentrating its powers, and on this account it is not necessary for the ruling class to use open force against it. The ruling class only holds its forces in readiness, but it gives the class which is striving upward a certain room for development, as long as it does not consider this class dangerous. From the moment when the ruling class lays burdens on the oppressed class, which are so heavy that the ruling class fears a possible uprising of the oppressed, it puts into play the machinery of force. The war laid burdens such as these on the masses of the workers, and on that account it brought with it the suspension of the few scanty rights enjoyed by the working class in the time of peace, that is, it brought the *Dictatorship of Imperialism*, which cost the workers millions of lives. In order to break the dictatorship of Imperialism the working class must employ force; force brings about the Revolution. But no hitherto existing ruling class can be conquered at one blow. Beaten once, it attempts to rise again, and it can do so because the victory of Revolution is by no means able to alter the economic system of society in an instant, to tear out by the roots the power of the deposed. The *Social Revolution is a lengthy process*, which begins with the dethronement of the capitalist class, but ends only with the transformation of the capitalist system into workers' community. This process will require at least a generation in every country, *and this space of time is precisely the period of the proletarian dictatorship*, the period during which the proletariat must keep the capitalist in subjection with one hand, while it can use only the other for the work of Socialist construction."

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44. THE TOILER

Official Organ Communist Labor Party of Ohio.
Office of Publication, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
Editor: Elmer T. Allison.
Circulation: Weekly.

LET "ORGANIZATION" BE YOUR ANSWER

The greatest attack of the government upon the political rights of the working class occurred last Friday night when a nation-wide blow was struck at the workers in the roundup, numbering

into the thousands. In this latest and most idiotic attempt of the capitalist interests of the United States to throttle the aspirations of the workers, methods were used that would put to shame those of the former autocrat of Russia. Men, women and children were routed out of their homes and beds, carted off to bull pens and herded like cattle without even the semblance of ordinary comforts being provided. Hundreds and hundreds were compelled to stand through the whole night and even the following day while an army of "investigators" decided their fate. Mothers were taken from their children, fathers from their families and communication denied them. Jails were filled to overflow, thousands slept upon the filthy floors of the capitalist jails without even a lousy mattress or a coverlet for protection.

These are the methods of tyranny. It is by these insane methods that the government of the United States proposes to weed out radicalism in this country. The lessons of history remain unlearned by the present autocrats who hold official power in the government. Tyranny breeds radicalism, persecution aids the cause it seeks to demolish. Revolution thrives through such unjust and cruel misuse of power. Is the government of the United States erected upon such flimsy foundations that it can be menaced by an idea? Does the government believe for a moment that the deportation of a few foreigners and the jailing of a few native born will have the slightest deterrent effect upon the proletarian revolution that is sweeping over the whole world? If it does, then the history of the progress of the human race from savagery through barbarism to what is miscalled civilization has taught nothing to the ruling class of this country.

Instead of quelling radicalism, these roundups, deportations, persecutions and jail sentences but add to the numbers of the discontented. If the government and the ruling class of America has no answer to the workers when they demand justice in the industrial and political life of the nation except jails, deportations, arrests, persecutions, hounding, spying and the blacklist — then the sooner the government extends its persecutions and adds to their severity, the better it will be for the working class of America. The sooner then will the workers learn the lesson of organization.

The workers' answer to these outrages must be ORGANIZATION. The capitalist class fears the workers only when

organized. Unorganized, it knows the workers are helpless to resist the exploitation which it seeks to fasten upon them. Unorganized we are completely at the mercy of brutal capitalism. Only by perfecting our organizations can we hope to successfully oppose the organized power of capital and capitalistic governments which are its tools. Then organize! Organize in the shops, form a group of workers for carrying on propaganda, for support of the workers' press and the work of education. Distribute propaganda, sell books, get subscriptions for the revolutionary papers. Take your rightful place as a leader in the craft unions if you belong to one. Join the Communist Labor Party and the I. W. W. Take your place in the organized ranks of the Proletarian Revolution against capitalist oppression, tyranny and exploitation. Join the world's Red Legions that are making this world a fit place for the workers. Join the International Proletarian Revolution against capitalist exploitation.

Organize and put a stop forever to the dictatorship of the capitalist class.

(Issue of January 7, 1920, page 1.)

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45. THE TRUTH

OFFICIAL ORGAN COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY

Office of Publication: Duluth, Minnesota.

SAM GOMPERS' LATEST JOKE

To ALLIED SOLDIERS

Are you forever going to allow your lives to be rolled in mud and blood for the sake of your exploiters? Are you satisfied to resume the life of endless toil, of dull monotony, and a pauper's end? Do you wish to condemn your children to the same stunted, purposeless existence? Or does not the future hold out something better both for you and them?

The A. F. of L. Convention, consisting of 200 delegates, from all parts of the country, was held this week in Washington, D. C.

When you realize the necessity for some action being taken to counteract the high cost of living and the vicious legislation now being enacted, you would expect the conference to get down to serious business. The Conference dealt with the various strikes

and threshed out the new political party issue. All in SEVEN HOURS. Delegates from all over the country met in Washington and dealt with matters of vital importance to the labor movement, all in seven hours.

How long are the rank and file of the A. F. of L. going to allow themselves to be fooled by their leaders? How long, O Lord, how long?

(Issue of December 19, 1919, page 1.)

MAY DAY GREETINGS

While we meet today and celebrate May Day as the International holiday of the working class, it would be well worth our time to pause and take notice as to whether we are ready to perform the task set forth on each and every May Day.

Many speakers will talk of the glories of past triumphs and laud the achievements of the past. But the successes of the future are not built on the emotions of the present. It is a good sign when the workers can be aroused to a high pitch of emotion by the deeds of our martyred dead. We are all emotional. But the coming struggle will be won when we are ready to meet the capitalist class with an organized army of workers; workers who fully understand the road they are traveling and the goal of their objective. We shall have to march together with the one sole purpose in view, the abolition of the system that enslaves us. We shall have to know why we should work for the abolishment of the system. Above all things we must know why certain things take place. Value speculations and emotional outbursts count for nothing, if anything, they hinder us. We must exhibit reason instead of emotion. We must be possessed of knowledge, not speculative theories. These are the necessary things for all workers to acquire, before they can hope to be successful in their age-long struggle against capitalism.

True it is that we must be organized. But the mere fact that we have the workers organized, even in an industrial union does not prove that we have the real strength of the workers behind us. If the workers as a class fail to recognize their class position, then they will be but as putty in the hands of the sculptor.

Only when they are possessed of a clear perception and a

knowledge of the class struggle, will they be able to use their economic power to advantage. The man who revolts, simply because conditions compel him to revolt, and does not understand the nature of those conditions that compel him to act, is but acting as skid under the wheels of progress. It is the class consciousness of the workers that produces the necessary revolutionary feeling that makes all revolutions a possible success. The feeling of class consciousness takes hold of the working-class movement and infuses new life into it. It makes it fully qualified to take part in the revolution.

Therefore this May Day, we strongly urge workers to organize in industry with the avowed object of obtaining control of the State and thus depriving the capitalist class of their power to drive the workers back to their present miserable conditions. *With the destruction of the political State* it becomes increasingly necessary for the workers to be organized in industry, so that when the present State has collapsed, the workers will be able to take over industry and in the place of a capitalist republic, hoist the Red Flag of the Soviet form of Government, i. e., the Industrial Commonwealth.

The education of the workers must of necessity come from off the job. The everyday struggle that takes on the job, must be the means of disciplining and educating the workers. It must be the means of showing the workers how to fight their own battles, depending upon their own strength. In a word, on the job we must organize and educate ourselves for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We have lately been in Butte, Montana, and as we gazed at those huge mountains, that seemed to threaten nature itself; as we gazed at the workers and heard their stories of the misdeeds and atrocities committed by gunmen, in the name of law and order, we knew full well, that the need for organization was more keenly felt than it had ever been before. Power is what the workers need. Power that must be wielded by the workers in an intelligent manner. So this May Day we appeal to the workers of all the world to organize and study, not for the purpose of obtaining higher wages, but for the purpose of routing the capitalist class and establishing the Industrial Socialist Republic.

Speed the Day!

(Issue of May 1, 1919, page 1.)

46. PRAVDA

Place of Publication, 1804 Madison Ave., New York City.
Circulation: 3,000.

One Mitchell A. Rubenstein was interrogated concerning this publication, which is gotten out in the Russian language, and testified that it had a circulation of about 3,000, and was gotten out by the then (August, 1919) four Russian branches of the Socialist Party.

It is a revolutionary radical publication.

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47. NEW YORKER VOLKS ZEITUNG

Published at New York City
Editor: Ludwig Lore.
Daily circulation about 11,000.

Ferdinant Meier, upon being interrogated concerning this publication, testified that it was not self-supporting, but was subsidized by various interested persons.

Department of Justice agents entered the publication office of this concern early in January by reason of its extremely seditious character.

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48. THE MODERN SCHOOL

Published by the Ferrer Modern School, Stelton, N. J.
Editorial Board: Leonard D. Abbott, Frank V. Anderson, Margereta Schuyler, Harry Kelly and Carl Zigrosser.

A monthly magazine devoted to libertarian ideas and education.

This is one of the official organs of the Ferrer Colony of Anarchists at Stelton, N. J.

The Anarchist Colony which publishes this magazine has been more fully discussed under the heading "Subversive Education" in another part of this report. But in order to illustrate how effective this subversive education is, we reprint here from page 262 of the September, 1919, issue of "The Modern School" a letter from the executive board, Local 20, of the International Lady Garment Workers' Union showing that at least in the case of this union the anarchist appeal of the Ferrer Colony has borne fruit.

A LETTER OF HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE

A public meeting in celebration of the laying of the corner-stone of the first unit of a group of buildings designed for the uses of the Ferrer Modern School was held at the Ferrer Colony on Sunday, August 3, 1919. The ceremony was really an act of faith on the part of the Board of Management — for the funds to pay for the building are not yet in sight — an act of faith in the principles and methods of the school itself and in the willingness and determination of intelligent workers to ensure the needed buildings, once they understand what the school is doing and what it proposes to do.

A few days later the following letter, with a check for $200, was received:

"New York, August 11, 1919.

"COMRADE WILLIAM THURSTON BROWN, *Principal of the Ferrer School, Stelton, New Jersey:*

"DEAR BROTHER —

"In accord with the feeling of our delegates, we attended the meeting of Sunday, August, 3, 1919, when the corner-stone of the new building for our children was laid, and in accord with the knowledge of every intelligent worker who is acquainted with the policy of the Ferrer School, we, the Executive Board of the Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U., at our meeting held on Monday evening, August 4, 1919, took up the question as to how and by what means we could help along your enterprise and assist it to function.

"In consideration of the dark reactionary wave prevailing in this country, thousands of men and women rotting in the prisons primarily because, in advocating their beliefs or voicing their dissent, they expressed or acted upon opinions contrary to our present brutalizing thoughts and laws; and in consideration of the fact that you are teaching the ideas of the great humanist, Francisco Ferrer, whose ideals grew from the conviction that in order to build up a new world of human feelings and master minds, we must first teach our children how to be human and kind; we therefore decided to help our school with $200.

"We hope that under your instruction your pupils will come to a full manhood and womanhood, so that they shall understand that the future belongs to those who know and

appreciate the power of solidarity and organization of the working class.

"Hoping that the rest of the organizations will do their bit, we remain,

"Fraternally yours,

"EXECUTIVE BOARD LOCAL 20.

"L. WEXLER, *Manager.*"

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49. RABOCHEY — i — KRESTYANIN

Office of Publication, 133 E. 15th Street, New York City.

(Headquarters Union of Russian Workers.)

Editor and Business Manager: S. A. Youmshuoff.

Daily, Circulation 4,000.

This paper, published in the Russian language, is run at a loss, and is subsidized by the Union of Russian Workers.

No. 45 OCTOBER 22, 1919.

Page 4, column one, last part of editorial entitled, "New Loans for the Crushing of the Russian People:"

"The Bankers feed on blood and flesh. They have filled their banks with money coined from human bones. What is a free people to them, if dollars jingle and by their sheen please the greedy eye? What is Russia and Siberia to them, if they can live to complete satisfaction and drink aplenty?

"Kolchak and Denikin with the English sailors and soldiers are the vanguard. The world's capitalists — their golden back and inspirers. And when the great and new athlete — the Russian people — swings his knotted club and knocks the head off his enemies? It is time to bury — not the Russian revolutionary nation, but their adversaries — the dollar and crown majesties."

No. 37. OCTOBER 13, 1919.

Page 4, columns 2 and 3, article entitled, "All Anti-Bolsheviks are Pogrom Makers:"

"Saturday evening, A. Cahan, editor of the Jewish Paper 'Forward' who has just returned from a tour through Europe, appeared at Carnegie Hall.

"A. Kahan visited Germany and Poland. He was not permitted to go to Soviet Russia.

"From personal observations A. Kahan came to the conclusion that all anti-Bolshevik forces are plain pogrom makers. The character of these pogroms reminds of the middle ages.

"At the same time these pogroms do not appear of an accidental character, but as a completely systematized organization. Besides, A. Kahan affirms that the Washington government has a great influence over Europe, and if it wished, it could stop all depredations going on in the old world.

"In Poland the economic situation is not important."

No. 33. OCTOBER 8, 1919.

Page 4, column 1, editorial entitled, "Demand the Lifting of the Blockade and the Liberation of Political Prisoners."

"Comrades, workers, all conscious people!

"Soviet Russia is strangling in the jaws of the blockade.

"Over there perish hundreds of thousands of our brethren, over there die of hunger hundreds of thousands of children. Over there die a slow hungry death hundreds of thousands of your wives, sisters and mothers.

"Soviet Russia does not wish war with anyone. She wishes peace, and asks to be let alone.

"No one ever declared war on Soviet Russia, yet she is surrounded by hostile armies.

"He within whom conscience still lives, who still loves liberty, to whom the conquests of the labor class are still dear, must come today to the demonstration and demand the removal of the blockade from Soviet Russia.

"Today then, you must demand the liberation of the political prisoners, who by hundreds are scattered about American Bastilles, and who are incarcerated merely because they boldly and proudly spoke to the world words of truth and justice.

"*Make then a demonstration today regardless of your party convictions, don't be the betrayer of the martyrs who fought for you.*"

No. 59. AUGUST 14, 1919.

Page 4, column 1, first part of article: "Poland and the World Revolution:"

"The question of Poland and her part in the world revolution obtains at the present time exceptional significance. At the moment when the imperialistic war came to an end, when the contradictions of bourgeois peace opened up with astounding clearness, when the era of Socialism is approaching, it is important in the highest degree to reckon on all veins of resistance of the old world and with feasible exactness fix a level of the revolutionary current in all countries.

"Once upon a time the founders of the present communism, Marx and Engel, ascribed to Poland an exceptional role in the international revolution."

Column 2, last portion of same article:

"At the moment the world war ended, when everywhere division into classes is coming to the front, and takes the place of division into 'nations,' and in Poland two hostile camps are uniting more closely and strongly.

"In the camp of the bourgeoisie we find the old petty nobility who are preparing for new exploitation of labor, mill owners and manufacturers, bankers, wealthy peasants and the stupid ever vacillating between conflicting currents, numerous petty bourgeoisie.

"But the camp of revolution is also reviving; exiled to other countries, now surrounded by the conflagration of the revolution, the proletariat of cities and villages is returning to their native country with an intense desire to overthrow the yoke of capitalism in their own country. It penetrates everywhere, through all towns and villages, at Warsaw and Lodz, in the Dombrowski basin, and in Lublin old organizations are resurrecting and new fighting Soviets of Workers' Deputies are growing up.

"Such are the forces of revolution and counter-revolution in Poland. And both fondle the hope of outside help. Poland has ever been the point of application of international forces. The outcome of the present struggle will depend on the development of the revolution in neighboring countries, but it is also true that the source of revolution in Poland has not been exhausted and that its outbreak can follow independently"

No. 20. SEPTEMBER 23, 1919.

Page 4, column 2, editorial entitled:

"FREE" AMERICA

In America liberties are so numerous, that people have overeaten of them. They are nauseated with American "liberties."

American "liberties" are allowed everywhere: in public squares, in prisons, in cellars filled with beer barrels, in the city slums, in fashionable hotels, midst velvet and rags, in piles of dollars and garbage cans from which the city poor, together with the stray cats, get their food.

In America at the very gates stands the statue of "Liberty" with its glowing torch in its hands.

Now this statue turned green from the sea spray and the fire of liberty shines dimly.

American liberty sits behind locks in Federal prisons. It is taught there with starvation and bayonets.

American liberty wallows in the bank vaults of Wall Street in New York. From these banks there is strung a special telephone direct to the White House.

American liberty in the name of the constitution gives the right to submit to all laws and arbitrariness of the powerful of this world.

The American constitution of liberty is inlaid in every police "club," which frequently beats people over the head, so the imprint of liberty would not disappear from their brow.

This liberty wanders in solemn parades over rich streets with flags, music and songs of chains and slavery.

It wanders beneath triumphant arches and under the hand clapping of the spectacle of a hungry crowd.

Liberty carries with it large cannon, generals, people in tuxedos and silk hats, but does not produce even a single odor of the sweat of toil.

Liberty loves $500 dresses, $36 shoes, Chicago meat packers, bankers, former Socialists, and big manufacturers, those appointed from "higher up" from the public to decide labor questions.

No. 13. SEPTEMBER 15, 1919.

Page 4, column three, portions of article by I. Dziomenko, entitled,

"Good luck."

"Today in the workers' temple of science (the Soviet Workers' School) begins the winter educational season. Today workers

thirsting for knowledge and conditions of life, who were not allowed the opportunity to study before, are taking to studies, and are associating with a new life, illumined by a brightly glaring light of knowledge. Today workers who visit the school for the first time, enter upon the broad highway of independence.

. . . . . .

"The transitory studies will prove to them, that studying in a school, the masters of which are the students themselves, to study in a school, where the comrade teachers do not act officiously but with comradely politeness, and are distinguished from their students only by their knowledge, to study in a school like this, is not only not hard but even pleasant and jolly. Scholars find in such studies continually increasing delight, realizing that knowledge will bring enormous advantage not only to themselves, but to their free fatherland, which is so badly in need of experts.

"Comrades! If you wish to experience the delight that learning gives, if you wish to taste the sweetness of the fruits of knowledge, come to us and enter the ranks of the students.

"Remember that learning is light, and lack of learning, darkness.

"Good luck."

No. 60. NOVEMBER 8, 1919.

Page 4, column 1, last part of editorial, "The Russian revolution created a new era:"

"Revolutionary Russia hastened to destroy and construct. There was an excessive amount of work. The whole world looked and was either astonished or horrified. And Russia turned all barracks, jails, palaces and churches into national homes, libraries, universities and healthy dwellings for the working masses. Russia gave land to peasants, factories and shops to workers, all accumulated wealth to the whole people. Russia revolutionized science, art, thought and morale. Russia hastened to mend the new life of communes, soviets, and the vigorous human personalty.

"All Russia, from small to great, all villages, cities and lonely spots took a most passionate part in this establishment of the new world era.

"All around there still rages the hurricane of big cannon and whistling bullets. All around blood is flowing. And Russia creates and with its own flesh protects its revolutionary victories

and achievements. There is no infernal power on earth that can overthrow this Russsian knight and wrest from his hand the burning torch of revolutionary thoughts and impulses.

"Revolution and the spirit of strife to the victorious end has taken possession of the whole country, which is ready for any self sacrifice and heroism, if only to bring to the world the unextinguishing torch of the great revolution, which began the new era.

"Russia began the revolution. She will carry this fire over all the countries and nations and will consume all the scum of historic evils and untruths, will destroy all governments which have shattered human individuality and will install a new, yet unknown, complete freedom, beauty, care free and happy order of life.

"A great people has created a great revolution."

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50. FREEDOM

ANARCHIST ORGAN

Office of Publication: 133 East 15th St., New York City.

Editor: Freedom Publishing Group.

(Note: This paper is now published at Stelton, N. J.)

A motto on the title page of this publication reads: "A Journal of Constructive Anarchism."

Harry Kelly is the editor; Leonard D. Abbott, the associate editor. This publication, as well as the group that edits it, are more fully referred to in that section of this report dealing with the subject of anarchy. Reference to it is made at this time because the leading article in Volume I, No. 6, for June, 1919, entitled "To Our Readers," has particular reference to some of the publications that will be discussed in this section:

"Beginning with this issue, 'Freedom' will appear under the editorship of Harry Kelly with Leonard Abbott as associate editor and Comrade J. Isaacson as business manager. The paper, as heretofore, will advocate the principles of Anarchist Communism and its columns will be open to those advocates of other schools of thought who have the courage to write for us. We invite the aid and co-operation of all those striving for a society based upon Voluntary Communism and trust the following will give some idea of the aims and principles we stand for.

"It may be well asked, 'Why another paper?' when the broadly libertarian and revolutionary movement is so ably represented by Socialist publications like the 'Revolutionary Age,' 'Liberator,' 'Rebel Worker,' 'Workers World,' and many others, and the advanced liberal movement by the 'Dial,' 'Nation,' 'The World Tomorrow,' and to a lesser degree, the 'New Republic' and 'Survey.' *These publications are doing excellent work in their several ways, and with much of that work we find ourselves in hearty agreement. They are, however, either liberal in the best sense of the word, Bolshevik, or Socialist, and we are none of these, even if we look with a kindly eye on all of them. We are Anarchists because we see in the State an enemy of liberty and human progress, and we are Communists because we conceive Communism as the most rational and just economic theory yet proposed.* By Communism, however, we do not mean a disguised Collectivism but one based upon the well-known principle 'From each according to his ability to each according to his needs.'

"Our task is to help make the world ready for such ideas and if it is one that seems Utopian let it be remembered that Syndicalism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat were considered equally so three or four years ago and they are now being tried out in probably half of Europe. Also let it be remembered that the situation in the countries where these theories are being tried can not last and it is more than probable the people will be driven forward to Communism or back to capitalism. Europe is bankrupt and stands halfway across the threshold of the new social order and on every hand opinions are expressed that the one thing that will save civilization is some form of Communism. The question now is not so much the saving of the present system with its misery, poverty and slavery, as what will take its place and the best method to attain the desired end.

"*As Anarchists we seek the abolition of the State or organized government and would substitute for it a society founded upon the principles of voluntary association and free Communism. The Left Wing Socialists now advocate the same thing, so our differences are merely in the tactics pursued. They wish to seize control of the State and then destroy it; we seek the same end by organizing voluntary groups outside the State atrophying its functions, and at the same time giving the workers the training and experience necessary to enable them to function after it is overthrown.*" (Vol. I, No. 6, June, 1919.) (Italics Ours.)

WHAT SHALL THE ANSWER BE?

How long are we going to tolerate the tyranny of Lawmakers of this country? Are we going to stand silently by, while our comrades are being thrown around the earth like cattle?

Day after day we see the representatives of Law and Order, manhandling the Agitators, Leaders, and Intellects of the revolutionary movement. At this very hour an unestimable number of our comrades are being mutilated in the institutions of Capitalism — while at the same time countless thousands lie nullified, awaiting deportation.

They are all comrades in the fight — they stand solidified with one idea, viz., "the abolition of the present order." Their fight is our fight — we are with them!

Do you realize that it is essentially the duty of the working masses to overthrow every system in which the maintenance of such calls for one-fifth of the population to be dutifully employed as stool-pigeons, spies, bulls, dicks and black-hand gangs.

Hail the revolution that will provide these ferocious beasts with more congenial aspirations.

The exploitation of man by man must cease! And in order to bring this to a speedy termination, we shall carry on our tireless and fearless agitation, despite the moaning and terrorism on the part of Governments.

Our answer to you and your laws is as obvious as ever, we are anarchists, and as such we will propagate the philosophy of anarchism until the establishment of the Free Society is assured. Your laws do not perturb us — the more laws you make, the weaker becomes your position.

You threaten us with deportation, we gladly accept your challenge — what's more we are ready no matter where we go — we are anarchists just the same.

Governments are Governments, no matter where they exist, and it is the duty of every Anarchist wherever he may be, to work for the abolition of such.

We look your hirelings in the face and challenge them to deport us.

A. T.

(Issue of March 15, 1919, Vol. I, No. 3.)

WHY I SHOT CLEMENCEAU.

About seven months ago the idea came to my mind to kill Clemenceau, the enemy of mankind. Several days ago I decided to execute my plan.

I am the only man responsible for this act.

I wanted to kill the man who is instigating a new war. I am an anarchist, a friend of the people, Germans not excluded, a friend of mankind and brotherhood.

These words deeply penetrate into the heart of every man. Clemenceau is a tyrant and a tyrant of the highest degree. Clemenceau is making the fighters for the popular cause rot in the free prisons of France. Clemenceau is the greatest enemy of the great free-thinking people. No wonder he is called "Tiger." But he is not a tiger — he is a man. Prior to the March revolution in Russia there were sent to the French front many Russian soldiers, the figures varying between 100,000 and 300,000 men. Reliable information it is impossible to obtain. They replaced English and French troops in the most dangerous sections of the battle line; well supplied with arms and provisions they took the place of a large number of the Allied troops, which were sent to police different sections of France.

Unexpectedly the revolution in Russia broke out; Russian soldiers immediately began to be insistent in their demands, and created a Soviet of the soldiers' deputies, which was arrested in its entire personnel. Nobody knows of its fate up to the present. This did not stop the Russian soldiers; they protested as a single man, and refused to advance. Their superiors were infuriated and began to threaten, but nothing could shake the Russians. At the council of the generals and counsels of the old regime, the tyrant rulers, it was decided to take the Russians off the firing line and intern them behind the bars of the camp for the interned. They were recognized as enemies. But that was not the end of the sufferings of the Russians. Terrible conditions, executions of the leaders, arrests of the conscientious soldiers — nothing could shake the firm attitude of the Russian soldiers, who had scented the fire of the revolutionary flame in their native land. They categorically refused to obey. Detachment after detachment was sent to the rear-guard camps, where they awaited their fate.

When the Kerensky government had fallen, the sympathy of the Russian soldiers was on the side of the Soviets of Workers'

and Soldiers' Deputies. But in spite of that some of the detachments of the Russian army still fought on the front lines. Russia signed the Brest-Litovsk treaty, and those troops that were under the influence of the revolutionary patriotism understood and decided to leave the struggle. The last detachments refused to go into the fight, basing their claim on the fact that they were neutral citizens, they understood the reality of the war. Their main demand was to return to their native land. This request — and then demand — the French premier, Clemenceau, ordered to suppress. The order of the French government was obeyed immediately, and many Russians, true sons of the cold valleys of Russia, fell before the bullets of the treacherous weapons of those cunning politicians. Many were wounded. Clemenceau's order "not to spare bullets" was executed according to all the rules of military tactics. With waving flags the battalions of the free republic returned from the places of their crimes accompanied by the sounds of the "Marsellaise." A few days afterward a colonel was sent to the camp where the irreconcilable Russians were kept, who delivered a fiery speech. He spoke of revolution, and finished by an appeal to enlist in the army to fight against the Bolsheviki. Twenty thousand men believed these fables, telling them that Russia was in danger and decided to save Russia. They were formed into detachments and were sent to the nearest military camp in order to be attached to the Czecho-Slovak army. The rest, tens of thousands of men, as one man decidedly and determinedly answered: "The Russian people have concluded peace; they might have made a mistake, as you say; yet you treated us cruelly even after the downfall of the Czar's regime, and therefore we demand to be sent to our native land; there on the spot we will deliberate as to what must be suppressed for the Russian people." The French authorities became enraged, and having caught the leaders of the military Soviets sent them without trial to hard labor, to an island prison, located not far from Bordeaux. The rest were exiled to places where no crow flies. After that a dishonest reaction was instituted; the Russian soldiers were tormented to the extreme. Then having tormented them sufficiently and enjoyed it enough, the Premier ordered the irreconcilable Russians to be sent to Africa. Forty thousand men were sent there. While they were being sent into slavery there came unexpectedly a Russian colonel, decorated from head to foot with

the Czar's medals, and facing the rows of soldiers responded to the order of Clemenceau with the following words:

> "My boys, it would truly be a great mistake if we consented to go to war against our fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, and the whole Russian people. First of all what we need to do is to return to Russia, and there we shall see what government we Russians shall defend.
>
> "You are sending my boys to slavery under the hot rays of the African sun. Send me also with them, for I believe exactly the way they do."

Clemenceau's order was obeyed, and 40,000 Russians for their fidelity to the popular cause were sent to slavery in the African plantations of the French.

Many, many martyrs have fallen under the scorching sun of the sandy deserts of Africa. They died for their unshakable faith in the revolutionary Russian people. Glory and honor to you, brothers, true fighters and indomitable martyrs!

Last November, after the armistice with Germany, tens of thousands of war prisoners were liberated, among them many Russians. As a stream this human wave rushed in the direction of the Allied lines en masse, passing the outposts and blockhouses. The Russians were in a terrible condition, beaten, wounded, and bare-footed. They did not resemble men at all, but rather apparitions. Having reached the American lines they were stopped, given American uniforms, but were forbidden to proceed further. Where are they, what is the matter with them? There is no information. Where they are — martyrs — remains a secret. Their number reaches between 10,000 and 15,000 men. There is some unreliable information that they are being kept in the camps as prisoners of war in Paris and other cities of France.

Many refugees passing the battle line found themselves in the cities where they were caught and told: "You have no right to live in this country. You must return to Russia, and enlist in the Czecho-Slovak army. You must fight against the Soviets." "We cannot do it," replied the Russian prisoners of war. "We must be sent to Russia and see the people at work. There on the spot shall we see whom we must defend."

Whatever be the power of the reactionaries in France, whatever attempts were made to break down their will and their faith in the righteousness of the Russian people, they have failed. The

soul of the Russian soldier is the soul of the whole Russian people — of 180,000,000 people. Such a soul can be convinced only by the truth. Enough of silence! It is the time to speak, even to shout.

I am an Anarchist, a friend of the people, not excluding Germany, a friend of mankind, of the brotherhood of man.

That is where the heart of man lies. That is where lies the spirit of protest and revenge. I lifted my hand; the protest of the shot resounded, and the "Tiger" was wounded.

EMILE COTTIN — A Frenchman.

(Issue of March 15, 1919, Vol. I, No. 3.)

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51. THE ANARCHIST SOVIET BULLETIN

Issued by American Anarchist Federal Commune Soviets.

This publication is clandestinely distributed in large quantities throughout the City of New York and elsewhere.

On July 4, 1919, several hundred copies were found on the steps of the New York Public Library at Fifth avenue and 42d street.

TO YOU, THE WORKERS OF AMERICA

We, the workers, here, shall take over the factory, the store, the farm, the warehouse and every other necessity for life and happiness, without having any profiteer government or church parasite to profit by our labor. This country is big enough for every human being who is willing to do his share of work — to live and enjoy life as human beings can in FREE WORKERS' COMMUNES.

Are you willing to stop being a submissive slave? Are you willing to become free?

If you are, then listen to those who dare again to tell you the truth for your benefit and theirs.

Start to act, and if you want it to be REAL action, organize into Workers' Commune Soviets, wherever you are.

Your motto shall be:

> "The country or place where you choose to live belongs to those that produce the necessities of life and happiness — not to those who have always profited by their slavery."

It is necessary for all of us to realize that not only must we exclaim: "Long live the Workers' Commune Soviets of Russia," or "Long live the Workers' Commune Soviets of the World," but we must realize that before we can see the Workers' Commune Soviets of the World, we must see to it that we shall first have the Workers' Commune Soviets of America!

The success and life of the Russian Workers' Commune and its realization in other countries depends upon us workers, wherever we happen to be.

WE happen to be in America, and we must do all we can to organize in the mine, store and farm, Workers' Commune Soviets.

Present society as it is now stands for your slavery!

WORKERS' COMMUNE SOVIETS WILL BRING YOU REAL FREEDOM.

The power lies in your hands whether the present slavery shall continue or be destroyed.

What is your answer, Workers of America?

TIME FOR ACTION

This important question must be answered and answered quickly by you, the workers of America! The Allies and the United States have not only thrown off their masks and shown you their treachery and hypocrisy by giving out their shameful peace to Germany, together with the now-shown-up-in-mud-besmeared, hypocritical snake, Woodrow Wilson, they have done something which is EVEN MORE TREACHEROUS AND SHAMEFUL than the German peace treaty; that is, they have openly come out and recognized the Russian Czar's successor, Czar Kolchak, they have given him openly (until now it was done secretly) all the guns, ammunition, money, spies and murderers needed in order to enthrone the old czardom and crush THE WORKERS' COMMUNE SOVIETS OF RUSSIA.

They are going to continue the blockade against the Russian people and by this starvation war, through which the Allies have already murdered hundreds of thousands of men, women and children, thus trying to force THE WORKERS' COMMUNE SOVIETS OF RUSSIA to submit to the old czardom.

This the Allies are doing, not against the people that was "*our*" enemy, but a people that were fighting with the Allies and

sacrificed more lives than any other allied country. . . . Do you workers know the reason why the Allies are doing it? Because the SUCCESS OF THE WORKERS' COMMUNE SOVIETS MEANS THE BEGINNING OF THE DOWNFALL OF CAPITALISM ALL OVER THE WORLD!

It means that no workers of any other country will continue to live in economic slavery, while the workers of Russia are free from it. That this is true we can see that since the Russian revolution started, the workers of Hungary followed next in taking over all industries through their WORKERS' COMMUNE SOVIETS. In Germany the workers' Soviets are getting stronger. Every day workers' Soviets are making uprisings in Spain, Italy, Austria, England and nearly every other country in the world.

Over in Canada the general strike is only a forerunner to the final battle that is soon to take place there, which will surely result in a victory for THE WORKERS' SOVIETS OF CANADA.

So, if capitalism, through the allied governments, has taken upon itself to crush the WORKERS' SOVIETS OF RUSSIA and bring back the rule of czardom, then it only shows that it is their final stand, in order to maintain their dying system, for they have taken up a war not only AGAINST THE WORKERS OF RUSSIA BUT AGAINST THE WORKERS OF THE WHOLE WORLD!

For this reason, we, the ANARCHISTS, ask you, THE WORKERS OF AMERICA: What are you going to do about it? What is your answer to this challenge of capitalism?

Mass meetings, with addresses by "prominent liberals," are of no avail to prevent this greatest of all crimes ever committed against a people. Resolutions of protest and paper petitions will be powerless to block the shameful plan of the allied capitalistic governments.

What is needed is not appeals to capitalism and its political tools to save that which it is to their interest to destroy. The only way to stop this heinous, heart-breaking, murderous crime against our fellow workers in Russia is for us to TAKE MATTERS INTO OUR OWN HANDS AND ACT QUICKLY!

We must follow the example of the "Triple Alliance" of England — the railway workers, miners and transport workers —

declare a general strike at once and not resume work until the brutal blockade of Russia is raised, the allies' troops are withdrawn and the sending of money and supplies to the Czarist Kolchak is stopped.

We must act quickly! In our shops, mines, mills and factories, in our unions, forums and societies, wherever the workers gather, this matter must be taken up. Let a ringing message echo around the world that the workers of America have called a General Strike, not only to block the attempt to revive the old Czardom, but also to organize WORKERS' COMMUNIST SOVIETS in every center in America and begin to — take over every industry in the country.

Let our message to the Workers' Soviets of Russia be "KEEP UP YOUR COURAGEOUS BATTLE FOR FREEDOM! THE WORKING CLASS OF THE ENTIRE WORLD WILL SOON BE FIGHTING ON THE BARRICADES OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION AGAINST CAPITALISM, ITS AGENTS AND UPHOLDERS, THE GOVERNMENT, THE CHURCH AND THE PRESS.

"WE, THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD, HAVE COMMITTED A GREAT CRIME AGAINST YOU RUSSIAN WORKERS BY REMAINING SILENT AND SUBMISSIVE, BUT NOW WE WILL SUBMIT AND KEEP SILENT NO LONGER! WE WILL BEGIN TO ACT, NOT ONLY TO SAFEGUARD YOUR FREEDOM, BUT ALSO TO FREE OURSELVES!"

Workers of America! Unite into Workers' Soviets everywhere, get ready to respond to the call of the GENERAL STRIKE THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY for that great day will mark the beginning of the social revolution. The Workers' Soviets of Russia shall never be destroyed.

Their destruction means our continuation in slavery!

Their victory means our liberation and the liberation of the workers of the world!

Therefore we call upon the WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES AND UPON THE WORKERS OF AMERICA TO ACT!

AND ACT AT ONCE!

THE DAY OF REBELLION

In the night of oppression and anguish
When the hosts of the tyrants rule wide,
And the people but shudder and languish,
As they crouch from the furies of pride,
Comes a word of Revolt whispered grimly
Through the chaos of discord and fear,
Till the slaves and despots feel dimly
That the Day of Rebellion is near.
They know not the day nor the year,
Yet soon shall its standards appear,
With defiance to rules and to rulers—
The Day of Rebellion is near.
It will come as the lightning from heaven;
As the wrath of the skies it will fall;
It will shatter like bolt of the levin
Harsh Monopoly's fortified Wall.
It will dash down to dust and perdition,
With a crash that shall echo through time,
The twin monsters of rule and submission
That have fostered the world in their slime.
The Day of Rebellion is near,
With omens for tyrants to fear,
And defiance to rules and to rulers
Wherever its standards appear.
(Issue of July, 1919)

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52. FIRST OF MAY MAGAZINE

Published by the Literature Bureau of the Workers International Industrial Union, Detroit, Mich.

One issue only appeared of this paper, consisting of 40 large, well-printed and illustrated pages.

"To quote Lenin: 'America is a great country, great in technical achievements. Marvelous developments are possible there. The American Daniel De Leon, first formulated the idea of a Soviet government, which grew up in Russia on his idea. Future society will be organized along Soviet lines. There will be

Soviet rather than geographical boundaries for nations. Industrial Unionism is the basic state. That is what we are building.'

"In this connection the historically truly distinct and extraordinary character of the proletarian revolution must be dwelt upon; pointing out the profound upheavals and changes necessitated by this evolution from private to social property in the means of production. It should also be pointed out and recognized that the proletarian movement, different from all previous class movements, is not primarily a movement seeking to capture the state in the interest of the proletariat, but that the proletarian revolution is essentially a *social revolution* aiming to abolish class rule by abolishing its very source or foundation — private property in the instruments of production. *Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that the very nature and goal of the social revolution aims at the destruction of the political state, i. e., the class state, and rears in its place the 'administration of things' in form of the Industrial Republic.*" (Italics ours.)

Significant quotations may also be taken from "The Russian Revolution," by S. F. Friedum.

"First let us review what it is that Socialist Industrial Unionism teaches the working class. It maintains that the mission of the workers is twofold — the working class must not only seize governmental power and do away with capitalist control of industries, but it must build the structure which will embody control and ownership of the industries by the workers. To accomplish the former — the overthrow of the capitalist classes — the political party of labor is not competent. The capitalist class draws its strength from its ownership of the means of production. This class must be evicted from the industries before it will be sapped of its power, and the workers must, therefore, put their industrial strength against that of the ruling class. The W. I. I. U. proclaims that the might of the working class, organized on the basis of industry and bound by a healthy class solidarity, is matchless since the workers as a class thereby have in their hands all the arteries of production the mines, factories, railroads, munition works, etc. It is only with such a class-conscious industrial weapon behind it, that the political party of labor can seize the reins of government and do away with capitalist rule. Without it political action is impotent.

. . . . . .

"This then is the essence of Socialist Industrial Unionism: The class-conscious industrial organization of the workers is indis-

pensable, not only to capture the capitalist stronghold, but also to evict the capitalist class from the industries, and to place the workers in readiness to assume management and control of the industries under an industrial government which will administer production for the common good.

. . . . . .

"To sum up: The Russian Revolution is a mightly endorsement of the three fundamental principles of Socialist Industrial Unionism. First, that the political movement of the working class can gain substance only from the industrial force behind it. The Soviets, being the class organization of the workers, as the producers of all wealth, were the all-overpowering influence in the different stages of Revolution, and finally enabled the proletariat to seize the governmental functions and maintain them. Second, that lack of realization on the part of the workers of the meaning of labor control, and lack of organization to assume control of the factories, mines, railroads, etc. resulted in a state of anarchy that seriously threatened the success of the revolution. The experiences of the Russian workers during this period distinctly point to the fact that management is not inherent in the masses; it must be developed by experience. To get that experience at the precarious time of revolution, gives the deposed capitalist class a chance to undermine the revolution. The Russian revolution, therefore, warns the workers of the world to take advantage of the Socialist Industrial Union to get, now while Capitalism still exists, the training and discipline to prepare them to immediately put into effect workers' control of the industries, after they have wrenched the government from the capitalist class. Third, when the importance of taking and holding the industries were driven home to the workers of Russia by the wedge of necessity, and the actual management of production by them began, they evolved an industrial structure which will be the government of the future, supplanting the political government of today.

"These are the great lessons of the Russian Revolution Whether or not it will fail, due to outward forces, it will, however, only then be a failure, if from its experiences, the workers of the world do not take to heart these lessons and start to recruit and organize their forces anew on a firm foundation that will insure victory and emancipation to their class and the whole of mankind!"

53. INDUSTRIAL UNION NEWS

Published at 54 Lafayette Boulevard, Detroit, Mich., owned and published weekly, by the Workers International Industrial Union

L. Shanken: Manager.

(March 13, 1920)

In an article on "Some Anti-Bolshevik 'Movies'" by Clarence Hotson the following lines occur:

"Knowing the history of our own country far better than do the capitalist apologists and their dupes, we know that true and genuine Americanism recognizes and proclaims the right of the people, in the words of Lincoln, to amend or overthrow their government whenever they grow weary of it. . . .

"As sensible men, we perceive that the capitalist system cannot function any longer; that it is now not only dying, but already dead; that it has long ago ceased to have any justification for existence, and that the foul exhalations of the unburied corpse are creating a pestilence. This pestilence takes the form of an unheard of assault upon the liberties of the American people under the pretext of suppressing Bolshevism; and also of a reactionary propaganda of lies and drivel whose utter brazenness and absurdity serve only to emphasize the desperation of the capitalists and their apologists.

"It is necessary to organize a pick and shovel brigade to bury this stenchful corpse of capitalism. The Workers' International Industrial Union points out the way. . . .

QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER ARTICLES FROM SAME ISSUE

"There is not room on this earth for two systems of society, a Socialist and a capitalist system.

"You had enough of the A. F. of L. scabbery and trickery. Enough tyranny. It's time to put a stop to it and unite with other workers into industrial unions. It's time to think of your own future and prepare for the future.

"THE THINGS BEFORE YOU TO DO ARE: (1) GIVE up your fight in the A. F. of L. if you intend to wage one. That organization is too rotten for you to stay in it, and to expect good to come out of it! ORGANIZE IN THE W. I. I. U. Organize so you will speed the day for complete emancipation from economic slavery, as the W. I. I. U. demands in its principles the overthrow of industrial autocracy. . . .

"On the part of the capitalist class the effort is to retain their ownership, which carries with it the exploitation of the toiler and heaps up wealth and pleasure for the owners. On their part, the working class become conscious of the fact that in order to raise themselves, to abolish themselves as a class, they must abolish the relation which binds them to the capitalists. The development of the machine makes class lines distinct; the struggle ensues to gain control of the agencies of wealth production.

"While the development of the machine is undermining the craft union and making it obsolete, it is making Industrial Unionism more necessary and hastening the day, when, with the downfall of capitalism, authority passes to the Industrial Administration of the Workers' Republic."

(November 15, 1919)

THE WORLD FOR THE WORKERS

But, Fellow-worker, you are not alone. The whole world is with you, more and more. Russia has risen, and all the powers of heaven, earth and hell cannot make Russian workers toil for a capitalist master again. Like a tiger that has tasted human blood, the workers and peasants of Russia have tasted FREEDOM, and they have found it GOOD. Send honest young men of any nationality against Soviet Russia — what happens? If they go at all, they are converted to Socialism. They refuse to fight for the capitalist class against their own class brothers. Sometimes they even make a sensible use of the guns their capitalist governments force them to carry. Send all the brothel bullies in creation, all the savages, the brutes who do the will of the capitalist class; what then? They are wiped out, SMASHED, destroyed, driven like sheep before the Russian Workers' army, even as Kolchak, Denikin, and their wretched conscript slaves or hirelings have been. . . .

But we can stop it. How? By intelligent POLITICAL ACTION and class-conscious INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM. We must have ONE GREAT POLITICAL PARTY of the working class. This party must preach and teach the Socialist Revolution; nothing else and nothing less. It must aim only to capture and overthrow the political state. This is the power

of club and jail of the hangman's noose and soldier's rifle; the power which the capitalist uses against the worker. By casting their votes for a truly revolutionary Socialist political party, the workers will express their growing class consciousness and understanding. They will serve notice on the capitalist that his time is up.

(November 8, 1919)

RUSSIA'S LESSON

The American Daniel De Leon first formulated the idea of a Soviet government which grew up on his idea. Future society will be organized along Soviet lines. There will be a Soviet rather than geographical boundaries for nations. Industrial Unionism is the basic thing. That is what we are building.

(Interview of Robert Minor with Lenin from New York "World")

"On this anniversary, therefore, it is necessary not only to celebrate the victories already won by the Russian workers, but to learn from Lenin, their leader, that it is the principles and tactics of Daniel De Leon which must be applied in America, England and all leading capitalist nations, in order to insure the safety of the gains already made and to bring about the universal emancipation of labor. Proletarians of all countries, unite! Unite politically and industrially! Unite on the principles of the workers' International Industrial Union!"

(November 22, 1919)

Robert Minor, the cartoonist-correspondent who was in Russia during the social upheaval which resulted in the overthrow of autocracy and the setting up of a government by the workers, spoke to an audience which filled Carmen's Temple in Chicago, Saturday night, October 18th: . . .

KINGS ARE STILL ON THE JOB

With all the prattle about democracy, we see kings everywhere thrust forward. The king, not a president of Belgium, is visiting the United States, and the kaiser's cousin is to be officially

received here — the Prince of Wales. Only the Soviet is not welcome here. That is because the Soviet has dared to confiscate the holdings of capital, and for that very reason every worker should rise up on his hind legs and shout: "Hands off Russia."

WHAT LENIN SAYS TO YOU

There are perhaps millions of American workers who look upon Nicolai Lenin and Leon Trotzky as the greatest living Socialists; and they are right in doing so. But do they understand what these men stand for; what it is they are trying to accomplish; how they seek to bring about the universal Socialist revolution? Are they willing to learn the lesson of the proper tactics and form of organization to be applied in the United States? These questions are vital to the success of the Socialist movement. . . .

Let the working class heed the words of Nicolai Lenin, and learn of De Leon how to establish Socialism in America! Line up with the W. I. I. U.; if it's good enough for Lenin, its good enough for you!

(December 13, 1919)

DEFINED DIETY OF POLITICAL PARTY

At the same time, through education in Socialist principles and organization in a Socialist Industrial Union, the workers could be trained and united into an organization capable, through its control over industrial production, of backing up the fiat of the Socialist ballot, and of taking, holding and operating the industries, and directly establishing, through its central executive, the administrative machinery of Socialist production. The State would then either die out or be abolished, according to whether the capitalist class, finding resistance hopeless, should acquiesce in the decision of the majority of the people, or whether it should, through forcible resistance, make the direct seizure of social control, through the industrial organization necessary. In either event upon the triumph of the working class, the political party of labor would cease to exist together with all political government.

DE LEONISM VINDICATED BY RECENT EVENTS

The real revolution consisted in the establishment and organization of the Soviets or Councils, working-class organizations, finally adopting the program and leadership of the Bolshevik Party. With the cry "All power to the Soviets!" the Bolshevik Party became the ruling power. With the slogan "All Power to the Workers' International Industrial Union!" the revolutionary Socialist political party of the United States will conquer state and step aside to let the industrial organization take charge of all social affairs.

LONG HAND NOTES

"*Gompers has been a power in the administration since the first election of Mr. Wilson, and influenced organized labor to vote the Democratic ticket in* 1912 *and* 1916." (Chicago Daily News.)

Quite true. The A. F. of L. always influences the workers to submit to brothers Capital's — oppression.

(May 10, 1919)

A. F. OF L. LIEUTENANTS AGAINST BETRAYING LABOR

A concrete illustration of what Gomperism will lead to and is capable of as a tool and servant of the capitalist class is given by the contemptible conduct manifested by the International Association of Machinists, A. F. of L., in the Acme Die Casting Corporation strike at present carried on by the W. I. I. U. in Brooklyn.

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54. UNION NEWS

Place of publication: Jamestown, N. Y.

Editor and manager: O. Anderson, 651 Prendergast Ave., Jamestown, N. Y. Published weekly by Jamestown Locals of the Workers' International Industrial Union.

(August 1, 1919)

BREAK UP A. F. OF L.

The dissolution of the American Federation of Labor would inure to the benefit of the labor movement in this country and to the international labor movement in general. Why?

In the first place, it is organized upon unsound principles. It holds that there can be partnership between capital and labor. Think it over! A partnership between the exploiters and exploited! Between the spider and the fly! Between the lion and the lamb! Between the cat and the mouse!

(June 4, 1919)

(ORGANIZER McNAMARA TAKES A FLIER IN SOCIALIST POLITICS.)

"There is no room in America for two labor organizations and there is no room in Jamestown for two, either. You W. I. I. U. men could not have been more militant. You of the W. I. I. U. are almost as bothersome to me as are the employers. What we want and need is one union in all plants. You claim we scab on your organizations, but we never have through any directions from me."

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55. THE MELTING POT

Published at 809 Pontiac Building, St. Louis, Mo., by Melting Pot Publishing Company

Editor: Henry M. Tichnor.

Issued monthly.

(This publication denotes itself "an exponent of International Communism.")

COMMUNISM, THE HOPE OF A HUMANIZED SOCIETY

A. M. ROVIN (SASCHA ISLAV)

(Note: Marten's Detroit Representative)

Much is being written concerning the fate that will befall civilization with the coming of world Communism. This exhibited tendency to fear is mainly due to a lack of familiarity with the historic background of Communist philosophy, its principles and theories. He who thinks there can be any conflict between science, culture, civilization and Communism, must be either superficial in his knowledge of science or ignorant of Communism.

At the very beginning of the workers' movement there were those in sympathy with the movement who regarded it as a kind of barbarism, predestined to destroy existing civilization and culture. Today, however, no clear thinking man or woman can foster such a conception. Wherever progress, humanity, science, civilization or art have been threatened by barbaric reaction, the proletariat — the defenders of revolution — have stood as a vanguard, as sentinels, in defense of these things. Nevertheless, it is true that the ignorant masses, directed and led by the prejudices and instincts of the ruling classes and the so-called educated, are still ruled by this fear, by superstition and servility. They perceive the producing masses rule and unpolished in speech and social conduct, with soiled hands and clothes, and features hard from the drudgeries of life. They see them dumb with apathy, weary creatures of toil filled with hatred against the class that owns and controls the instruments and tools of wealth production. They imagine that these people, erstwhile helots, will become masters of society, dominating the defenseless "higher castes," unprotected by police or government. The same horror overcomes them that came over the art-loving citizens of Italy when the unconquerable hosts of barbarians from the north camped at their doors, and they lament their beautiful culture, endangered by the rising proletariat and destined to destruction by the victory of Communism.

(Issue of December, 1919, page 4.)

"On November 7, 1917, the Bolsheviki constituted themselves the government of Russia. All power was given to the Workers' Soviets.

"Today, in spite of the internal warfare of the Russian bourgeoisie, assisted by the capitalist imperialists of other countries, in spite of the capitalist blockade, Soviet Russia stands stronger than ever, sustained and loved by the toiling masses of Russia, winning its way into the hearts of the workers of the world.

"From the International Communist Comrades go forth greetings to Soviet Russia.

"Long live the Russian Proletariat Revolution!

"Long live the Workers' Republic!

"We salute the coming International Republic of Workers!"

(Issue of November, 1919, page 2.)

HISTORIC NOVEMBER 7

A. M. ROVIN (SASCHA IALOV)

On the memorable day of November 7, 1917, the landless peasants of the villages, the industrial workers of the cities, the toilers of Russia, broke the chains of economic servitude. On that historic day was sounded the death-knell of capitalism and every other form of tyranny and oppression by which man has held his fellowman for centuries in bondage.

Today the world's proletariat celebrates this greatest event in the irresistible, historic march of the race. The resounding voice of the Russian, Communists, the uncompromising call of industrial freedom, is being translated with their hearts' blood into a living reality; their voice has become the all-embracing voice of the Revolution of the Ages; their clear vision and firm historic understanding, their interpretation of Communism so impellant that it calls as it never called before!

COMRADES, WORKERS, SOLDIERS, PEASANTS, AND ALL WHO TOIL! PUT ALL THE POWER IN YOUR DISTRICTS INTO THE HANDS OF YOUR SOVIETS. PRESERVE AND GUARD AS THE APPLE OF YOUR EYE, THE LAND, GRAIN, THE FACTORIES, TOOLS, PRODUCTS, TRANSPORTATION—ALL THESE ARE HENCEFORTH YOUR COMMON POSSESSION GRADUALLY, IN AGREEMENT WITH THE MAJORITY OF THE PEASANTRY, AND WITH THEIR APPROVAL; AS WE LEARN THE LESSON OF THEIR PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE AND THAT OF THE WORKERS, WE SHALL ADVANCE STEADFASTLY AND UNWAVERINGLY TO THE REALIZATION OF SOCIALISM, IN WHICH WE SHALL BE AIDED BY THE ADVANCED WORKERS OF THE MOST CIVILIZED COUNTRIES AND WHICH WILL GIVE TO THE NATIONS PERMANENT PEACE AND DELIVERY FROM ALL OPPRESSION AND FROM ALL EXPLOITATION.

In the words of Comrade Tichenor, this voice is "calling to the humble ones — the despoiled ones of the earth, to arise from their knees, break their chains, and redeem society from the masters that have held the bodies of men and women in servility, their brains in superstition.

"Calling to banish forever the lords of privilege, that have

made the green fields a feast for parasites, and a famine for those that provide the feast.

"Calling to end a world of vampires and victims, to build a world of brothers, classless and clean."

(Issue of November, 1919, pages 3 and 4.)

An article on page 8 of this issue entitled "Soviets on Earth" by Robert Minor, contains the following:

SOVIETS ON EARTH

ROBERT MINOR

Let no man misunderstand. The "Soviet" tactic is not necessarily or at all times and places a matter of cannon or other violence. On the contrary, the "Soviet" tactic is essentially conductive to peace and lack of violence, under circumstances as we know them here in America and England. So it seems to me. I earnestly believe that the suggestions I here make are the one surest way to avoid a violent and bloody cataclysm.

The typical manifestation of the Soviet, as I see it, is the growing of a giant of industrial power of labor with the purpose of obtaining mastery over industry. The surest sign of the "Soviet" is growing up in a land of a duality of power, on one side the industrial, on the other the political. In the test of strength, the industrial will triumph over the political. That will be the means of establishing Industrial Democracy.

Do you know what is happening in England? While the British fleet fires on Petrograd in an illegal and piratical war to destroy Revolution, Revolution closes its grip upon England. There is now being perfected a system by which councils (the Russian name for "council" is "soviet") of workingmen's delegates elected by the Labor Unions, will control as they please all of England's key industries. In spite of the fuming and raging of England's bourgeoisie and aristocracy, England is marching serenely into "dictatorship of the proletariat" in industry. . . .

Industrial Democracy is soon to dawn throughout the world.

There are certain things that we have to do to make sure of this dawn of the Freedom about which Man has been dreaming so many years. The most important is *unity*. There has to be one

single battle-cry upon which all the world of toil can unite. I have heard that cry. I heard it in Russia:

"Da zdrastvuyet Sovietsky Vlast!"

I heard it next in Berlin while the machine guns fired upon the crowd:

"Hoch die Raete!"

Then I heard it in Paris in answer to the sabre slashes of Clemenceau's cossacks:

"Vive les Soviets!"

I have heard it at last in America:

"Long live the Soviets!"

That is the cry to which the workingmen of the world will unite. Some "Socialist" theories will continue to split hairs and to weigh and juggle with the scandals from the propaganda journals of the bourgeoisie, but the working class will know.

Everywhere the cry "Long live the Soviets" will wake the hopes and the life of workingmen. It is marvelously fortunate that the growth of industrial power along Soviet lines really will free the world. The first thing to do is to save the Russian Revolution!

Russia has not the soviet system in perfection; you can't expect a two-year-old social system to be mature, and any more than a two-year-old human being. The theory is not yet perfected anywhere. Russia is most useful to the world as a social experiment. We must preserve that social experiment. From it we shall learn what to do and *what not to do.* From its mistakes we will learn how to do better. As a social experiment we must preserve it. Otherwise there would inevitably be another such social experiment before we could win freedom in peace.

And so the greatest need of Mankind today is for the working class of the world to unite in one mighty action of its industrial power, to save the Russian revolution.

(Issue of November, 1919, pages 9 and 10.)

On page 11 in the October, 1919, issue we find an article by Linn A. E. Gale, the draft evader, entitled "Shall the Beast rape Mexico" from which we quote the following:

SHALL THE BEAST RAPE MEXICO?

By LINN A. E. GALE, Publisher of Gale's Magazine, Mexico City, D. E., Mexico.

The claws of the Big Brute of North America are on Mexico's throat! The nation trembles and well she may. "Intervention" is imminent and she knows what intervention will mean — strangulation, torture, rape, and slavery. Like starving India and wretched Ireland in the grip of England, will Mexico be if intervention comes and she is made the helpless toy of the lecherous lust of the Big Brute, American capitalist imperialism.

Yet she has nothing else to expect. Allied capitalism, the consummate product of economic evolution, the cruel tiger, that out of the fierce fight in the jungle of junkerism has gained pre-eminence over the other beasts of the forest, licks its chops and snaps its jaws in gleeful anticipation of the feast that awaits it.

Allied capitalism won its war to eliminate Germany as a commercial competitor, but it has other tasks to be attended to. Mexico, innocent, unsophisticated, untamed little vixen that she is, has taunted and defied the Beast. She refused to help it in its late death-struggle. She has dared to try to be independent, free, and even scornful, first of his sickening caresses and then of his ugly threats.

She must be chastised, humbled and put in chains.

Intervention furnishes the fetters that will fasten her. So intervention must be her fate, the Beast decides.

SOLIDARITY, THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD

By J. E. SNYDER

From the dungeons and cells of America's Bastiles comes the hearty hail of our comrades. They are defiant. The lash and bayonet cannot quell, nor can dungeons make them retract.

At the dawn of every day they arise with hope aflame and far-seeing visions of the day when labor shall be free.

They hear the trend of millions as they march on LABOR DAY. In every parade they see more than the paraders. In every speech they see more than the speakers. They see emancipators. They see the spokesmen of the new day that is dawning. Across every banner, invisible to the eye, they see a KEY. A great hand grasps the key. They see a prison door. Great dark

and dreary walls are before the bearer of the key. They see more than does the bearer of the key. To him the darkness is within, while to them it is without, for the prison is flooded with a wonderful light. IT IS THE LIGHT OF THE TORCH OF FREEDOM. It springs from the Soul of the martyrs possessed by the great idea. And they see more than the light. Words are written in the flame. As the prison door is swung back on its rusty hinges the light bursts out and floods the world and the multitude takes up the words, crying "Solidarity—Labor's power is in solidarity!"

(Issue of October, 1919, page 17.)

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56. GALE'S MAGAZINE

Published in Mexico City, monthly.

Editor and Publisher, Linn A. E. Gale.

This journal which styles itself "Journal of Revolutionary Communism" is published by Linn A. E. Gale, a draft evader, who fled from this country into Mexico in order to escape serving his country.

Among the contributors to this magazine are: Sen Katayama, a Japanese radical, operating in this country; Dr. Frederick A. Blossom, an anarchist; Arthur Ransom, Scott Nearing, Upton Sinclair and John Haynes Holmes.

Editorials by Linn A. E. Gale:

"Daily the tools of the American government in their efforts to strangle all independent thought in Wall Street's empire, commit outrages that make the soul shudder and the heart grow sick.

"Fresh from the fields of the most awful carnage ever known, their hands still dripping with the blood not only of the workingmen of the lately warring countries, but of the freest people on earth — the Russians — the 'Huns' of America propose to invade Mexico and overthrow a government, weaker and younger, to be sure, but more liberal and honest than the regime of blood-and-iron that reigns in Washington.

"American manhood, regardless of political and economic

differences, should rise as to a unit to put down this foul plot of dollar-demented devils of imperialistic finance." . . . .

. . . . . .

"Labor is learning well the lesson that Capitalism has taught it these many centuries. 'They that take the sword shall perish with the sword' is true but it is also true that those who are guilty of the greater crime of making others take the sword against their will, shall perish with the sword.

"The other day union coal miners in West Virginia marched with guns to neighboring mines and ordered the workers to unionize, too. Similar acts may reasonably be expected by workingmen in all parts of the United States unless conditions quickly change.

"For thousands of years the toilers, mesmerized by martial music and patriotic paralogisms, have been killing one another whenever the masters told them to. They have learned well the art of slaying."

(From Vol. III, October, 1919, No. 3.)

It is quite appropriate that this draft evader should write an article in the June, 1919, number entitled, "We Slackers in Mexico," from which we quote the following:

"Why Mexico should be a 'haven for slackers,' as one American paper in my home section called, is not hard to understand. In this connection, it should be remembered that once the United States was a similar kind of a haven. It was the proud boast of Americans only a few years ago that their country was an asylum for the oppressed, a refuge for the persecuted and a neutral spot where men who did not want to participate in the hellish wars of Europe could find safety. That was before the United States was 'Prussianized.' Since the beginning of the war with Germany, nobody has been found who would dare mention this former attraction of the 'Land of Liberty.' It is almost as much ancient history as is the great unpopulated northwest of half a century ago.

"Mexico, being neutral in the recent world war, became an asylum for the oppressed much the same as did the United States years ago when it was neutral toward the wrangles of European countries. Mexico was not the only neutral country, not by any means, but it was the only neutral one easily reachable

by fugitives from the United States. Canada being under English rule, was no place for a 'slacker' to go. He would be sent back in doublequick time. Central and South America — or some Central and South American countries, rather — were safe for 'slackers,' but it was more difficult to go there, and there was danger of being taken from steamers and returned to the United States. Spain, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and various other countries were neutral but they were still farther away. So most of the 'slackers' came to Mexico, although a few went to South America and a few, after staying in Mexico long enough to learn to speak Spanish, went to Spain. . . .

"Like many other criminals, 'we slackers' labored under a hallucination. We were obsessed with an idea. The idea was that there was no good reason why we should go to Europe, and fight for the Allies. We insisted with irritating obstinacy that the war was simply a disgusting wrangle between two gangs of robbers, one headed by the late lamented kaiser, the Krupps and the junkers of Potsdam, and the other headed by the moneyed men of Lombard Street, London, and Wall Street in the United States. We maintained that it was more humane to keep away from such a fight and avoid adding to the international horror than to go into the trenches and help swell the stream of blood. And we reached the conclusion that since we would undoubtedly get into immediate and serious trouble with the American government if we remained in the United States and tried to practice such disloyalty and treason, we might better get out of the country and go to a spot where we could obey these peculiar promptings of our consciences without being punished. Moreover it occurred to us that it might be a kindness to the American government to make a strategic retreat into Mexico for by so doing we would decrease the number of conscientious objectors, religious fanatics and class-conscious kickers who were behaving so badly and making the authorities so much trouble.

"Therefore, we came to Mexico. Some of us came one way, some came another, some crossed on dry land in unpopulated sections along the international border.

(Form Vol. II, June, 1919, No. 11.)

57. THE WORKERS' WORLD

Published at 7 East 15th Street, New York City, Room 201.

Editorial Board: Andre A. Courland, Eugene Lyons, Harold L. Varney

Published weekly by the Workers' International Information Group

(May 1, 1919)

The workers of the United States have a sore grievance. The jails are crowded with men and women who spoke what they thought the truth, and spoke it unafraid, who would not be driven to prostitute their conscience by threats, who dared to proclaim that the class war transcends and it is more important than any war between groups of nations. Men and women are confined for terms equivalent to life imprisonment for consistency in their adherence to an ideal and for loyalty to their class. . . .

There is no more appropriate time than May Day, the Workers' Holiday. Every toiler must lay down his tools on the first of May. Not a shop or factory should be in operation. Hotels, restaurants, theatres, department stores, etc., must be closed on May 1st.

JUSTICE OF THE MASTERS

EUGENE LYONS

The Kaiser's government freed Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, arch-enemies of Prussianism, even before the war was over. Now, of course, all political prisoners have been released by what used to be the Central Powers. Italy has granted a full amnesty and France is well on its way towards a general release of political non-conformists. Great Britain has freed the Sinn Feiners. Only the United States shows no indication of a more liberal, more humane policy, and proceeds relentlessly in its oppressive measures.

ON THE JOB

SCOTT NEARING

However crafty, however well organized they may be the masters are only 10 per cent; the workers make up the other 90

per cent. and when they get ready to act, the 10 per cent. will have only one choice — to accept.

WILLIAM B. WILSON — LET HIM LOOK TO HIS BOND!

HAROLD LORD VARNEY

The foulest blackguardry in history has always been the blackguardry of our own class. The blackest despotism has always been the despotism of our own labor renegades—bloated, for brief moments, with dishonorable power. It is these "men of the people" these Noskes, these Briands, these Benedict Arnolds, these men of craven hearts and cankered souls, who stalk through history, murdering labor for a handful of the masters' gold. And while liberty writhes, they exult. Such is the figure of our own American Noske — our Secretary of Labor, William B. Wilson, the Great Deporter.

(May 30, 1919)

"THE FOLLOWING IS A SAMPLE OF THE BOLSHEVIK PROPAGANDA AT THE ARCHANGEL FRONT, THE SHAME OF BEING A SCAB.

"Is there a more contemptible creature in the world than the one who deserts his fellows and helps defeat his own side? No, there is not.

"Are you aware, American and British soldiers, that you are earning such contempt for yourselves? . . .

"All their talk of intervention to 'save' Russia, amounts to this: that they are going to return the land to the landlords, the factories and mines to the capitalists, and incidentally to grab a bit for themselves in the way of trading rights and concessions. Furthermore they want to compel the Russian workers to repay the loans contracted by the tyrannical and corrupt Czar. . . .

"Cannot you see that this is part of the same class war that you have been carrying on in England and America? . . .

"Comrades! Drop this dirty work. Turn your guns on your real enemies, the sweaters and the capitalists!"

(April 21, 1919)

"The wholesale raid on the radical labor movement under cover of the war, with the railroading of hundreds of I. W. W.'s

and others to jail for what amounts practically to life sentences, the suppression of the honest labor press, the prohibition of gatherings where anything unfavorable to the ruling class is likely to be said, the conviction of the official heads of the Socialist Party, and now the action of the Supreme Court in upholding the sentence of Eugene Debs — these and countless minor acts of tyranny rouse and confirm in us the determination to throw off the intolerable yoke."

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58. THE HOTEL WORKER

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF "THE CULINARY AND ALIMENTARY SYNDICATES, HOTEL, RESTAURANT, CLUB AND CATERING INDUSTRY"

Published at 558 Seventh Avenue, New York City.
Circulation: 15,000

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Industrial Unionism is the weapon that the workers must adopt if they want to emancipate themselves from the oppressive rule of their masters, the industrial autocrats. The grab-it-all, the capitalist, or by whatever name you may want to describe them or that class, which is small numerically, on one hand, but all-powerful on the other hand, because they control the means of life (the jobs). To get a job, that is one of the problems that confronts the workers that are unemployed. To hold his job is another problem. The difficulty to obtain jobs and to retain them comes from various causes. But here I will mention only one, that is competition created by the masters' class. This competition helps them to divide the workers or to pit one against the other — to have them fighting amongst themselves — a situation that gives the masters the power to keep the wages down to the level of a mere existence. Some of the workers tried to combat this tendency of low wages by organizing in strictly trades organizations where the skilled workers of a certain trade were enabled for awhile to force concessions such as an increase of wage or a reduction of hours of labor. But the vast majority of workers were left helpless and through the constantly improved methods of production on the one hand doing away with skilled workers and replacing them with the less skilled and the increasing cost of living on the other hand we find that the condition

of the workers as a class is ended one to give serious thought, their lot is a hard one, more misery and more poverty for the workers, and more wealth and more power for the masters. The workers are, therefore, confronted with the question of "What are they going to do about it? Are they going to submit? Are they going to continue to pile up wealth for their masters? Are they going to continue to load the banquet table to overflowing, while they content themselves with the crumbs?" These are the questions that must be answered, and I am glad to note that an ever-increasing number of workers are learning a lesson from their masters. They are learning to fight them with their own weapons, they are opposing the industrial organization of capital with the industrial organization of labor. Throughout the country more and more workers are realizing that industrial unionism, that unionism that embraces all of the workers of an industry whether skilled or unskilled, whether male or female, that unionism which believes that in union there is strength, and, therefore, to organize the workers as a class, irrespective of race, creed, or sex, or color, that unionism that is not satisfied with a fair day's work, but which demands for labor all the wealth that labor produces, that unionism which has heard the clarion call of Marx, "Workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains, while you have a world to gain," that unionism that is organized to take and hold the industries and operate same for the workers — that is the unionism that will finally emancipate the working class.

EDWARD G. GALLO.

(Issue of September 1, 1917, Vol. I, No. 5.)

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59. HARD TIMES

Published monthly by Sparton Publishing Co., Inc.

Edgar G. Orcutt, President; Thomas Crimmins, Secretary; Franklin M. Adsit, Treasurer; D. F. Hofman, Manager.

Office of publication: 306 Seitz Building, Syracuse, N. Y.

BACON AND EGGS

These are hard times. Every one but President Wilson and the fat men of the land agrees to this truism. Yet hard times are nothing new — to the working class. As long as the right of one class to extract profit from the labor of the workers is recognized there will be hard times. In all periods it is only

a question of the degree of hardships borne by the working class. While the Blood Bath was taking place the majority of the people seemed to be content in their misery. They subscribed to Liberty Loans, took War Savings Stamps, read the clarion calls to board democracy's chariot vociferously shouted by Woodrow Wilson, and agreed to go the limit in making the world safe for democracy. It is now generally agreed that democracy is still unsafe in all civilized countries, with the possible exception of Soviet Russia. The great fortunes accumulated by the food pirates and many of the same ilk in various branches of the noble occupation of Captains Kidd and Morgan were tolerated while the war was on. We don't know exactly why. Possibly some one high in authority labored under the delusion that pirates are needed to spur on the common people to increased production. If the common people did not have an incentive, God knows how this old world would get along. A bedbug, for example, spurs the occupant.

Now that we have not succeeded in making the world safe for democracy, the ordinary runt in the proletarian class is dissatisfied with extra-war prices for food, clothing and shelter, not to say anything about the cost of movies and the price we have to pay for dying. When we pay 40 cents for a pound of round steak, we old codgers start to think of the days of 1890 when 15 cents was the limit. Bacon and eggs tasted pretty good for breakfast in those days, but, shucks, they've boosted the price so high that we are satisfied to get the smell. Just think of paying 57 cents for bacon, 52 cents for ham and 49 cents for eggs, when in 1890 the prices were 12 cents for bacon, 5 cents for ham and 25 cents for eggs. Butter on toasted bread for breakfast was also fine, but this also has gone up to the heavenly price of 65 to 70 cents, compared to 25 cents in 1890. Since 1914 the cost of living has risen 85 per cent. Food and clothing in many of the larger cities have risen as high as 151 per cent. What's the remedy?

(Issue of August, 1919, Vol. II, No. 31.)

DO YOU KNOW?

1. That a meeting was recently held in the Bankers' Club, New York City, between representatives of the Oil Interests in Mexico and a leading religious organization, to map out the campaign of spiritual uplift for our boys in the inevitable with Mexico?

2. That a host of translators and legal experts are at work in New York City now to figure out a method by which certain enormous oil and gas properties may nominally be held by native dummy-directors to conform with Mexican law, but the real control resides in Wall Street, New York?

3. That for the last six months higher officials of the American army have been drawing up plans for a Mexican campaign by the United States troops? The correspondent of the New York "Times" in Coblenz, Germany, asserts that the army of occupation has been spending the last six months perfecting plans for the war with Mexico. He also states that it will be a war conducted with all the latest implements of destruction and carried out on the 1919 model of warfare.

4. That the British government has already taken over the title to the oil holdings of its nationals in Mexico, and has thus perfected an important step toward an Anglo-American alliance to exploit our sister nation?

5. That the most powerful banking groups in the world, headed by J. P. Morgan & Co., of New York, and including British and French bankers, besides other American firms, have organized themselves to protect the "rights" of foreign investors in Mexico?

6. That a satisfactory "meeting" was held between oil magnates and the State Department on July 7th, as a result of which Wall Street confidently expects early action to "stabilize" Mexico? (See New York "Times," financial section, for July 8.)

(Issue of August, 1919, Vol. II, No. 31.)

REVOLUTIONARY CREATIVITY IN HUNGARY

The heroic proletariat of Hungary, surrounded on all sides by a dead wall of hostile forces, struggling for its very existence against foreign enemies, at the same time creates a gigantic work in reconstructing the whole structure of economic social life. Isolated from the outside world, thanks to the Allied blockade, the Hungarian proletariat draws its forces in the mobilization of the entire national wealth for the needs of the large masses of toilers.

"Everything for the toilers" — such is the slogan of the Hungarian proletariat following in the steps of the great Russian revolution.

The attempts of the Hungarian counter-revolutionists to restore the good old times of the domination of magnates and the landed aristocracy have failed miserably. These attempts gave such disappointing results that even the international reactionary press refused to make capital out of these pitiful attempts to crush the Hungarian Soviet government.

Less and less we hear now about the exploits of the Roumanian, Serbian and Czecho-Slovak troops, while in the past the international reaction proclaimed loudly about these offenses at all corners. It would be safe to assume that the power of military resistance of the Hungarian Red army is so tenacious and successful because in the ranks of its enemies there must be open or secret sympathy for the ideals of the Hungarian revolution.

The immense estates of the Hungarian aristocracy have been confiscated, and have become public property. The economic management of those estates is being conducted by specialists in agricultural husbandry. The industrial trade institutions, which were before the private property of a few rich men, have now become national property. . . . The productivity of labor, as admitted even by some of the bourgeois correspondents, has increased considerably. The tremendous money resources of the bank institutions are under control of the communist state. All palaces, all noblemen's "nests," all city rich men's houses have become national property and thus one of the most acute problems of current life — the housing problem — has been solved. The distribution of products of prime necessity has been organized on the basis of social justice. The Communist Hungary does not flirt with the speculators. The revolutionary law deals harshly with them.

(Issue of August, 1919, Vol. II, No. 31.)

THE CALL OF THE COMMUNISTS

In this the most momentous period of the world's history Capitalism is tottering to its ruin. The proletariat is straining at the chains which bind it. A revolutionary spirit is spreading throughout the world. The workers are rising to answer the clarion call of the Third International.

Only one Socialism is possible in the crisis. A Socialism based upon understanding. A Socialism that will express in

action the needs of the proletariat. The time has passed for temporizing and hesitating. We must act. The Communist call of the Third International, the echo of the Communist Manifesto of 1848, must be answered.

(Issue of August, 1919, Vol. II, No. 31.)

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60. FACTS

Published at 11 West 18th Street, New York City.

Edited by Facts Publishing Association.

President and Treasurer: J. Russel MacDonald.

THE SONS OF RICH MEN

There are those who hold that this war is a war of the rich, that they might become richer. "FACTS" sustains this view. There are, however, those who say this cannot be, since the rich are themselves volunteering for active service in the war zone, since the rich have permitted conscription to be, even though it affected themselves and their sons, and since even the rich would not put profits and spoils above their own lives and those of their children.

"How little the worthy and trusting souls who argue in this manner know of capitalism. The Capitalist, it is true, is not a conscious ego who says like the orge in the fairy tale "Fee-fo-fum — I smell prosits." He is a human being like the laborer. He talks of honor, and fights for it. But his point of honor is not the point of honor of the common man. His point of honor is precisely his business, his profit, and who would not fight for "honor"? Who would not even sacrifice his children, not for profit, but for honor?

Did our rich men go to war for honor when Belgium was raped by Germany, and Greece by England? No, their "honor" was not then involved. But when ships (and are not ships property and therefore sacred?) were sunk, when trade — sacred trade — was threatened, when bonds became insecure, then "honor" was at stake. Then war was inevitable! Then war came!

We have no quarrel with any man's conception of "honor." We merely wish to point out there are many conceptions. Ours is not concerned with ships, or trade, or bonds. Ours is con-

cerned with human rights and liberties, with conscience and justice. Our honor is offended when a single conscript goes to war. Shall we emulate the rich man and go to war to vindicate our honor? Whom shall we fight? The rich man and his war! And we will fight, not with bullets, but with reason.

DAVID PAUL.

(Issue of October, 1917, Vol. I, No. 1.)

WE CONGRATULATE THE SOCIALIST PARTY

The Socialist Party is to be congratulated. It is to be congratulated on its stand upon the war. It is the only political organization in this country that has dared to express the will of the people on the war, and consequently, it will get the vote of the overwhelming majority who are crying for peace.

Again the Socialist Party is to be congratulated upon its choice of a candidate for Mayor in the city of New York. Morris Hillquit is unquestionably opposed to the war. He is no petty figure, but one that looms big in peace affairs. He is one of the biggest figures in the People's Council movement, and is hence a candidate that the non-Socialist elements of the People's Council can support.

The People's Council is a non-political organization. It aims, as the Russian Workmen's Council did, to seize the government for the people. But its members are dwellers in a political community, and every member of it will use his right to vote. There is only one People's Peace ticket, and that is the Socialist. The S. P. of New York, in nominating Morris Hillquit, has enlisted the whole hearted support of the People's Council, and every one of its New York members will be a Socialist voter.

(Issue of October, 1917, Vol. I, No. 1.)

"If it is a choice between your religion and your country, choose your country. If it is a choice between your conscience and your country, choose your country. If it is a choice between the right and your country, choose your country. If they keep on ordering me to choose my country, *I think I'll choose Russia.*"

(Issue of October, 1917, Vol. I, No. 1.)

A MESSAGE FROM PRISON

The Morning "World" (July 25th) announces that I have been drafted. Whether they had the legal right to register me, to insert a card for me before I completed my sentence or not, is immaterial to me. I have felt for awhile that I should not avoid any of the experiences and "trials and tribulations" of those who held my view. This is the greatest crisis in a man's life. Here was the supreme test of character, of willingness to live and die for an ideal. I shall therefore, not raise any technicality, but shall be glad of the opportunity to offer myself as a sacrifice, if need be, to the greedy, exploiting and devastating system of capitalism.

But true to my principles, I shall remain through storm and stress. My lips will affirm what my mind and heart dictate. I have refused to do their bidding by refusing to register. I will refuse to do their bidding in the future. I will not appear for medical examination. Perhaps I would be rejected, but that is not a satisfactory solution as far as I am concerned. I will not report for duty. I will report only when they come for me. I will make no physical resistance. But I will not appear voluntarily in answer to their summons.

That is the course which I will pursue. Wherever it leads, I shall follow.

HERMAN P. LEVINE.

(Issue of October, 1917, Vol. I, No. 1.)

THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

ROGER N. BALDWIN, *Director,* CIVIL LIBERTIES BUREAU, AMERICAN UNION AGAINST MILITARISM

"The trustee of liberty in a world struggling for freedom," is the role of the conscientious objector, according to their English journal. The conscription act recognizes the principle of liberty of conscience, but confines its application to religious sects and organizations opposed to war.

Just what sects or organizations will be recognized depends entirely upon local boards handling exemptions. Administration officials and the War Department decline to give any list of organizations which they will recognize. There is no central appeal

tribunal in this country, as there is in England, and there will probably be various interpretations by the boards as to what sects are "recognized." Many persons plan to test the inexact language of the clause on the ground that it may well cover "Christians" opposed to war on Christ's teaching, Socialists, and religious groups with moral codes but no theology.

Putting conscientious objectors in jail, or giving them noncombatant service, will by no means settle the problem. It has failed in England. It will fail here. The only satisfactory solution is to recognize conscience as individual, not the exclusive possession of "sects and organizations" to offer alternative service under civil authority, and to provide humane treatment in prison to those who refuse such service.

Imprisoned they must be, under the theory of conscription. But there is no reason why they should have less fair and humane treatment than the average criminal. None of us can want in America a repetition of the scandals and brutalities of the British experience of two years under conscription, where men, turned over to the military authorities, were subject to every conceivable brutality in barracks and guardhouses. Military-minded men fail to understand the psychology of men who believe that international difficulties can never be settled by war. They understand more easily the psychology of murderers and burglars. To place conscientious objectors under military authority is to invite brutalities.

Above 15,000 conscientious objectors have registered with one organization or another interested in their problem. Other thousands of course have never registered, who hold the same view, but who don't want aid or information. There are also of course the many thousands who did not even register under the conscription act.

All these constitute the problem which the government must face. The problem must be solved in a statesmanlike way, without dividing public opinion, or alienating great groups from the government.

When we reflect that twenty-eight out of thirty-six of our state constitutions which provide for drafting men for military service do exempt those with conscientious scruples against war, it becomes evident that the tradition of law in this country is in favor of that principle.

The Civil Liberties Bureau of the American Union Against

Militarism at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, stands ready to give full information to all conscientious objectors.

(Issue of September, 1917, Vol. I, No. 5.)

THE WORKMEN'S COUNCIL

JACOB PANKEN, *Chairman* OF THE WORKMEN'S COUNCIL

The formation of the Workmen's Council for the maintenance of Labor's Rights was inspired by the wonderful solidarity manifested from the very start of the Russian Revolution in the Council of Soldiers' and Workmens' Delegates, but the immediate occasion of its existence was the discovery that, immediately upon the entry of the United States into the war, the officials of the American labor movement did publicly what they had been doing secretly for some time before — let down the safeguards that had been won by labor after a long and self-sacrificing struggle.

On the Council of National Defence, which came into being before the war was declared, Mr. Samuel Gompers is the sole representative of the millions of American working men and women, as against four representatives of the most predatory capitalists known to the world; the other two members of the committee represent the intellectuals, whatever that may mean. This committee has agreed that there shall be no strikes during the period of the war — it has concluded a shameful and impossible peace between capital and labor.

The consequences of that "peace" are already felt by organized labor in this country. The Clayton Act, heralded with joy by the labor movement as exempting labor unions from the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, has been practically nullified by the passage of the Lever bill. This bill, ostensibly providing for a food administration system, makes it a crime to interfere in any way with the manufacture or distribution of food, fuel and other things necessary to the prosecution of the war. In other words, anyone organizing a strike in an industry in any way essential to the carrying on of the war, which means virtually every industry of any importance, or who even participates in such a strike, will be liable to criminal prosecution.

The Keating amendment, seeking to exempt workers who have cause to strike, even if only to maintain standards already won, was killed by a vote of four or five to one.

The official leader of the American Federation of Labor kept his agreement with the other members of the Council of National Defence and not a voice was raised in the name of American labor in protest against the suspension of the Clayton Act.

One immediate result of the defeat of the Keating amendment was the introduction and enactment of a bill in Maryland to prohibit strikes. And even before the Keating amendment had been defeated, the State of West Virginia passed a law making serfs of its citizens; every worker is required, under penalty of the law, to work at least thirty-six hours a week, which effectively removes all danger of strikes in that state.

The recent East St. Louis riots, it is generally conceded, were due to the importation of negro laborers to take the place of white workers — undoubtedly in order to substitute cheap labor for higher-priced men. It is inexcusable, it is criminal for white workers to riot against their colored brethern, but it is also inexcusable and criminal for capitalism to take advantage of the war situation to beat down labor's already low standards.

The war-time policy of the American capitalist is evidently to undermine and destroy the standards that have been created by labor through long years of organization and struggle. In line with this policy, we can expect shortly to see coolie labor imported to replace American workmen, for the colored laborers in the United States can be organized and this may in time be attempted. In a statement recently issued by Mr. Creel, our official press censor, one paragraph reads as follows:

"The press is asked not to publish information with reference to the landing of industrial bodies in America or their movements throughout the country." It is safe to assume that the occasion for that injunction to the press is the contemplated importation of coolies, and, possibly, prisoner-soldier labor also.

The official representatives of labor in this country have made no move or protest against this grave menace to American standards of living.

Likewise, when the postal authorities in various cities, with the sanction of the administration, denied the use of the mails to the radical labor press — that portion of the press which has always defended the rights of the working class — the officials of the American Federation of Labor had not a word to say in protest against this despotic action directed against the workers both as members of the labor movement and as American citizens.

The Workmen's Council for the Maintenance of Labor's Rights has been organized to do the work which other agencies should have done but have failed to do in defense of the interests of the working class and also to co-operate with the People's Council in its efforts to bring about a just peace on the basis of "no forcible annexations and no punitive indemnities." It has no quarrel with the American labor movement — not even with its officials; its only quarrel is with those who seek to limit or suspend the rights of the workers.

It is of interest to know that, in addition to the Workmen's Councils in Russia and America, one has been organized in Leeds, England, and another is being formed in France. These councils, while not yet in direct communication, have adopted a practically uniform program. It is not quixotic to hope that similar bodies may be organized in other countries and that thus the organization of labor for peace and democracy and the rights of labor may thereby become truly international.

(Issue of September, 1917, Vol. I, No. 5.)

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61. THE WORLD TOMORROW

Published by the Fellowship Press, Inc., 118 E. 28th Street, New York city. Editor: Norman M. Thomas.

Published monthly, circulation, 7,500.

There is an advisory board of directors composed of Ruth Standish Baldwin, John Haynes Holmes, Oswald Garrison Villard, Harry F. Ward, Edward W. Evans, John Howard Mellish, Ridgley Torrence.

The Fellowship Press Inc. has the following officers: Gilbert A. Beaver, President; John Nevin Sayre, Secretary; L. Hollingsworth Wood, Treasurer, and Rev. Norman M. Thomas, Assistant Treasurer.

IS VIOLENCE THE WAY?

THE NECESSITY OF ANOTHER WAY

Consider for example the wholly disproportionate influence of the tiny handful of conscientious objectors and their success in defying the coercive power of our military system and in breaking down some of its brutalities; the triumph of the Irish passive resistance to conscription; the remarkable victory of Russian

propaganda even against a conquering foe. The clubless police of the Seattle strike is another illustration of a non-violent method — this time in an industrial struggle; so is the probable success of the Lawrence strike whose leaders held steadfast to a policy of no retaliation in face of the brutal provocation of the police.

"WE MUST BE FREE OR DIE"

> "We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
> That Shakespeare spake; the faith and morals hold
> Which Milton held."

England and America seem to be carrying on an ignoble contest as to which can penalize conscience more effectively. In both countries hundreds of conscientious objectors are still in jail. In England since the signing of the Armistice many men have actually been resentenced upon expiration of their sentences for continued refusal to take military service. On the other hand, England never has imposed sentences in excess of two years, and at least her objectors have the satisfaction of going to jail because they are objectors, and not simply as recalcitrant soldiers. The London "Herald" reports that A. Fenner Brockway, formerly editor of the "Labor Leader," has been kept for eight months in strictest solitary confinement, only being allowed out of his cell for forty minutes each day, when he was given exercise alone. He is allowed no visitors, no writing materials, or books, except an Esperanto New Testament. For three months he was placed on bread and water diet. All this because he felt obliged to protest against certain unjust prison rules. In the United States there are at least sixteen conscientious objectors in similar confinement at Fort Leavenworth, without even an Esperanto New Testament, or the privilege of forty minutes a day exercise. It is true that on recommendation of the Clemency Board many objectors and other military prisoners have been released and most sentences have been reduced to a peace time basis, but there are still some two or three hundred in confinement, despite erroneous reports to the contrary.

When we turn from conscientious objectors to other political prisoners, America enjoys a unique reputation. Neither in England nor in any civilized country today could 'Gene Debs

begin a ten year sentence or Kate Richards O'Hare be taken from her home and family for five years for the crime of hating war. How long will America tolerate this stain upon her honor?

THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK HYSTERIA AND THE FACTS

One of the most extraordinary phenomena of our time is the general hysterical fear of Bolshevism which is shrieked out by the press and pulpit, and spread before our eyes through every repellant form which can occur to the minds of cartoonists. Even when one of our leaders of public opinion seeks to reassure us, he speaks very much in the tone of a small boy trying to keep up his sister's courage as they pass the country church yard at night.

One of the most amusing and hysterical of these anti-Bolshevist documents is the recent appeal of the American Defense Society for funds. The whole document is a disquieting commentary not only upon its authors but on what passes for public opinion. But our present point is the note of panic in it. "Must we wait," it despairingly inquires, "for mobs to smash windows along Fifth Avenue before we begin to fight this new menace?"

Those of us who are thus stridently exhorted may be interested to examine that menace. Is there immediate danger of irresponsible terrorism in the United States? It is true there have been recent bomb outrages in Chicago and Philadelphia, always attributed to the I. W. W. or the Bolsheviki, but never traced to them, despite the best efforts of a prejudiced police force and private detectives. In labor disputes, violence usually begins with the police or with gunmen serving as deputy sheriffs. In Lawrence, Massachusetts, the strikers used non-resistant tactics and it was the brutal Cossack policy of the police which finally resulted in bloodshed. With these facts in mind, serious minded men cannot believe that "within four weeks anarchist bombs and torches will be heard and seen in the United States" as the Defense Society predicts.

In any case the real measure of the strength of Bolshevism in the United States is to be found not in occasional criminal terrorism, but in the political and still more truly in the industrial field.

AUTOCRACY IN EDUCATION — AND SOME DEMOCRATIC EXPERIMENTS

"These hands," an old Russian peasant told the children in the new village school, "never did anything but hold the plow, the Tzar did not want them taught to write; but free Russia gave you your chance to learn." The state of affairs in certain of our American public schools makes us think that the Tzar made a great mistake. If he wished to preserve his power he ought not to have kept the people illiterate but provided them with schools controlled by such bodies as, let us say, the Board of Education in New York City, or the Superintendent of Schools in Washington, the capital of the United States. There are few dangers to American democracy greater than the kind of miseducation now inflicted upon our children. In Washington the superintendent has forbidden the teachers to discuss Bolshevism, the League of Nations and "other heresies." In New York a better system is employed. The Board of Education has issued a manual on the Great War. In it are given arguments in behalf of universal military training and none on the other side, so that our children are to be taught the advantages of that system of militarism which cost Germany so dear. By omissions and half truths the manual gives a superficial and largely erroneous picture of the Great War through which we have passed. In particular its account of events in Russia is grossly misleading. Lenin and Trotzky, it appears, are nothing more or less than anarchists and German agents. In the class taught by Mr. Benjamin Glassberg certain of the boys asked questions about conditions in Russia, and Mr. Glassberg, being an intelligent and honest man, answered the questions correctly. He told the boys there was another side to the story, which up to that time Colonel Robins and other government agents had not been allowed to tell publicly. For this crime he was suspended and is now on trial. His case is not unique. Readers of "The World Tomorrow" will remember that last summer Miss Mary McDowell was dismissed because as a Quaker she could not teach proper patriotism. Later on Miss Pignol met the same fate because she did not desire to see Germany completely "crushed," although she wished her defeated. In effect the government of the New York public schools is an ill-informed, unprogressive bureaucracy tempered by politics. The teachers have no direct control over the conditions of their own employment. Progressive unions have

established the right to be represented on boards of review to pass on the discharge of their fellow members. No such right exists for teachers. In consequence of this autocracy, of inadequate pay, and of the whole spirit and method of our educational system, that profession which is charged with the most holy task in our social life is undermined alike in morals and morale, in character and in effectiveness. The children pay the price, and the coming of a new day of freedom and fellowship is indefinitely delayed.

(Issue of May, 1919, Vol. II, No. 5.)

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62. PEARSON'S MAGAZINE

Published at 8 East 15th Street, New York City.

Editor and publisher: Frank Harris.

Secretary: Kirsteen Conning.

Published by Pearson's Magazine Inc.

Circulation: 61,000 monthly.

SOVIET RUSSIA IS INVINCIBLE

Robert Minor has spent eight months in the Russian Soviet Republic. He has lived in sympathy with the revolution and so can tell the truth about it. In a talk recently, he said:

"The Soviet government is permanent, and one might as well dismiss any idea of its being disestablished by anything short of a world war. . . .

"I predict with perfect confidence that the recognition of the Russian Soviet Republic by the Allied governments will soon take place?"

LENIN

"Lenin," Minor declared, "is one of the most remarkable political geniuses that Europe has seen for the last fifty years. The greater part of his influence is to be attributed to his extraordinary poise and knowledge of what he wants." . . .

WHO CAN WHIP RUSSIA?

Minor continued, "There is no army in Europe that is not in imminent danger of flying to pieces if sent against the Red army.

"Floyd Gibbons, correspondent for the Chicago 'Tribune,' recently cabled that every body of British troops sent against the

Russian Soviet government mutinies at the port of debarkation. The French fleet sent against Odessa in the Black Sea hoisted the red flag and sailed away. The Russian Red army is composed of 1,500,000 highly disciplined troops, under fresh young officers. This is the only army in Europe which can be relied upon to continue to obey the orders of its government. What army could be sent against it? Whatever Italian diplomat would suggest sending Italian soldiers against the Red army would be put in an insane asylum.

"Lloyd George and Clemenceau have had their lessons and won't try it again.

"The bourgeois, German government under the 'Socialist' traitors would like to conquer Russia, but they would not dare, because, in the first place, it would be worse beaten than it was in the world war, and, in the second place, it would immediately have another Spartacus revolution on its hands.

"And the Americans? They are not willing to go. Enlistments for Siberia have been by the dozen instead of by the tens of thousands. Nothing short of millions of troops could conquer Russia of the Red flag."

This straight talk does great credit both to Bob Minor's head and heart! Just as the Russian Red Army is invincible now, so were the armies of the French Revolution before Napoleon used them for selfish ends. No soldiery wanted to fight against Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!

(Issue of November, 1919, Vol. 45, No. 1.)

THE SOUL OF GERMANY

"Im Ganzen, Guten, Schoenen resolut zu leben"—Goethe.

I have a sort of theory, a superstition, if you like, that so long as a man's soul is growing he is pretty certain to live. As soon as his spirit has reached its zenith he should be ready and willing to die, though we all know dozens of greybeards and baldheads who still lag superfluous on the stage enjoying and suffering with the souls of children.

And what is true of the individual is even truer of the State. As long as the soul of a nation grows, it is lifeworthy, and its body will probably expand to suit the expansion of the spirit.

Now what is the soul of Germany and what has it achieved in the past?

Everybody today talks as if Germany had only invented powder, but she invented printing as well. Of the five great spiritual events which have gone to the shaping of modern Europe since the feudal times we owe three to Germany:

The Reformation and the translation of the Bible.

The Renaissance or rebirth of art and letters.

The Eighteenth century or century of enlightment as it has been called.

The French Revolution.

The Second Reformation or that movement of thought in our own time modifying Christian ethics with a revived Paganism, a movement chiefly due to Goethe, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche.

The first and third and fifth of these movements are mainly German and suffice to show the leadership of Germany in European thought and our debt to fearless German thinkers.

Now what of the soul of Germany with its physical expansion abruptly curtailed; pieces of the living body hacked off and not even cauterized by the unskilled surgeons who were not healers, but haters, hoping to injure and not to cure the patient.

If the soul or life-force is vigorous enough all will come right; the body itself will skin the wounds over and stop the bleeding and either the amputated parts will be joined on again soon or the body will accommodate itself to the mutilated trunk.

Every thinking person is asking today: what will happen to Germany? What is likely to be the course of events? Never was prediction more difficult for the problem is curiously complicated.

General Bernhardi shouts in the "World" that Germany will soon wage a war of revenge and be victorious. "Eighty millions of Germans," he says "are not likely to be frightened by forty millions of Frenchmen and forty-five millions of Englishmen." He might have added that the course of competitive business itself would soon destroy the alliance between Britain and these United States, which is alone responsible for Germany's defeat.

"There are many things to encourage the Bernhardis: Germany put up the greatest fight ever known, and had won everywhere when America came into the struggle. In Germany the Bernhardis are sure soon to be in the majority. The wiseacres, Wilson, Clemenceau and George, took care of that; that is their achievement and that alone. If any American or Englishmen or Frenchman will for a moment think of his country treated

as Germany has been treated, he will have no doubt that the sacred Trinity of purblind politicians has accomplished this, has made Bernhardis out of seventy-nine at least of the eighty millions of Germans, Bernhardis with clenched fists, and hot, hating hearts.

And yet it is true that

"All who draw the sword shall perish by the sword."

(Issue of September, 1919, Vol. 43, No. 11.)

THE ESPIONAGE LAW

If, on the 15th day of June, 1917, some foreign government had passed a law which provided that, from and after that date the people of this country should not, for the period of the war, discuss those matters of political policy, the most vital to their welfare and to the welfare of their government, I suppose such a law would have been opposed by the almost unanimous action of the people of this country. Yet, how do the facts differ from those I have just supposed? On the 15th day of June, 1917, the Espionage Law was passed. As that law has been used by the postmaster general and interpreted, and applied by the courts in this country, it has prevented discussion of political policies, the most vital to the welfare of the government and the people of this country. The effect of that law has been even worse than I have stated. It has prevented political discussion of one side of political questions, the most vital to the welfare of the people and the government. As a result of its application falsehoods have run rampant in the press and been preached from platforms and pulpits with no one to contradict them. Half-truths, which are far more dangerous than outright falsehoods, have made up the bulk of most of the information the people have been allowed to receive on subjects connected with the war. And the Espionage Law was passed and has been enforced by a government, as I shall attempt to show, without a shadow of right or authority so to do. It has been an act of despotism.

(Issue of March, 1919, Vol. 40, No. 5.)

THE TORTURING OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

I hardly know how to write on this subject. I regard cruelty as the vilest of all the vices, the most soul-degrading of all crimes. Yet there can be no doubt that American officers have again and

again brutally mishandled conscientious objectors; have frequently beaten defenseless men with whips; have ordered them to be douched with cold water from a powerhose till they fainted; have had them awakened every two hours during the night; had them hung up by their wrists to the bars of their cells for nine hours a day; had them jabbed with bayonets and have continued these practices and worse till some of their victims died.

Mr. Secretary Baker has dismissed commissioned officers from our army for such cruelties, thus admitting the accusations.

The "World" newspaper has for months past published accounts of these outrages; has, in fact, distinguished itself by systematically protesting against these abominable atrocities. Other publications such as the "Literary Digest" have aided in the good work. Mr. George T. Page, too, the president of the American Bar Association, declares that our military laws and our system and methods of administering military justice "are unworthy of the name of law and justice."

He goes on: "Punishments (by courts martial) are not only grossly harsh, as compared with the penalties imposed for like offenses by our criminal courts, but they also differ so widely that we find the same offense punished in one court martial by twenty-five years in the penitentiary and in another by six months' punishment in disciplinary barracks.

"A boy overstaying his leave, or yielding to a natural impulse to go home for Christmas, is charged not with absence without leave, but with desertion."

Of course Mr. Secretary Baker is primarily responsible for these atrocities which shame all of us who call ourselves Americans. In spite of being informed again and again of the facts he did nothing till the complaints were brought to the ears of the President who shortly before leaving for France told Secretary Baker that the torturings should cease. Secretary Baker thereupon issued an order forbidding manacling and some other of the most cruel practices.

He was pressed to amnesty all conscientious objectors at Christmas, but he did nothing till the scandal became intolerable and then reluctantly — I use the word most advisedly — he released 113 objectors who were illegally confined. There are still 300 men in Leavenworth military prison alone who should be freed.

(Issue of March, 1919, Vol. 40, No. 5.)

63. THE SURVEY

Published at 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

Editor: Paul U. Kellogg; Business Editor: Arthur P. Kellogg.

Circulation: 16,500.

This publication has a circulation of about 16,000 or 17,000, and, according to the testimony of Arthur P. Kellogg, is not self-supporting. It is supported by some 1,500 members who pay from $10 a year up. It is also subsidized by the Russell Sage Foundation and has been receiving at the rate of $13,000 a year for the past nine years.

This publication is supported by a large number of persons who are desirous of bringing about beneficent social reforms. It is the type of publication, however, that on numerous occasions has adopted an apologetic attitude toward extreme radical activities.

An instance of this is an article entitled "Winnipeg and Seattle: The Two General Strikes in Retrospect, by Edward T. Devine, of the Survey Staff," appearing in the issue of October 4, 1919. We quote a portion of this article from page 8 of this issue:

"Not what the labor men in jail or at the Labor Temple told me and not what I have read in their bulletins convince me that the Citizens' Committee has been unjust to these leaders: but rather what the citizens themselves have told me and the tens of thousands of words that I have read at their request. I have read, for example, the full stenographic report of the labor conference held in Calgary in March of this year, as published in the Winnipeg 'Tribune' of April 5th — some sixty columns of fine newspaper print. I have looked through the newspaper reports of the preliminary hearing of the men charged with sedition. I have read the daily issues of the Winnipeg 'Citizen' and much besides. I find in what the Citizens' Committee itself calls the 'whole miserable business' a vast amount of evidence of the capacity of men of English speech to misunderstand and misjudge one another, but I find no evidences of seditious conspiracy, of treason, of Bolshevism, of revolution. I find ample evidence of discontent with existing conditions and a determination to change them. I find differences of opinion as to policies and methods, and I find evidences of a sense of increasing social solidarity, of the necessity for political as well as economic action by labor, both to protect its own interest and as a means of

advancing the general interest which labor, like other economic groups, is apt to identify with its own interest. Believing in freedom of discussion and in freedom of the press, I find no trace of danger in the Calgary Labor Conference or in the strikers' bulletins or in the Labor Church; but I find some danger of Bolshevism as a result of the repression of speech, the deportation of aliens without public hearing on specific charges, the imprisonment of labor leaders without bail, and the arrest of men like Woodsworth and Dixon and on such flimsy evidence as has been made public."

(Issue of October 4, 1919.)

We have, of course, not the slightest doubt that the writer of this article is thoroughly sincere in the opinions expressed by him. On the other it is fair to state that the entire article should be read in connection with the quotation here given. There shoud also, however, be read the testimony at the trial of Benjamin Gitlow, who was convicted of criminal anarchy before Mr. Justice Bartow S. Weeks, in the Criminal Term of the Supreme Court, New York County, in the course of which trial testimony was given as to the actual conditions existing in Winnipeg during the general strike of last summer.

We also call attention to an article in the issue of September 20, 1919, at page 881 thereof, in which the Boston police strike is practically condoned:

THE BOSTON POLICE STRIKE

In a general view the Boston police strike is merely a manifestation of the protean desire of the rank and file everywhere to gain some measure of control over the conditions of their employment. The issue directly at stake, however, is the right of members of the police force to affiliate with organized labor, specifically, in this case, the American Federation of Labor. This is not the same as the right to strike, with which newspapers seem for the most part to confuse it. Obviously the rioting, hoodlumism and destruction of life and property that filled the pages of the press for two days bore no relation to mere affiliation as such; they occurred because the city's protectors actually walked

out and left the community helpless to restrain its lawless element. Firemen have for years been affiliated with the A. F. of L., yet we have not suffered ravages of fire from that association, inflaming though many people think it to be. The reason is, of course, that the firemen's charter contains a non-strike clause; they secure to themselves the machinery for collective action through petitions, appeals to the legislatures and the public and the mobilizing of their own group sentiment — together with the tactical advantage of being morally supported by fellow-workers in other callings — without resorting to the extreme measure of abandoning their posts and leaving the city a prey to holocausts. Whether the same freedom is one with which it is safe to invest policemen may be an arguable question, but it ought to be kept free from any debate involving the right to strike.

It is not necessary to review in detail the events of the Boston strike. What part dissatisfaction with conditions of employment may have had in the early stages the newspapers have not clearly revealed. From a correspondent we learn that complaints about overwork, inadequate salaries, extra work without pay and insanitary conditions in some of the station houses were among the considerations that induced the policemen to form a union in the first place. Following their application for a charter from the A. F. of L., Police Commissioner Curtis issued an order that the patrolmen should not affiliate with any outside organization. Charges of having violated this order were thereupon brought against nineteen officers and members of the union and their suspension followed. The police union promptly voted, by 1,134 to 2, to call a strike. At 5:45 P. M. Tuesday, September 9th, between 1,400 and 1,500 of the city's total force of 1,544 men went out on strike and the news leaped to the front pages of the newspapers. Rioting, looting of store windows and burglary followed and rumors spread that the entire American underworld was heading for Boston.

Two days later President Wilson characterized a strike by the policemen of a great city as a crime against civilization and likened the policeman's obligation to that of the soldier. Previously, however, he had taken an action of another sort; he had requested the commissioners of the District of Columbia, who had adopted a regulation similar to that of the Boston authorities forbidding affiliation with an outside union, to hold their order in abeyance until after the conference between representatives of capital and labor called by him for October 6th. Seizing upon

this as a precedent, Samuel Gompers, president of the A. F. of L., telegraphed to Mayor Peters of Boston and Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts, asking them to adopt the President's course in their own city; the Boston policemen themselves agreed to this armistice and said that they would return to work if their suspended fellows were taken back. The authorities, however, rejected the plan. Governor Coolidge declared that the situation in the district did not apply to Boston, inasmuch as the policemen there had remained on duty, whereas in Boston they had deserted their posts. He further declared that the nineteen offending policemen had been removed and that the positions of the strikers had been declared vacant on an opinion from the attorney-general of the state.

This meant that practically a new police force had to be recruited. The latests dispatches up to the "Survey's" press time (Tuesday morning) indicated that this was being vigorously prosecuted; former service men constituted the bulk of those who were being placed under instruction. Meanwhile the city's streets were being patrolled by khaki-clad guardsmen instead of the familiar bluecoats, and the policemen were conferring as to the possibility of mandamus proceedings to force the restoration of the strikers. Talk of a general strike had somewhat abated, though ballots by various labor bodies to decide the question were scheduled for Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday.

The newspaper accounts have in general been silent on the question whether the charter desired by the Boston policemen contained a non-strike clause or not. Editorial opinion has been predominantly hostile to the strikers, and so apparently has been public sentiment in Boston. Meanwhile, there has been little recognition of the fact that the Boston drama, though it has gone farther than others, is only one among many and that the police of over fifty cities are said to be affiliating with outside labor bodies or to have done so already. In Macon, Ga., the city civil service commission was met with jeers when it ordered both policemen and firemen to dissolve their unions immediately. One of the first cities in which the matter reached an acute stage was Portland, Ore., where the policemen petitioned the A. F. of L. for a charter containing a non-strike clause last winter. There the discussion took much the same tone that it has assumed recently. The mayor declared that the allegiance of policemen was to the whole community and that affiliation by them with organized labor meant a service of two masters; he said that a

policeman so affiliated could not impartially protect life and property in the disorder that might attend a strike in private industry. To this the policemen replied that their influence with striking workers would be greater if they were looked upon as friends of the strikers, having affiliations in common with them. They went further and asked whether a man lost constitutional right of organization when he accepted service as a policeman. These arguments have been heard in various forms during the Boston episode. "Munity," "essay in Bolshevism" and "an attack on the very foundations of the social structure" are among the phrases that have been used by responsible dailies to characterize it. Matthew Woll, vice-president of the A. F. of L., turned the attack against the Boston authorities when he said that if they had conceded the reasonable right of organization and affiliation, the violence of a strike would have been avoided. Were this right conceded, he said, the great mass of American workers would "be able to exert their influence and guidance upon these employees, as upon school teachers and others, and they would not have to resort to strike, but to other political channels open to them for the relief of whatever grievances they may have or the attainment of whatever improvements they may desire."

(Issue of September 20, 1919.)

Another article in the same issue at page 883 thereof, seems to encourage the demand for the release of so-called "political prisoners" like Debs and Kate Richards O'Hare.

"The movement for an amnesty to such as these is nevertheless apparently gaining independent headway. The National League for the Release of Political Prisoners, formed last winter upon the initiation of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, has called an American Freedom Convention, to be held in Chicago, September 25–28, for the purpose of demanding such action. The purposes of this league have already been indorsed by nearly 200 local trade unions and non-Socialist bodies, including the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, and the Illinois State Federation, through Duncan McDonald, its president. The Immediate Action Committee of this league, of which J. Mahlon Barnes is managing director, has headquarters at 138 N. La Salle street, Chicago.

"Meanwhile, individuals of both liberal and radical tendencies are urging the President to grant an amnesty to political prison-

ers. It is urged that, in addition to the generous justice of such action, both political expediency and the necessity of combating the 'rising tide of Bolshevism' demand it. Many sentences imposed during the war for the mere expression of opinion were indefensibly severe, it is argued, not even Germany imposing such heavy penalties. A case in point is the four-year sentence given in Germany to Karl Liebknecht, as compared with the ten-year sentence imposed in this country upon Eugene V. Debs. Again, whatever justification there may have been during the war for confining persons regarded as having been guilty of dangerous utterances, that justification no longer exists, it is argued. Moreover, the continued imprisonment of people like Debs, Kate Richards O'Hare, and other Socialists merely strengthens in the minds of many persons the belief that these individuals are being punished, not for expressing opinions against war, but for holding views hostile to the economic order of society.

"So far the government has refused to admit that any such thing as a political prisoner exists. All persons duly convicted under the law, it holds, are criminals, and there is no reason why any distinction should be made in respect to those who commit certain kinds of criminal acts, such as expressing opinions that Congress has declared it to be illegal to express. On the other hand, it is pointed out that Russia, even in the height of the czar's autocracy, admitted the existence of political prisoners and prescribed a method of dealing with them different from that used against criminals in the more accepted sense."

(Issue of September 20, 1919.)

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64. THE DIAL

Published at 152 W. 13th Street, New York City.

Board of Editors: Martyn Johnson, Robert M. Lovett, Helen Marot and Thorstein Veblen.

Circulation: 10,000 per issue.

Oswald Knauth testified that the publication is not self-supporting, and the following are stockholders:

May Aldis, Cecil Barnes, A. Volney Foster, Kenneth S. Goodman, Susan F. Hibbard, Martyn Johnson, Willard C. Kitchel, Bruce D. Smith, Mary L. Snow, Julian F. Thompson, Marian

C. Ingersoll, Scofield Thayer, Agnes Brown Leach, Henry Goddard Lynch, William B. Hale, Frederick Lynch, Carlotte H. Sorchan, Albert de Silver, Harold B. Wrenn, Edna Smith, Mrs. Fannie Clark, Elmer Munson, Mrs. Gustave K. Carus, Eugenia B. Frothingham.

Mr. Knauth further testified as follows: "We have been living on a contribution from Mrs. Gustave Carus, I think of $2,000, and that has been supporting us up to now, through the summer, and one of the things I have been engaged on since I have been here is financing this thing properly."

On being questioned concerning the cost of publication the witness testified that this amounted to $5,000 per month, and that the receipts were between two and three thousand dollars per month. He stated that the average deficit per month was between $2,500 and $3,000.

Asked further as to the source of income, he testified: "Mrs. Carus has been paying for four months, and before that we kind of dribbled along. There is a gentleman named Scofield Thayer, editor back in the earlier days, who took $20,000 in stock, and that helps out along in those months.

"Q. Is Mrs. Carus still contributing? A. There is the sum of $2,000 more coming from her in October.

"Q. What is the total amount of her subscription? A. $10,000.

"Q. And does she get stock for that? A. Yes, $10,000 worth of stock. We have had nothing really big, nothing worth talking about,— just a few gifts here and there."

Persons holding notes payable to The Dial, and the amounts mentioned opposite their names:

Scofield Thayer	$5,000
Martyn Johnson	8,995
Edward T. Anderson	1,000
Helen Marot	1,500
Willard C. Kitchel	600

Referring to the dismissal of Benjamin Glassburg from the public schools of New York, and who had been dismissed for disloyalty, we find on page 609 of the June 14, 1919, issue, the following:

"Benjamin Glassberg, has been dismissed from the New York public schools, for stating (1) that the Soviet regime of Russia

had been maligned in America (2) that testimony to this effect had been suppressed by the State Department (3) that a teacher in New York could not tell the truth about Russia. The first two statements are the exact truth as proved by Colonel Robins' testimony before the School Board; the third is proved by Mr. Glassberg's dismissal. So much for suppression of truth. As for the propagation of falsehood, the Board continues to demand that teachers make enthusiastic use of the official Syllabus of the World War exposed by Professor Beard in an article in this issue."

(Issue of June 14, 1919, Vol. LXVI, No. 792.)

In an article entitled "Democracy and Direct Action" we find the following at page 447 of the May 3, 1919 issue:

DEMOCRACY AND DIRECT ACTION

The mention of the press and its effect on public opinion suggests a direction in which direct action has sometimes been advocated, namely, to counteract the capitalist bias of almost all great newspapers. One can imagine compositors refusing to set up some statement about trade-union action which they know to be directly contrary to the truth. Or they might insist on setting up side by side a statement of the case from the trade-union standpoint. Such a weapon, if it were used sparingly and judiciously, might do much to counteract the influence of the newspapers in misleading public opinion. So long as the capitalist system persists, most newspapers are bound to be capitalist ventures and to present "facts," in the main, in the way that suits capitalistic interests. A strong case can be made out for the use of direct action to counteract this tendency. But it is obvious that very grave dangers would attend such a practice if it became common. A censorship of the press by trade unionists would, in the long run, be just as harmful as any other censorship. It is improbable, however, that the method could be carried to such extremes, since if it were, a special set of blackleg compositors would be trained up, and no others would gain admission to the offices of capitalist newspapers. In this case, as in others, the dangers supposed to belong to the method of direct action are largely illusory, owing to the natural limitations of its effectiveness.

Direct action may be employed (1) for amelioration of trade conditions within the present economic system; (2) for economic reconstruction, including the partial or complete abolition of the capitalist system; (3) for political ends, such as altering the form of government, extension of the suffrage, or amnesty for political prisoners. Of these three no one nowadays would deny the legitimacy of the first, except in exceptional circumstances. The third, except for purposes of establishing democracy where it does not yet exist, seems a dubious expedient of democracy, in spite of its faults, is recognized as the best practicable form of government; but in certain cases, for example, where there has been infringement of some important right such as free speech, it may be justifiable. The second of the above uses of the strike, for the fundamental change of the economic system, has been made familiar by the French Syndicalists. It seems fairly certain that, for a considerable time to come, the main struggle in Europe will be between capitalism and some form of Socialism, and it is highly probable that in this struggle the strike will play a great part. To introduce democracy into industry by any other method would be very difficult. And the principle of group autonomy justifies this method so long as the rest of the community opposes self-government for industries which desire it. Direct action has its dangers, but so has every vigorous form of activity. And in our recent realization of the importance of law we must not forget that the greatest of all dangers to a civilization is to become stereotyped and stagnant. From this danger, at least, industrial unrest is likely to save us.

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

(Issue of May 3, 1919, Vol. LXVI, No. 789.)

(Editorial)

"The utterances of men like the Reverend Charles A. Eaton, McNutt McElroy, and Arthur Guy Empey may be discounted as part of the ritual of violence which their professional employments make necessary. In the same way the utterances on which the I. W. W. leaders were convicted in Chicago and elsewhere are part of a ritual of sabotage, which had no more reference to the question of the country at war than the ritual language of Christians with their Golden Rule and Sermon on the Mount

had to the same situation. Far more serious is the resort of the local authorities, whose professional function is to keep the peace, to open provocation and violence. The facts of the behavior of the police at Lawrence are suppressed in the news columns of the press, but have been made known to communications from Mrs. Glendower Evans and others who were eyewitnesses of brutal assaults made by the protectors of society against strikers who were striving to preserve a peaceful attitude. Of these assaults, both on the public street and behind prison walls, there is no shadow of doubt, yet no official cognizance is taken, no charge is brought, and the reign of law continues. The Governor of Massachusetts looks on Lawrence as the Governor of Illinois on East Saint Louis, and, like Gallio, they care for none of these things."

(Issue of May 3, 1919, Vol. LXVI, No. 789.)

LIBERALISM INVINCIBLE

Perhaps no word has so diminished in prestige since the beginning of the war as the word liberalism. This has been due not merely to the extraordinary facile collapse of supposedly liberal leaders before the emotion-provoking shibboleths of belligerency, but also to the deliberate creation of a popular temper and attitude sharply hostile to all that the adjective liberal connotes. Modern war invariably brings to the fools and chauvinists of any country a glamour and prestige which they cannot hope to achieve in the more rational atmosphere of peace. Consequently they have a kind of vested prestige interest in seeing to it that the mass of the people are kept at the same low intellectual level which is their own customary habitation. It goes without saying that all the great instruments of publicity — the press, the universities, the church, the stage — are at their entire disposal, far from unwilling to help them in their attempt to reduce the national atmosphere to the desired temperature of warm and unthinking animal emotion. The independent and fearless mind is cowed into silence or twisted by the social pressure into mere erraticism. The union sacrée tends irresistibly to become, so to speak, the union degradée, for when a nation turns homogeneous in its thinking, as it has to in war-time, it must maintain its concepts at the lowest common denominator. Political heresy

(in normal times, a mere personal idiosyncrasy) becomes a crime punishable by penalties more severe than were visited upon the religious heretics of the inquisitorial age. Protest is greeted by savage and summary repression; intolerance becomes the normal and accepted thing. Even a few months of this anti-liberal nationalistic hysteria is usually long enough to shatter the thin resistances of the intellectuals, and to render the popular temper, which inwardly chafes at the artificiality of it all — apathetic and dull. Competent observers in Europe, even to-day, months after the signing of the armistice, speak with growing concern of the atrophy of political mindedness, the huddling back of the herd to smaller and more understandable groups than the abstract State for which they have already sacrificed almost beyond any limit of human endurance. This apathy of social awareness in the individual is especially notable in Germany and the half-starved, neurasthenic small nationalities of south-eastern Europe; but it has not left even the victors untouched. It is a type of spiritual dullness before any other than immediate and material issues — a by-product of the bigotry and intolerance (as truly as of the suffering) of the war. It has brought the fact and the word, liberalism, into disrepute.

(Issue of April 19, 1919, Vol. LXVI, No. 788.)

(Editorial)

The Victory Loan should be the occasion for the exhibition of a new spirit if the League of Nations is to be worth the paper on which it is drawn up. *The Liberty Bonds were sold largely on hate.* (Italic ours.) The appeal carried to the ear of the people by four-minute oratory, or to the eye of the people by posters and moving pictures, was supported by lavish representations of the malevolence of the enemy. That these were in part false was indicated by the action of General Pershing in withdrawing from active salesmanship a sergeant who was telling atrocity stories unwarranted by anything in the actual experience of the troops. At the same time this popular feeling was used as a measure of coercion against citizens who did not manifest the degree of financial patriotism demanded by the standards of the community. The Secretary of the Treasury fulminated against pacifists. The extent to which organized coercion was practiced under the direction of local managers is revealed

in an article in the "New Republic" for March 29, entitled "Borrowing with a Club." It is hardly necessary to point out that such methods, emphasizing division in public opinion, will not serve to advance the prospects of the present loan. The government has been unable to secure, so far as we know, the punishment of a single person for illegal proceedings in connection with the sale of Liberty Bonds. It is not to be expected that it will be able to mark its disapproval of their methods by relieving these active patriots from the management of the present loan. As in the case of leaders and inciters of mob violence, the energy and aggressiveness shown by such persons are qualities with which the government will hesitate to dispense. But the spirit and method of their appeal must be totally different if the distinction between the Liberty Loans and the Victory Loan is to be maintained. The victory, which is properly to be celebrated by new sacrifices, was a victory won for the whole world. The fruits of that victory are to be found in a reunion of the world toward which nothing can contribute so much at the present time as the feeding of the starving, the clothing of the naked, wherever they may be, among our late enemies as among our allies. It is too much to suggest emphasis upon this generous aspect of the sacrifice? The victory was won for democracy at home as well as abroad. The fruits of that victory are to be found in a reunion of Americans on the basis of their freedom, toward which reunion nothing can contribute so much at the present time as the release of those in prison for conscience or opinion's sake. In many cases a recalcitrant attitude toward the Liberty Loans was one of the indictments brought against those convicted under the Espionage Act. To what extent this attitude was engendered and re-enforced by the illegal methods of the managers of the loans is a matter deserving honest inquiry. The withholding of supply has been a time-honored weapon by which the Anglo-Saxons have maintained their liberties, and to some citizens the Liberty Loans were doubtless presented as a form of taxation, as unjust and illegal as Ship Money or the Stamp Tax. The government could manifest the spirit of victory and confidence in the results of the war in no way more eloquently than by opening the drive for a Victory Loan by a general amnesty to all victims of laws enacted for the emergency of war.

(Issue of April 19, 1919. Vol. LXVI, No. 788.)

DEPORTATION AND POLITICAL POLICY

At the spring conference on labor and business problems held by governors and mayors in the White House at Washington, Secretary Wilson of the Department of Labor appeared and read a telegram from the Central Federated Union of New York protesting against the deportation of aliens because of their reputed connection with labor strikes. Mr. Wilson summarized the attitude of the government as follows:

> "No one is being deported because of his union affiliations and strike activities. It is the duty of the Secretary of Labor to deport all who advocate the overthrow of government by force, but no one will be deported because he is a radical."

Let us compare this assertion with the immigration inspector's record in the case of John Berg, one of the fifty or more aliens brought to Ellis Island on February 8th last for deportation:

> "After considering the testimony in this case, I find that John Berg is an alien, a subject of Denmark; that he entered the United States through the port of San Francisco, Cal., without inspection on or about May, 1901; that he has been found advocating or teaching the unlawful destruction of property subsequent to his entry into the United States by reason of his connection with and the support he has given to the I. W. W. organization, and I therefore respectfully recommend he be ordered deported to the country whence he came, and of the country of which he is a citizen or subject, in conformity with law.—Thomas M. Fisher, Immigration Inspector."

(Issue of August 23, 1919, Vol. LXVII, No. 797.)

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65. THE NATION

Published at 20 Vesey Street, New York City.

Oswald Garrison Villard, Chief and Editor in Chief; W. Arthur Cole, Acting Business Manager.

Circulation: 35,000 per week.

W. Arthur Cole testified, in answer to a question as to whether this publication was self supporting or subsidized, as follows: "It is paid for by its owner, Mr. Clark, plus whatever may come in as revenue from advertising and subscribers."

REASON IN REVOLUTION

The "dictatorship of the proletariat" which swims so horrendously before their eyes is to be, in reality, if they will let it, not an orgy of loot and murder, but a reasonable and peaceful readjustment of institutions and relationships so as to make possible, for the first time in the world's history, the reasonable satisfaction of the reasonable wants of the common man. It is such a development that the present demands of labor forecast, if we look at them soberly, apart from the excitements of the hour. It is not repression, therefore, that the rulers of states should employ today. Instead, they should open wide the channels of discussion and orderly action, through which the currents of normal thought and mass impulse may flow more freely. Granted such liberty, we may safely trust unspoiled human nature for the rest, and may look forward with distinct confidence to an era of social harmony and individual well-being. It is a time for hope and thought.

(Issue of June 14, 1919.)

THE GREAT WINNIPEG STRIKE

By J. A. STEVENSON

The facts of the great general strike in Winnipeg which has evoked sympathetic response from the majority of industrial centers in Canada are already known to the majority of the readers of the "Nation," though possibly, since the censorship of the strikers has been evaded, the anti-labor case has received more adequate presentation to the American public. The basic facts of the situation are, that for the last three weeks a state of peaceful civil war has been in existence in the city of Winnipeg, which, springing up around the old Hudson Bay trading post of Fort Garry after 1875, is now, with a population of 200,000, the commercial and financial capital of Western Canada. On the one side are 30,000 strikers with their families and dependents, and on the other are the employers and upper classes, with most of the bourgeois element, under the leadership of the Citizens' Committee of One Thousand. The original dispute between the employers and employees in the metal and building trades over the questions of wages and collective bargaining has been

lost sight of in the wider claim of the labor leaders that the working classes must have some real control over their destinies, and an adequate guarantee of an existence which will not be a continual financial crisis for themselves and their families. The Citizen's Committee, on the other hand, maintain that the labor leaders contemplated and planned a *coup d'etat* to overturn the established order of society and force a Bolshevist revolution, and that only the determined front presented by their own organization thwarted this terrible programme. They insist that the issue now up for decision is the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that while the majority of the rank and file of labor have been misled by agitators and visionaries, yet in point of fact Bolshevism raw and naked is the ideal which they are combating. To the number of 6,000 they have been drilling in the ranks of the militia regiments, prepared to die rather than bow before the doctrines of Lenin and Trotzky. The implication has been sedulously spread abroad that alien enemies and revolutionaries are at the root of the trouble, but it is notorious that the chief strike leaders, Messrs. Russell, Winning and Ivens, the latter a Methodist ex-clergyman who was expelled from his church for his pacifist views, and has since been editing the "Western Labor News," are all British-born.

(Issue of June 14, 1919.)

THE LAND OF THE FREE

By FREDERICK ALMY

How free is the land of the free, and how free should it be? Must "free" be taken now in a limited sense and interpreted vaguely like some of the commandments and beatitudes such as "Thou shalt not kill" and "Blessed are the peace-makers," which must be modified today if they are to pass the Espionage Act? We all remember how the South interpreted the inalienable rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" much as some good people interpret their creeds. "I believe in believing all that I say I believe" is a satire that does not apply to creeds only. . . .

The espionage acts have an excuse in war time, but how about the muzzle which is still placed on Socialists in conservative America? When Max and Crystal Eastman spoke lately in

Buffalo, they were repeatedly stopped by the police, not for what they said, but because they were Socialists and editors of the "Liberator." The "Liberator," née "Masses," changed its nature with its name, as is often the case, and shed some excesses. As the "Masses" it was an emetic as well as a tonic, but as the "Liberator" it is still a Socialist magazine. The Eastmans were not allowed to speak in Buffalo on any of their announced subjects — free speech, withdrawal from Russia, and release of political prisoners — but the police taboo brought in nearly $3,000 from their audience. It might be profitable for them to subsidize the police.

All three of these subjects are allowed in the "Nation" or at reputable conferences, such as were called in Rochester by the National Municipal League or in New York by the "Survey," but Socialists may not speak on these subjects because they are Socialists. And yet Socialism of the better sort is to its disciples a religion. It is a gospel of hope and opportunity of the most American sort. Socialism fights against poverty, and poverty is a more dangerous, a more brutal and a more permanent enemy than Germany. When we fight Socialism, we may perhaps help that enemy. It is difficult for those who work much with and for the poor not to be to some extent Socialists. Socialists have at least average character and intelligence. Bring to mind such Socialist friends as you have, and consider whether this is not so. In England, in France, in Belgium, Socialism is in the cabinet instead of in jail.

It has been pointed out that extreme Socialism is the bogey at the Paris peace table, just as democracy was the great bogey at the Vienna peace table in 1815. Like democracy then, Socialism was never so unpopular as today and never so successful. . . .

What rights of speech or of act has an independent, and how far should community rights be allowed to fetter individual rights? When Roger Baldwin, with a courage and character which all must admire, chose jail to prove that he did not approve of jailing, was he logical in his protest against the conscription of life? He says he went to jail not as a pacifist but as an individualist, and in behalf of liberty rather than of peace. Would he go so far as to say that an anarchist should refuse jury service as a conscription of life, or that a conscientious drinker should choose jail in a dry State?

Mr. Baldwin is an idealist of the best type, as his whole life proves, but this gay lover of woods and of wild things is in jail for principle. We say he should obey the law, and yet, as he reminds us, we praise those who disobeyed the Fugitive Slave Law. What protest is so effective as rebellion, and is rebellion never justifiable? When successful a rebellion is only a revolution, like ours against England, and revolutions often make the wheels of the world revolve.

Germany is now harmless, and if we do not want the spirit of Germany to conquer, with its hate and brutality, we should release tomorrow every conscientious objector. They are our bravest. It takes more courage to dare or to die for a crown of thorns than for a crown of laurel. When President Wilson spoke at the funeral of the seventeen American sailors killed at Vera Cruz, he said: "I never was under fire, but I fancy there are some things just as hard to do as to go under fire. I fancy it is just as hard to do your duty when men are sneering at you as when they are shooting at you. . . . The cheers of the moment are not what a man ought to think about, but the verdict of his conscience."

(Issues of March 8, 1919, page 352.)

THE END OF BOSTON'S POLICE STRIKE

By ARTHUR WARNER

One takes leave of the Boston Police strike feeling not so much that injustice was done the men as that the city was the victim of a miscarriage of the normal processes of democracy, and that the public interest was flouted by three personally insignificant men — a Police Commissioner, a lawyer, and a Governor of Massachusetts. One need not consider here the right or expediency of the affiliation of the policemen with the American Federation of Labor. That is something for the whole country to solve gradually through deliberation and experiment. Boston alone cannot settle it, much less a single Police Commissioner by personal fiat. One may admit that the police were wrong in quitting their jobs, although assured that order could be maintained without them, and acting from a motive of loyalty to their fellows to which nine out of ten Americans would have responded similarly. The facts remain that the strike had been settled the Saturday before

by an agreement between the Mayor's Committee and the counsel for the police; that the Police Commissioner was at first friendly to the work of the Mayor's Committee, but ended by needlessly forcing the police out in spite of their wish and that of the public to the contrary; that both the Police Commissioner and the Governor were urged to take advance precautions against disorder, but that nothing was done, even to the proper use of the police remaining on duty; that Boston was needlessly given over to a night of disorder, which was only stopped next day by the Mayor's exercise of the power given him by law in the presence of actual riot to take control of the Police Department and call out the State militia within the limits of the city.

What explanation is there of the amazing attitude of Messrs. Curtis, Parker and Coolidge? If Mr. Curtis had acted alone, one might attribute his course to willfulness, vanity or ignorance. Acting, as he did, on advice of counsel, this seems less likely. It is possible that Messrs. Curtis and Coolidge, as Republicans, were playing for partisan political advantage against Mayor Peters and the head of his committee, Mr. Storrow, both Democrats. But the game was so dangerous and uncertain from that standpoint that hardly anyone but a god or a devil would have essayed it. Messrs. Curtis and Coolidge have not the distinction of being either.

. . . . . .

It may be that those persons in Boston who consider national industrial interests responsible for the police strike are right. It may be that the explanation of this otherwise almost inexplicable sequence of events is that, consciously or unconsciously, Messrs. Curtis, Parker and Coolidge were serving the purposes of Big Business — led by Mr. Gary and the Steel Trust — in its effort to perpetuate a decadent and despotic industrialism by discrediting the rising power of organized labor.

(From the December 20th, 1919, issue of the "Nation.")

LIGHT BREAKING FOR RUSSIA

But while the Council of Five, or the British government, or whoever else is responsible for this wholesale and inhuman wickedness, plots against Russia, events in Russia show them no mercy. If one could believe that success in arms inevitably means that

Divine Providence is with the victors, then could we read in the recent military happenings the intervention of the Almighty on the side of the Bolsheviki. The disasters that have overtaken the forces of autocracy are now beyond concealment or misinterpretation. Judenitch's effort to take Petrograd has completely failed. He is falling back in disorder at a rapid rate and losing heavily. General Denikin's plight is even worse; for he was vigorously attacked on the Warniak-Tulchin-Brataslav Line on November 4th by the Ukrainians and was compelled to withdraw in hot haste across the Bug River, leaving behind much booty, war material and ammunition, besides many prisoners. What adds to the danger of his situation is that while he is retreating in the direction of Kiev the Bolsheviki in his rear have taken Faustovo and Archangelsk. He is, therefore, if these despatches are correct, caught between two fires. As for Kolchak, the foreshadowed evacuation of Omsk is now a reality. He is moving out comfortably in the direction of Irkutsk, a thousand miles away, where he will stand with his back to the Lake Baikal — not a pleasant military position. But at least Irkutsk is half way to Vladivostok, which fact must be an encouragement to this imposter who will yet arrive there. But it cannot add to his happiness that the Cossacks have refused to permit their General Rozanov to obey Kolchak's order to report to Omsk in disgrace because of the friction between him and the Allied commanders at Vladivostok. In every direction the Bolsheviki, who, we have been assured a hundred times, had collapsed, are winning easily. Yet our bankers still send money to Kolchak, our soldiers still deliver him armored train-loads of rifles and our government is utterly blind as to what it signifies and what lies underneath.

(From an editorial in the November 15, 1919, issue of the "Nation.")

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66. VIERECKS

The American Monthly Published at 202 E. 42d Street, New York City.

Editor: George Sylvester Viereck.

THE OLD AGITATOR

By ROBERT WYLIE WELDON

It is not difficult to recognize in this pen portrait by Robert Wylie Weldon, published in the Milwaukee "Leader," Eugene Debs, beloved by all who know him, even by those who politically

are his adversaries. The state of his health, we understand, is precarious. It seems unthinkable that American public opinion should permit the leader of a great political party to die in the prison, a martyr to his convictions!

So they could do it after all —
    They locked him up — the good old man —
Behind the grated window and the wall —
    Stole in upon his sick-bed — whisked him off
Before the rumor and the wrath began —
    Without one woodland flower of early spring
Pressed to his big palm by some workman's child.
    And said the honest warden, welcoming:
"You're rather rangy, Mr. Debs, and tall" —
    Embarrassed by a momentary cough —
"But we will fit you out as best we can."
    And the great Proletarian
He straightened up and smiled.

Ten years — so let it be — he was not wise —
    Well shut he would not — could not — keep
Those lips, close-shorn and thin,
    Below those keen, unflinching eyes,
And just above the unbearded fighting chin —
    Those lips with furrows either side, so deep
From mirth and sorrow and unresting sleep —
    And so they deemed it fit
He learn (like Jeremiah) silence in a pit.

So let it be — a state must have firm laws
    And watchful citizens that balk
Against a wagging tongue —
    And one grown gray and gaunt with too much talk,
Who has long since forgotten when to pause,
    Or how to please,
May trip at last — even in democracies —
    And, chiefly, if he tamper with the young.

And worship not the old divinities —
    And when the charge is read him, clause by clause,
And he replies with scanty penitence,
    He'll find (as found that worthy man

At whose incessant lips once Athens took offense)
The gentry of his latter audience
Most ominously niggard of applause —
And though even then he talk — as talk he can —
He lights (like Socrates) on no defense —
Except reiteration of his cause.

So be it — his was fair trial and due appeal
Under those just, majestic guarantees
That give the stars-and-stripes their destinies.
Over free (but ordered) common-weal!
That incorruptible and austerer court
Of old men to this old man made report:
They made report, this row of staunch patricians,
Unto the bald lone tall man of the plebs;
They bore no grudge, they took no gold,
They may have loved him — for they too were old;
But, seated in their ancient nine positions,
They sealed the prison sunset-years for Debs —
As vindicators of those stern traditions
That tore from black Dred Scott his freeman's shirt,
And locked free child in factory dark and dirt.

So let it be — there's nothing for surprise —
The thing's so old — so wearisomely grim —
Nothing for grief — except the shame —
Grieve for the nation, not for him —
For he had but begun his enterprise,
And in this silence finds the lips of flame.
(Issue of December, 1919, page 109.)

JANE ADDAMS ON GERMAN CONDITIONS

FAMOUS AMERICAN CHAMPION OF HUMANITY TELLS OF THE WAR'S CRUELTY TO CHILDREN

The German element in this country should never forget Miss Jane Addams, who is one of the few eminent native women who bravely faced the attacks made upon her for the humane attitude she assumed throughout the war and without complaint bore the stigma of pro-Germanism when the patriotic monomaniacs

were doing their worst. She declared that the German-Americans should have been consulted before we entered the war. Instead of being silenced by force her books were placed on the index expurgatorius of the Department of Justice, and her quiet works of benevolence were hampered in every way possible. But her name on the list of the proscribed did more to cast shame on the authors of that list than anything else. Every American was bound to feel it an honor to be classed with this great American woman, who as the head of Hull House, Chicago, has done so much in the cause of practical humanity and uplifting benevolence. When the passions have been laid and the history records the names of the few outstanding independent spirits who stood for justice, fair play and the Americanism, Jane Addams' name will be the first.

(Issue of October, 1919, page 46.)

CHAPTER II

Agitation and Speeches

The radical and revolutionary organizations which have been described in the previous sections of this report gain new converts and recruit their membership by several methods. The individual activity of members arguing with their fellow-workmen in their own shop, and the distribution of literature of all kinds, may be counted among the successful methods. However, the most effective means employed is the mass meeting. This is true for two reasons: First, it gives the agitator opportunity to impart his idea to a substantial audience and if an eloquent speaker he may succeed in firing them with revolutionary enthusiasm; and, second, such meetings afford the opportunity to increase the party funds and provide an opportunity for the distribution and sale of party literature.

It is the purpose of this chapter to give a number of excerpts from speeches made by several agitators on various subjects which have been taken verbatim by agents of this committee, in order that the general character of the agitation may be brought home to those who read this report. The frankest statements of the principles and objects of the speakers, and the parties which they represent have been made, in recent months, by members of the Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party. For the most part, speakers of the Socialist Party have been more discreet while the agitation carried on by such organizations as the I. W. W. is of a clandestine nature. This is in all probability due to the fact that the character of the I. W. W. has been familiar to public authorities for several years and the agitators of that group have learned that they cannot as a rule carry on their agitation through public meetings or mass demonstrations.

A typical speech at a Communist Party meeting was made by Harry M. Winitsky, executive secretary of the Communist Party, Local Greater New York, at Forward Hall, 175 East Broadway, New York City, on Monday evening, December 22, 1919. His closing remarks constitute a clear statement of the purpose and objects of the party. They are as follows:

> "If you are in accord with the Communist Party, if you believe in the Communist program, if you believe that the

Communist Party is the only revolutionary movement in this country, if you believe that the workers must organize to achieve their freedom, if you believe that the workers cannot achieve this freedom by waiting until God wishes freedom on to them or until your bosses desire to give it to you, it is your duty to line up with the workers and join the Communist Party.

"It is your duty to study our literature. It is your duty to become a messenger of the Communist Party. It is your duty to become one of the great army of revolutionists in this country, a man or woman who is willing to go out among the workers and spread the gospel of truth. It is your duty, working men and women, to go into your factory and shop and distribute the literature of the Communist Party. It is your duty to stand by the Communist Party in this fight in its struggle against the capitalist system. The Communist Party does not promise you any heaven on earth. We do not promise you cheap milk or cheap funeral grounds. We do not promise you cheap beer like our friend Berger did in Wisconsin. The only promise we hold out to the working class is a standing invitation to join your workers and stand shoulder to shoulder in the rise of the revolutionary movement, and fight against the capitalist class.

"The only inducement we hold out to you is that you remain true to your class, that you remain a class conscious workingman, and that you unite with us to emulate the example set to us by our comrades and brothers to destroy capitalism, not only in Russia, not only in Europe, but throughout the world, and to establish a Soviet Government and Soviet League of Nations."

A similar impression is made by Rose Pastor Stokes, who on several occasions has been indicted for violation of various acts designed to protect the institutions of this country, and is now awaiting trial on indictment in Chicago. At a meeting held under the auspices of the Communist Party of America at Manhattan Lyceum, 66 East 4th street, on December 30, 1919, Mrs. Stokes said:

"We want to organize the working class. We want to make them conscious of their power. We want to give them an absolute reliance upon their organized industrial strength.

We want them to realize the power that there is in forces of numbers when those numbers are united. That is our crime. That is our chief crime.

"If we cannot carry on our work of organization, of unification of the workers, of education of the workers in the realization of their own historic destiny, in the realization that upon the proletarians themselves depends the new order, upon them and their own united strength depends the change that must come, the revolution, we must do that work whether there are laws piled upon laws — and if there are any reporters here (I see one gentleman with a notebook) you may tell the opposition that if you pile laws upon laws, and pile them up again as high, and pile them up until they are as tall as the tallest Tower of Mammon, in the City of Mammon, we shall carry on our work. Our work will go forward, gentlemen, and it will go forward with greater determination, with more persistent effort, with a more enthusiastic effort, than it has ever been carried on before those laws were placed on the statute books of the bourgeois state."

The type of appeal made in order to encourage an audience to contribute largely to the cause may be illustrated by the closing words of Harry M. Winitsky prior to taking up a collection at a meeting held at Manhattan Lyceum, 66 East 4th street, under the auspices of the Communist Party, on December 11, 1919. Mr. Winitsky said:

"Comrades, let us get down to business. You know what I mean. The capitalist class has challenged the working class. We accept the challenge. We are going to fight them as they have never been fought before. We are going to hurl back the challenge to the teeth of the scoundrels, and we are going to show them that the working class cannot be intimidated. The working class won't be intimidated, and we are going to show them that we can emulate the example of our comrades all over the world, and we can also abolish capitalism. We can also substitute in this country a government by the people, for the people and of the people, and that will be the workers.

"We have other speakers here, and I do not want to detain you. I have been given a mission which I am going to perform.

"We have six comrades who are still in the Tombs under $1,000 bail, awaiting to be taken out. It is not a pleasant place to stop in. Comrades Ruthenberg and Ferguson are on their way here, and are under $15,000 bail apiece. Comrade Ballon is being held in New Orleans prison, in a rat hole. We do not know what his bail will be. Comrades, it is up to you to answer. It is up to you to give an answer that they will never forget. We are going on with our propaganda as long as we are on the outside, and when we are on the inside, our propaganda will be just as effective by our silence in the prisons, but it is your duty to carry on the struggle here. You may not be able to speak. You may not be in a position to go out and distribute literature, this or that, or numerous other things; but those of you who cannot distribute literature, those of you who cannot organize, must give those who can an opportunity to do their share of the work. All we ask of you is to give us the means of distributing literature. All we ask of you is to help us defend those who are in jail, and who are in jail as a sacrifice to the working class."

On the same evening Rose Pastor Stokes issued this challenge to the capitalist class:

"But, as I say, they are learning, and they are learning, not because I say again, we, a few fifty thousand of us, teach them, not because we, who are willing to risk our liberty, yes, gentlemen, even our lives, in order to pass out a few hundred leaflets to the workers with a word of truth upon it, for their class; but because with every evil act of capitalism in its struggle against the working class, in its struggle to retain power, they are teaching the workers infinitely faster, infinitely deeper, a lesson of class consciousness and the class struggle, and the means by which that struggle can be accomplished, than anything we can say or do to make them understand.

"Here we are, gentlemen; you can jail us. We are not afraid of jails. Heavens, it is nothing to go to prison. It is nothing to go to prison when you know that whether you are behind the prison bars or not, whether you are alive or dead, the liberation of the working class, and through them the liberation of the whole of humanity must soon be accomplished. We are not afraid. We will stand together. We

will work together. We will educate the workers together, these fifty thousand at present in the party. You will find this party augmenting in numbers. You will find it gaining power. You will find it growing in effectiveness. You will find it in the end indomitable, because behind it will stand 90 per cent. of the people, the great working class of these United States, and it won't be long, I repeat — it won't be long."

Equally frank are the speakers of the Communist Labor Party. A typical statement was made by Fannie Jacobs, chairman of a meeting described as a "Monster Demonstration to protest against the arrest of Jim Larkin and Ben Gitlow, and others," at Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn, N. Y., on December 9, 1919. She said:

"You have freedom of speech, we have freedom of assemblage, freedom of press, providing it is not against the interest of the capitalist class; but if ever you try to change the conditions under which you live, so that it is in the interest of the working class, you will find that dictatorship more brutal than that of Czarist Russia; and any time, or as soon as the workers succeed in changing the government from a government representing a few in the interest of the few, to a government representing the men and women in the shops, in the mines, in the mills, in the factories, when they establish such a government, they will be compelled by the logic of events to lay down a dictatorship of the working class.

"We will have freedom of assemblage, freedom of press, and freedom of speech, on condition that it is not against the interest of the working class. The difference between the dictatorship of the capitalist class, and that of the working class is this: That the capitalist class has the dictatorship of the few, over and above and against the interest of the vast majority, and the dictatorship of the proletariat is a dictatorship of the great vast majority over such elements, who try to work against the interest of the great majority; and so our Socialists, many of us, were against the dictatorship of the proletariat, although Comrade Lenin, that great and wonderful mind, the greatest mind of the twentieth century, although he warned us in the final struggle that the logic of events in every country will compel the workers

to establish such a proletariat — we were against it. We were not for it; but it seems that the ruling class of this land understood Lenin better than the Socialists did themselves; and so they showed us, and are showing us, that they mean to establish a dictatorship of the ruling class."

At another meeting held under the auspices of the Communist Labor Party at Manhattan Lyceum, 66 East 4th street, on Friday evening, November 28, 1919, Dr. Morris Zucker, chairman of the meeting, made the significant remarks:

"A Bolshevik is not what these men might contemptuously think, a rat, a man who will run away. No; but we do know when the odds are against us, and when we will have to fight — and I for one hope not — but if we will have to fight we are not going to fight until we have at least a fifty-fifty chance of winning.

"I make these remarks in order to satisfy these noble gentlemen, who would like to have somebody start something, and if something is not started why, they will start that something themselves.

"Well, we will abide our time, and when there is any fighting to be done, if it will have to be done, we will at least try to have something to say in choosing the date and choosing the battleground.

"Our capitalist press and our guardians of law and order tell us — 'Why don't you believe in the quiet and orderly processes of law in order to accomplish your purpose? Why don't you place faith in the ballot as a means of accomplishing your end?'

"Now, I say that so long as the capitalist class controls the press, and controls every other means of shaping and moulding the opinions of the masses of America, we can have no chance on the political field."

A typical example of the propaganda which these agitators are spreading among workers, and which has begun seriously to affect production in certain lines is found in the words of James Larkin, a member of the Communist Labor Party, at a meeting held at Yorkville Casino, 210 East 86th street, New York City, on Tuesday evening, April 6, 1920, in which he said:

"It is my duty as a union advisor, to tell the cohorts of my union — 'Work as little as you possibly can for the

capitalist class,' because my comrades, they are robbing you of two-thirds of the work that you create. It is going into the private fund that they are going to build up to use against you, to employ detectives and stool pigeons, and paid writers of the press, the prostitute press, they are going to hire against you, and the creatures who are men, to use them against you.

"The money you create — the money, as cash value, they will heap up and use it against you. Therefore, do as little as you can in the shortest time possible, and get as much for your labor power in the shortest time possible for the littlest you can do."

At the same meeting Mr. Robert Minor spoke. His words not only clarify his own views, but indicate clearly the thoughts which animate most of the revolutionary agitators who are seeking to spread their false, pernicious doctrines among the working people of America. He said:

"The general strike over there has done what the politicians could never do; it has done what nothing else can do; and now I see that the English — and it is no crime to speak of what the English do — the English have called for a world-wide strike, and for what purpose? — for getting ready for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

"It is not clear to us yet just what they mean, because our dear Associated Press and United Press and such instruments for the dissembling of news, have not allowed us to know all the significance of it; but it is a stir, it is the big stir which the capitalist class cannot stop.

"I wish we could all get our minds thoroughly trained to this thought — that the big stir is not ending, it is just starting throughout the world.

"If Russia does not get peace in very short order from the British rulers and the French, the Russian Red army, with their propaganda carts, are going to roll up to the border of India, and as they spread their propaganda, I expect Ireland will again get busy, and then there will be a merry time for the biggest and most arrogant power on earth of the imperialistic sort.

"These are big times, friends and comrades, and let us, when they deport us and jail us and mob us and lynch us, and spy upon us — let us keep our heads clear and keep

our hearts strong, and know that in the close of this decade there is going to be the complete overthrow of oppression and the triumph of the working class."

While in the main, speakers for the Socialist Party have been more subtle in their utterances, their speakers nevertheless frequently frankly reveal the purposes of their organization. A typical example may be found in the speech delivered by Mr. James Oneal, who had just returned from abroad on a mission to survey European conditions. Speaking at a meeting held at the Brownsville Labor Forum on the evening of November 7, 1919, Mr. Oneal said in part:

"But, they say, that there has been violence in Russia. Some violence in a revolution! Just imagine it! Do they think a revolution is a pink tea party, for men and women to gather around the table and say, 'Now, let us have a revolution. Have a drink with me. Let us have a drink. Let us drink to the success of the revolution,'— and then you go up and slap a Bolsheviki on the wrist, and say, 'Please depart; we want a little revolution.' Is that the way you have a revolution?

"Every tremendous appeal in the world's history that has brought about new institutions, every great revolution, the French Revolution, the American Revolution, the Russian Revolution — all such revolutions have been accompanied with more or less violence, and it is impossible to dispense with it.

"What about their own American Revolution? Was that a pink tea affair? No violence? No mobbing? No clubbing? No property confiscated? Read the New York 'Times.' The politicians, the diplomats in Washington, misrepresent and misinterpret American history itself. In the American Revolution we had some radicals at that time. You know radicals are out of date nowadays. We had some people at that time that moderns would call Bolsheviks, for example:

"The Sons of Liberty organized first in Boston; spread through the New England States and as far south as Baltimore. Who were the Sons of Liberty? Why, those were the Red Guards of the American Revolution, that is who they were. What did they do? They organized, to insure that

the Revolution would be a success. They were composed largely, or to some extent, of lawyers and in a few cases of ministers, but largely of farmers and laborers and mechanics, workingmen, organized in the Sons of Liberty."

It was in respect to this speech that Mr. Charles Solomon, one of the Socialist Assemblymen expelled from the Assembly of the State of New York in 1920, said:

"Comrades, I think so much of that speech, that we are going to ask our good friend who is taking it, the stenographer in the corner — I presume for the police authorities, or for the Department of Justice — to please transcribe a copy of it for us. We will be happy to pay anything within reason for a transcript of that speech. I think it was a fine speech. I think the Socialist Party will be happy to print it in the form of a pamphlet, so that we may distribute it or sell it as propaganda literature."

Quotations from other speeches, giving the type of propaganda carried on by the Socialist Party, may be found in the chapter of this report dealing with the Socialist Party of America. This chapter could be expanded to any length, but an examination of the record of the speeches which have come into the hands of the Committee disclose the fact that irrespective of the party or organization, the appeal is the same, and in every case the passions of the hearers are aroused against the government of this country, and against all other classes of society. The Russian Soviet regime is held up to praise and admiration, and the conservative organizations of labor are denounced as bourgeois and representative of the capitalist class.

Anyone reading the record of these speeches would find that the United States was pictured as a country devoid of all freedom in which the working class occupy a position little better than that of slavery. One would believe that the government devoted itself exclusively to assaulting, lynching, hanging and imprisoning workers for no other reason than an expression of their opinion. It is by such statements and such coarse falsehoods that the passions and prejudices of the ignorant are fanned into the flames of open revolt.

CHAPTER III

Literature and Methods of Its Distribution

BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, LEAFLETS, HANDBILLS, SONGBOOKS, PUBLISHERS.

The periodical literature is not by any means the only form of written propaganda that was organized on a large scale. The revolutionary leaders imported from Europe schemed for popularizing ideas for pamphlets and other cheap forms of literature, a scheme that was almost unknown in this country. The literature that was developed falls into several very well defined categories, adapted for not only teaching the elements and principles of the Socialist, Anarchist and other branches to the young, but also to the mature minds. It was necessary to produce literature that should not only lay permanent foundations but that should interpret passing events, and that should stimulate definite reactions and actions to meet emergencies as they arose. The first category consists of books of considerable extent issued in the usual way, as, for example, the fundamental work of Karl Marx on "Capital." Such works were for advanced study, for university work as we would ordinarily call it.

Then come pamphlets of considerable size that interpret history on broad lines in the interests of the party, such as, for example, Fraina's work on "Revolutionary Socialism." By far the greater number, however, were for the purpose of teaching the elements, from Catechisms to be used in children's classes up to A. B. C. manuals for mature workmen, such as The Socialist Question Box, by .....

Whenever any important question arose, such as the Russian Revolution, pamphlets were issued for the purpose of directing opinion, such as Rhys Williams' "76 Questions and Answers About the Soviets and the Bolsheviki."

A second category is formed of pamphlets that record the revolution interpretation of current events in the United States and elsewhere with the record in detail in documentary form with the party's interpretation. For example, the reports of the Chicago trial of the I. W. W., the conscientious objectors' trial, Scott Nearing trial, and so forth.

Another class is formed by leaflets, handbills and dodgers, inciting in many cases to action and provided for specific occasions, conferences, meetings, to bring about strikes, sabotage, and so forth. One of the most dangerous forms of teaching, especially the classes of children, is involved in the collection of songs of both the Socialist and the I. W. W. parties.

How were all these classes of literature published and how were they distributed? In the first place they were issued at very low prices, ranging from five cents to sixty or seventy-five cents, the average cost being ten or fifteen cents. Special rates were in most cases offered for bundles of from ten to a thousand copies each in order to facilitate diffusion on a large scale. Certain firms devoted themselves very largely to issuing this literature. It is difficult to say where the funds for this mass of literature were procured. It is known that a large part came from donations from wealthy parlor Bolsheviki, and that the different associations also contributed for this purpose out of their dues. The largest publishing firm is Charles H. Kerr & Company of 118 West Kinzie Street, Chicago, which is probably the largest radical publishing firm in the world. It is a co-operative company. Mr. Kerr himself is a revolutionary Socialist and compiled the famous Socialist Song Book. So the firm is carrying on its business, not as a business but as a propaganda enterprise. A corresponding, although not as commanding a position, is taken in the east by B. W. Huebsch & Company, of New York City, whose imprint is almost as consistently an indication of the radical character of the work.

Another New York firm that issues a special line of radical books is Boni and Liveright. Other publishing agencies of the sort in New York City are the People's Print of 138 West 13th street, the Radical Review Publishing Association of 143 Fourth avenue, and the National Civil Liberties Bureau, 70 Fifth avenue.

The managing committees or boards of the different radical parties generally issue from their headquarters a quantity of party literature. This is the case in New York of the Socialist Labor Party of 45 Rose street, and especially of the I. W. W. Publishing Bureau of 1001 West Madison street, Chicago.

Certain companies, without absolutely identifying themselves with the cause, circulate I. W. W. literature, for example, the

International Publishing Company of 1321 East Third street, Cleveland.

The magazines of the different parties are very apt to supplement their periodical by issuing pamphlets, often merely reprints of special articles. This is the case with the Liberator Publishing Company, for example, of 34 Union Square, New York; the "Nation;" the "Radical Review;" the "Class Struggle," and it used to be the case with Mother Earth Publishing Company.

To show how the revolutionary publishing agencies are scattered over the country a few others will be mentioned. The Socialist Party, 220 South Ashland boulevard, Chicago; the Collectivist Press, McFarlane street, Pittsburgh; the Melting Pot, St. Louis, Mo.; the Socialist Publication Society, Brooklyn and New York; the Literature Bureau of the W. I. I. U., P. O. Box 651, Detroit.

Of course, all these houses and central agencies themselves attended to distributing their publications, but it was necessary to have stores where they could be more generally on exhibition, where the revolutionary literature from all parts of the country could be made available to the public. Such stores are the New Era Shop, of 221 Wells street, Milwaukee, and the Socialist Book Store, of 1330 Arch street, Philadelphia. In these stores, of course, only such radical literature as was allowed by the censor could be on view. Prohibited literature could only be secured by visiting headquarters or by other surreptitious means.

One of the most generally used methods for distribution in large cities has been to establish large centers in the different city wards to which bundles of literature were sent by hand to be distributed to members residing in the district. One important instance in which publication, teaching and distribution are all combined on a large scale is the Rand School, which is the largest institution of its kind in the United States.

In a smaller way this is done also by the Ferrer schools. Other methods of distribution that are especially characteristic can be classified as follows:

Distribution in school buildings, at settlement and social unit meetings, at special meetings and conferences, such as the Raymond Robbins addresses in churches; special methods were used when prohibited literature was to be circulated.

When it became dangerous to distribute this literature at public meetings, three different methods became popular. Agents

would be sent during the late night or early morning hours, for example, in New York City on the elevated lines, who would shower out of the windows or from the platforms thousands of leaflets into the streets to be picked up in the sections where the proletariat would swarm to work in the morning. Agents would be stationed at the entrances to factories or shops to distribute the leaflets or pamphlets. Agents would be sent through certain quarters to stuff the literature into the letter boxes of private and apartment houses. Sometimes, instead of using the letter boxes, agents would ascend to the roofs of the houses and scatter the literature into the streets. Of course, advantage was taken of the special occasions, such as strikes, demonstrations and processions for systematic distribution.

CHAPTER IV

Subversive Teaching in Certain Schools

In addition to the widespread propaganda conducted by means of periodicals, pamphlets, newspapers, throwaways, speeches and other activities described in various chapters of this report, there is conducted in certain schools in this State and elsewhere, a systematic propaganda of revolutionary thought and action, and we will in this chapter briefly refer to a few of these institutions.

THE FERRER OR MODERN SCHOOL

Until the activities of this Committee drove it out of business, there was conducted at 1941 Madison avenue, in the Borough of Manhattan, City of New York, a branch of the Ferrer or Modern School, of Stelton, N. J.

There is situated in Stelton, N. J., near New Brunswick, a colony comprising some 300 houses, inhabited by followers of Francesco Ferrer, the Spanish Anarchist, who was executed in Spain in 1909. The men who guide the destinies of this lawless aggregation are Harry Kelly, Leonard D. Abbott and J. Isaacson. The word "lawless" is here advisedly used, because the denizens of this colony do not believe in law.

In order to obtain an accurate account of conditions existing in Stelton, the Committee sent a special agent there in the latter part of June, 1919, and a full account of his observations may be found in the minutes of the hearings of this Committee in the volume marked "Executive Sessions." The Stelton Colony lives in utter abandon of the habits and principles that ordinarily govern respectable and law-abiding persons. The proprieties' existence are completely ignored by the men and women there, and one of the prime objects of the colony seems to be to gather in the fold immature boys and girls and to inculcate in their minds the ideas that law is something that has no existence, must not be obeyed and must be done away with. Morality, such as we understand it to be, has no place in their scheme of things. Boys and girls up to the age of eleven are made to dress and bathe in common, and great stress is laid upon the explanation of the sex functions in classrooms where these boys and girls are herded together.

Women walk the streets and sit upon the porches of these houses in rather extreme dishabille. The investigator was given a room in one of these houses adjoining a room occupied by a woman.

These rooms were so situated that he could not avoid seeing everything that transpired in the adjoining room.

Not content with running a school of the character above described in Stelton, N. J., the Ferrer group established a branch school at 1491 Madison avenue, Borough of Manhattan, City of New York, and it was only after the work of this Committee had started, and its purposes had become known to the Ferrer group, that this school was abandoned on the 30th of June, 1919.

The Ferrer or Modern School, in New York City, at the address above mentioned, was founded by Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Leonard D. Abbott, and others, in 1910.

An accurate idea of the scope and purpose of this seat of learning may be had from an examination of the official records in the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the United States against Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, Plaintiffs in Error, where at page 369 et seq. we find the following (Leonard D. Abbott examined by Alexander Berkman in Person):

> "Q. Mr. Abbott, do you know whether I was ever interested in educational matters? A. I know you have been interested in many educational matters.
>
> "Q. Do you know whether I ever had any connection with the Modern School of New York? A. I know you were one of the founders of the Modern School.
>
> "Q. I was one of the founders of the Modern School? A. Yes.
>
> "Q. What does that school stand for? A. Stands for the education of children along libertarian lines.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "Q. Is that school fashioned after the ideals of Francisco Ferrer? A. It is.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "Q. And I was one of the original founders of that school? A. Yes.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "By the Court:
>
> "Q. When was that school founded? A. That school was founded after the execution of Francisco Ferrer in Spain seven years ago.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "Q. That would make it around 1910, is that correct? A. That is correct; Ferrer was killed in 1909.
>
> . . . . . .

"Q. Tell us what it is the pupils of the Ferrer School are taught — what is its principle? A. It is a school — an idealistic school — formed to promote higher social ideals, to encourage children to adopt higher social ideals.

"Q. I know, but what does it mean? There are a great many standards that might be covered by the word 'Ideal'; that is largely the point of view of the persons who approve it. All these words you have spoken are words of broad and largely indefinable character. A. Well, we conceive this school is a school which is encouraging children to adopt social ideals that are superior to the present social ideals, and they are as clear as crystal. . . .

"Q. Does that school — I am only inquiring because the other side opened it, Mr. Berkman — does that school advocate the abolition of government? A. It advocates the education of humanity to a place where they would be able to get along without government.

"Q. Well, is it fair to say that it advocates the abolition of all government? A. In an ideal sense, yes.

"Q. And that is what is being taught to the children that go to this school? A. The children will be encouraged to be self-reliant so that in coming generations you may expect the people finally to get along without government.

* * * * * * * * *

"Q. Then, putting it briefly, the children are encouraged to form ideas looking toward the abolition of government? A. In an ideal sense, yes.

"Q. And of course that includes the Government of the United States with all other governments? A. Of course."

Cross examined by the prosecuting attorney the witness continued:

"Q. Do you mean that they teach the children to disregard the law? A. I mean our attitude toward the child would be for him to take his own position in regard to the laws.

"Q. Then, according to the teachings, a child might arrive, however, at a conclusion, that a particular law, being offensive to his ideals, he could disregard it although it was the law? A. If he was prepared to take the conse-

quences. That is up to the child, that he must be prepared to take the consequences of his actions.

"Q. If they are prepared to take the consequences, they are at liberty to feel that they may disregard the specific statutes of the United States? A. If they are prepared to act and take the consequences of their acts, if they are prepared to act according to their consciences and take the responsibilities for their acts, that would not be out of harmony with the teachings of the Ferrer School."

Stripped of its verbiage, the above examination indicates but one thing, and that is that in the Ferrer or Modern School, run by anarchists until a recent date in the City of New York, children at the most impressionable age were taught an utter disregard for our laws, and imbued with the idea that a state of anarchy was the true blissful state, and that this should be the aim and purpose of the little children who, in all their innocence, believe what their elders tell them.

That such an institution should have been allowed to exist for almost ten years is not a very high compliment to the City of New York.

THE SCHOOL OF THE UNION OF RUSSIAN WORKERS

The Union of Russian Workers, whose activities have been described in another chapter of this report, maintains its headquarters at 133 East 15th street, in the Borough of Manhattan, City of New York, in an old three-story and basement building. A description of these premises may be of interest.

The entire building is filthy and squalid and presents anything but an inviting appearance. The front room on the entrance or "parlor" floor is used as a classroom and is furnished with a blackboard and improvised benches and chairs. In this room, seated at the crude desks and benches, were a number of men who, on being questioned, conveyed the information that they were attending this school for the purpose of learning to read and write their native Russian tongue, as well as to receive instruction in English.

In the room immediately adjoining this front parlor was a "club room," the chief decorations of which were red tinsel.

The real purpose of the school was learned from an examination of the persons and the contents of the room at the rear of the top floor of the building. There, on August 14, 1919, the

day on which the representative of the Committee, accompanied by Inspector Faurot, of the New York Police Department, and Detective Sergeant Gegan, head of the New York Bomb Squad, was found the editorial college of the anarchistic sheet called "Khlieb-y-Volya," which translated into English means "Bread and Freedom."

In a closet opening off this room were found several thousand copies of the then current issue of this paper. A translation of its contents resulted in the indictment on the charge of Criminal Anarchy of the three guiding lights of the Union of Russian Workers, who were Peter Bianki, the Russo-Italian anarchist; Naum Stepanuk, the editor-in-chief of "Khlieb-y-Volya," and Peter Krawchuk, general utility man and editorial contributor of "Bread and Freedom."

On another floor in this same building, in a room containing even more dirt and filth than the other rooms contained, was found the editorial sanctum of "Rabochey-i-Krystianin," which in English means "Workman and Peasant," and which publication was one of the Russian organs of the Communist Party of America, and which in each issue contained an apotheosis of the Bolshevik regime of Soviet Russia.

Many of the leaders of the Union of Russian Workers are now with their confreres in Soviet Russia, having been conducted thither on the "Buford."

Months later were found the forms and some of the manuscripts of "Khlieb-y-Volya" through the medium of search warrants obtained by representatives of the Committee in the printing office of "Elore," the Hungarian organ of the Communist Party of America, proving but one link in the chain that seems to bind all the radical revolutionary organizations in New York together. Fifteen thousand members had been gathered in this Union of Russian Workers, pledged to the doctrines of Criminal Anarchy, and bound by their common ideas to the overthrow of organized government, wherever situated, and of the Government of the United States in particular. From this squalid, unwholesome, damp and decaying building, the word of Peter Bianki had gone forth to many Russians throughout the United States, and thousands of them had united under the red banner of Anarchy. Each successive class that had occupied the crude and battered benches of the front parlor had gone forth to spread the seeds of class hatred, discontent and revolution; and each successive group

that sat in the back parlor or club room, sipping tea, and imbibing the virus of revolutionary discontent, had scattered throughout the country preaching the subversive doctrines that had been inculcated into them in the dreary looking house in Fifteenth street.

The house still stands, but an effective quietus has been put upon its activities by the energetic prosecutions and deportations initiated by this Committee.

THE ROCHESTER SCHOOLS

In Rochester the Central Labor Lyceum, locally known as "Dynamite Hall," is used as the meeting place of several radical revolutionary organizations. In this building there has been conducted for some time a circulating library containing, to a very large extent, books of anarchistic type. Several of the rooms are used as class rooms where instruction is given in subjects dealing with revolutionary radicalism in English, Russian and Hungarian. In these courses the necessity of the "class struggle" is emphasized and, as a direct result of the teaching they have had, various groups meeting in this building have become an integral part of the Communist Party of America.

On December 28, 1919, there was held in this building a National Emergency Convention of the Young People's Socialist League, commonly known as the "Yipsels," at which convention a resolution was unanimously adopted providing for the merger of the Yipsels with the Communist Party and pledging the Yipsels to adopt the principles enunciated in the Manifesto of the Third International as their basis of action.

There was also situated in this building a branch of the so-called Proletarian University, of Detroit, Mich., under the tutelage of one C. M. O'Brien, who organized what he termed a branch of the Proletarian Party.

The Rochester Local of the Socialist Party of America, which, as above stated, became Communist, conducted in Rochester a Sunday School, and while the Committee was unable to obtain full details as to the workings of this Sunday School, sufficient evidence was found in these premises to indicate that this school was organized along methodical business lines. A bank book was found showing substantial deposits from time to time and labeled "Sunday School, Rochester Local, Socialist Party." Memoranda in the minute book of the local, which is now in possession

of the prosecuting attorney of Monroe County, showed that a concerted effort was made to obtain as large an attendance as possible at this Sunday School.

The Rochester Local also conducted classes in revolutionary Socialism and in several cases used the public school buildings of the City of Rochester for this purpose, without, of course, any knowledge on the part of the public school authorities of that city of the purpose for which the class rooms were being used.

At one of these sessions it was decided to print and publicly distribute in that city 10,000 copies of Lenin's letter to the American working men, in which the necessity for the use of force and violence in overthrowing the Government of the United States is urged.

In another building in the same city the "Union of Russian Workers" maintained its headquarters, and, as one of the means of winning recruits to its revolutionary cause, a Dramatic School was conducted. By means of this method persons were induced to affiliate with this outfit who, probably, at the time they joined had no thought of engaging in any revolutionary activities, but while rehearsing Russian peasant dramas the idea was gradually impressed upon the members of these dramatic classes that revolutionary activity might be conducted in this country as well as in Russia.

THE RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

The Rand School of Social Science is situated at 7 East 15th street, in the borough of Manhattan, City of New York, in a building formerly occupied by the Young Women's Christian Association, and which building is owned by an organization called the Society of the Commonwealth Centre, Inc. The Rand School is owned by the American Socialist Society, a membership corporation, and its affairs are conducted by a board of directors, who are elected annually, and a teaching and administrative staff headed by Algernon Lee as educational director, and Mrs. Bertha H. Mailly as executive secretary. The Rand School is not an incorporated body nor is it under the direction, control or supervision of the State Educational Department or of any other educational department of the City, State or Nation.

The American Socialist Society which maintains and operates the Rand School was convicted of a violation of the Espionage Act, in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, in the spring of 1919, and was fined $3,000 by

Judge Mayer, the presiding justice, on such conviction. The fourth count of the indictment on which this organization today stands convicted is as follows:

> "And the Grand Jurors aforesaid, on their oaths aforesaid, do further present that from the 6th day of April, 1917, and each and every day thereafter to and including the day of the finding and presentation of this indictment, the United States has been at war with the Imperial German Government, and since the 1st day of July, 1917, and each and every day thereafter up to and including the 1st day of March, 1918, and while the United States has been at war as aforesaid, Scott Nearing and The American Socialist Society, a corporation organized and existing under and by virtue of the laws of the State of New York, hereinafter referred to as the defendants, at the Southern District of New York and within the jurisdiction of this Court, unlawfully, wilfully, knowingly and feloniously did obstruct the recruiting and enlistment service of the United States, to the injury of the service and of the United States, in that they impeded, hindered and retarded the increase of the Military Establishment of the United States, through and by means of the publication in the City, State and Southern District of New York of a certain pamphlet entitled 'The Great Madness,' and the circulation and distribution of the same throughout the said City, State and Southern District of New York, and throughout the United States among persons whose names are to the Grand Jurors unknown, but who may be and are described by the Grand Jurors as persons in part liable to service in the military forces of the United States under the provisions of the Act of Congress approved May 18, 1917, entitled 'An Act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States,' and the Regulations duly made for enlistment and recruiting in the military forces of the United States; said pamphlet 'The Great Madness' being written by the defendant Scott Nearing and published, distributed and sold by the defendant The American Socialist Society, through the agency of the Rand School of Social Science, its agent, instrumentality and department, and said pamphlet containing statements and arguments calculated, intended and of a character to induce,

encourage, persuade and solicit persons liable to service in the military forces to fail and refuse to enlist for service therein; a copy of the said pamphlet 'The Great Madness' is hereto annexed and made a part hereof and marked Exhibit 'A,' said statements and arguments being too lengthy to be herein set forth fully and at length; against the peace of the United States and their dignity, and contrary to the form of the Statute of the United States in such case made and provided.

(Act approved June 15, 1917, Title i, Section 3).

"(Signed) FRANCIS G. CAFFEY,
"*United States Attorney.*"

The regular instructors are David P. Berenberg, Benjamin Glassberg (who was dismissed from the public schools of New York by reason of his subversive teachings), Scott Nearing (who was indicted with the American Socialist Society for a violation of the Espionage Act, but who escaped conviction), and Alexander Trachtenberg.

A number of college professors, several of whom "resigned" from various educational institutions by reason of their attitude on the late war, and prominent members of the Socialist Party give lectures in this school.

The Rand School was established in 1906. In the school year of 1918-19 the number of its registered students, excluding extension and correspondence classes, ran above 5,000, the number of class sessions or lectures attended by each student ranging from six to about four hundred.

On page 207 of the American Labor Year Book, 1919-20, in an article contributed by Algernon Lee, Educational Director of the Rand School, we find the following:

"The teaching work of the Rand School falls into two parts — that which offers opportunities for the general public to study Socialism and related subjects, and that which gives Socialists such systematic instruction and training as may render them more efficient workers in and for the Socialist Party, the Trade Unions and the Co-operatives. The former is the more extensive, the great majority of students being residents of New York and the vicinity, who devote only an evening or two a week to such courses as they may select from the large number offered. The second branch is the more intensive with a smaller body of students.

The Workers' Training Course is taken up each year by a group of young working men and women, mostly from outside New York, who give their whole time to study for six months, from November to May. Essentially the same course is followed also on a part-time plan by a group of local students who attend classes six hours a week through the greater portion of two years. Many of the Training Course graduates later enter the service of the movement, as secretaries, organizers, propagandists, editors, or in other capacities."

As indicative of the courses of study given at the Rand School of Social Science, we reprint herewith the bulletin of the course given in the summer season of the Rand School, July 7 to August 16, 1919:

"The second summer season of the Rand School of Social Science will begin on July 7, 1919, and will extend to August 16. This period will be divided into three terms of two weeks each. The aim of the summer courses is to give to people living outside of New York City an opportunity to study the social sciences, economics and current history from the Socialist point of view. At the same time, a visit to the school will afford an opportunity to exploit the rich vacation possibilities of New York City and its environs.

"The courses will largely duplicate the regular work of the school term, and will be conducted by the regular staff.

"FEES

"Per term	$15.00
"For single courses	3.50
"Matriculation fee (required of all students)	1.00
"Single admission to public lectures	.25

"The fee for the term includes admission to any course and to all lectures and concerts.

"COURSES

"I. Method of Using Social Facts.
"II. Control of Public Opinion.
"III. Fundamental of Socialism.
"IV. Evolution of Society.

"V. Revolutions in Europe.
"VI. The Soviet Government.
"VII. The Economics of Reconstruction.
"VIII. Modern European History.
"IX. Revolutionary Epochs.
"X. American History.
"XI. Modern Problems of Reconstruction Period.
"XII. Capitalism.
"XIII. Labor Problems of the Reconstruction Period.
"XIV. Comparative Government.
"XV. Interpretation of Social Facts.
"XVI. Elements of Political Science.
"XVII. History of the Socialist and Labor Movement in America.
"XVIII. Ideals in Education.
"XIX. Economic Foundation of Ethical Standards.
"XX. Social Forces in Literature.
"XXI. Epochs of Civilization.
"XXII. Social Aspects of the Modern Drama.
"XXIII. The Awakening as Reflected in Music.
"XXIV. Appreciation of Modern Literature.

"STAFF OF TEACHERS AND LECTURERS

"Algernon Lee, Scott Nearing, Alexander Trachtenberg, Harry Dana, D. P. Berenberg, Herman Epstein, Benjamin Glassberg, Ludwig Lore, Louis P. Lochner, Norman Thomas.
"And others to be announced.
"Send for Descriptive Circular to:
"Bertha H. Mailly, Executive Secretary,
"7 East 15th street, New York City."

In the Rand School book store, run in conjunction with the Rand School itself, and which contributes toward the support of the school, are found works dealing not only with Socialism and with extreme radical thought, but a large number of books on sex problems, and a section of the book store is devoted solely to the subject of sex. These sex books are sold to boys and girls of immature age, and one of these books, entitled "Love and Marriage," by Marie Carmichael Stopes, was sold to a young lad of fifteen. Some portions of this book are of an extremely lascivious and indecent character.

Practically all of the revolutionary publications that have appeared in the City of New York during the past two or three years have been displayed in the Rand School Library and were at various times on sale in the Rand School book store. The "Revolutionary Age," the publication of which resulted in the conviction of Benjamin Gitlow on the charge of Criminal Anarchy, was formerly sold at the Rand School, and a witness appearing before the Committee testified that between 150 and 200 copies per week were delivered to the Rand School book store and there offered for sale.

The correspondence course maintained in this school extends practically throughout the United States, and a letter addressed to the school and the answer thereto from the Correspondence Department, David Berenberg, Director, are we believe sufficiently interesting to warrant their being reprinted here:

> "Dear Sir.— Enclosed please find 15 cents for 'Socialism Summed Up.' Kindly mail me a catalog of books you have on sale also debates such as 'Must We Arm.' Am I entitled to take a course in your school, not being a red card member? I am a postal employe of the post office and for that reason have never joined the party but have always voted for a Socialist whenever possible to do so, and have only once voted for any other than a Socialist and at that time I had no Socialist on the ticket. I am a subscriber to the New York 'Call,' 'Appeal to Reason,' 'Rip Saw,' in my wife's name. I will say the post office in San Diego is full of Socialists such as myself, the station I work for has eleven carriers, nine of them will vote the Socialist ticket this fall and all of them will vote dry, all other stations in our city is about the same. I will not be able to take up a course at once but at least will know just where I stand.
>
> "Yours for Socialism in our time,
>
> "HARRY L. PERKINS,
> "2685 J. Street, San Diego, Cal."

"DEAR COMRADE PERKINS.—We are indeed glad to have you take up one of our courses. One who has been a subscriber to so many papers and gone through what you have gone through is perfectly qualified to take up a study course. I am mailing you a book catalogue from our bookstore, and descriptive circular of our courses, also sample lesson leaves.

"You will find the rates for the courses in the circulars.

"It is fine to see our postmen interested in our movement. They have had good opportunity to know what it stands for, and are coming into very great sympathy with us.

"We shall hope to have you enroll as a student soon. When we read of 'Preparedness' that is in full force in the camps of the capitalists we realize that unless we organize and fit ourselves to resist, and to take over the government, we will one day find ourselves where our French and German brothers are today, dead or maimed in the fray.

"We enclose an order blank for return order.

"Sincerely and fraternally,

"DAVID P. BERENBERG,

"Director Correspondence Department."

Another letter addressed to M. E. Rabb, Rural Route 7, Xenia, Ohio, and bearing date October 3, 1916, is illuminating, in that it seems to indicate the real purpose of the school:

"M. E. RABB, Rural Route 7, Xenia, Ohio:

"DEAR COMRADE RABB.—We are in receipt of the inquiry of Local Alpha, in regard to study classes in Socialism, and enclose with this letter descriptive circulars that give full information concerning these courses. Any inquiries that you do not find answered in the circulars we will gladly answer if you will write us further.

"During the last year Greater New York has conducted 35 classes in Rand School courses on Socialism. The state secretary, Comrade D. Solomon, is most enthusiastic about the value of these lessons and gives cordial support to the locals of New York State in their organization of this educational work.

"As a matter of fact every local and party branch in the country should conduct a study class every season and in many cases the locals should have both beginning and advanced courses.

"In Connecticut the property of members of the Moulders' Union has been attacked by the employers for damages to trade caused by a strike. Not only the household goods, but the bank accounts of members have been thus attacked. WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO WHEN THE STATE ROBS YOU AND YOUR UNION AND SO MAKES

YOU HELPLESS TO STRIKE? There is only one thing to do: TAKE OVER THE STATE.

"Are the members of your local prepared to take over and conduct wisely and well the affairs of your town and county? Are you ready to meet the militia when the powers of the state and court are against you? Are you arming yourself with the knowledge of the foundations of our society so that when these crimes come to you, you will have an organization strong enough to have foreseen and forestall them? ARE YOU TRAINING YOUR MEMBERS IN SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM? If not, you can make no protest when your goods are taken from you.

"Look over the enclosed samples of our course in 'Elements of Socialism' which will cost you only $1.00 per member in a class of six or more and send in your order on the enclosed blank.

"Fraternally yours."

This last letter to "Comrade Rabb" was evidently a form letter. We give below a few other letters obtained from the Rand School files that show the character of the propaganda carried on by this school:

"DEAR JENNIE.—Your letter was just given to me by Mrs. Mailly, as the Correspondence Department is mine, you know. I mean that the pleasure of replying to inquiries in regard to the Correspondence Department falls to my lot, not that I own the Department!

"The terms for Comrade Lee's course are $2 each in classes of six or more students. Here are some circulars that may help you to organize the class, and I am sending a small poster to put up in the headquarters to help recruit for the class. ((((Please excuse all these errors. Two chattery girls are working at my table and their talk is so distracting that all these mistakes just happen!!!))) Don't you think that you will be a better recruiting officer than some of them are? Just show 'em. Members are flocking into Local New York by the hundreds. Five hundred and seventy-six new members last week, Three hundred and sixty-six the week before. Seventeen new members — applicants — at our branch last Friday, and we have not held one street meeting in our branch. The Third and Tenth has

the Sixth and Twenty-sixth, with fine success. Collections and literature sales are great.

"Local Bronx, followed by New York, has started lecture courses for the new members to start them off right, in the hope that they will become good, active members and stick. Six lectures with fifty cents worth of literature for one dollar. The school is organizing them and gets the dollar. Comrades Lee, Max Shonberg and Sackin, and perhaps Berlin, will give courses of lectures for them. Comrade Lee's course is well along, with sixty members in the Bronx. This may be a suggestion for Chicago, too. We would have recommended the Mailly course for these beginners, except for the fact that summer was upon them, and it is difficult to hold study classes in hot weather. It can be done and is done, but cooler weather accelerates the desire for study, as hot weather does not. I wonder whether you would not better plan to start your class with September, and meanwhile keep the new members and others together, with lectures and social outings. Hot weather in Chicago is no small handicap, Jennie. You know how much we want you to form the class, but if you devote these seven weeks to getting a large class together and working up enthusiasm for it, it may be best, but that is up to you, of course. Chicago heat is worse than New York usually.

"We have paid *ten thousand dollars* on the new building."

July 26, 1917.

"DEAR JENNIE.— Hooray for the people that want to study! I'm one, too. I am taking a course at Columbia this summer, contemporary European literature. Not Socialism this time, but useful to supplement Socialism. The instructor, Dr. Brewster, is a radical, and I think, a Socialist.

"I am glad to have the addresses of the students, and to see that you have Comrades Baker and Branstetter with you. They will be valuable members of the class.

"The essays come at the close of the course, as you see by the enclosed circular letter. They will be returned within two weeks from the date of the receipt.

"We have no arrangements for traveling libraries, as it would involve considerable expense, and work as well. Can you not have the use of good libraries in Chicago? I would

surely think so. Talk with Comrade Branstetter about it. I think she will know where and how you can gain access to the books you need.

"You ask about the draft. Only a few of our boys are caught by the draft, so far. Most of their numbers are so high that we are quite sure they will be safe. Schurter and Benj. Gordon and Grant are caught, but will probably go to jail, instead of into the army. Sonabend, also. I hear that many of the Union men will also go to jail, but that is rather indefinite information. We are awaiting developments somewhat anxiously, as there must be others we know not of that will be caught. Schurter is just about sick over it, and we for him.

"The school building fund is growing beautifully, better than we could have dreamed. What we must do now is to keep up the pace already set, and all will go well. Forty thousand is no small amount to raise, you know. Twenty-five thousand dollars is already subscribed, but the last will go more slowly, I presume, because the first half includes several large contributions, one of $5,000. But isn't this a fine beginning?

"There is no charge for the covers. A letter from A. Frank, Ossining, today says he will call at the school soon.

"With congratulations to the class and lots to you and Clarina, and a bit of it, too, for Comrade Prestshold."

Another letter of interest is the following:

"Department of Organization and Propaganda
"The Socialist Party of the United States
"803 W. Madison St., Room 405

"Chicago, Ill., *March* 25, 1919.

"Dear Comrade: — Some time ago I wrote you about a visit to Bishop William M. Brown, who resides at Galion, Ohio. Bishop Brown is a member of the Socialist Party, a Bishop of the Episcopal Church and a heretic of the reddest hue. Your visit to his residence was cancelled because of your trial.

"I have a letter from Comrade Brown in which he states that he intends to visit New York some time during the first

half of May. He wants me to arrange one or more meetings for him in New York. I write you to inquire whether you would please favor me by giving Comrade Brown a meeting or two at the Rand School or at the Hall. Comrade Brown is sixty-three years of age, and if a hall is secured for him, it must not be one too large, otherwise he could not make himself heard. When I tell you that Comrade Brown is a Bolshevist, is making the trip to New York to consult you and Comrade Eastmann about a series of three booklets he intends publishing and that he does not ask a fee for his speaking services, I am sure you will do what you can to arrange for him. Please let me hear from you as soon as possible.

"Yours in Comradeship,

"(Signed) A. WAGENKNECHT."

"*March* 31, 1918.

"DEAR COMRADE WAGENKNECHT: — Comrade Nearing has referred your letter concerning William M. Brown to me. I shall only be too glad to make whatever arrangements I can for Comrade Brown. I believe that the circumstances under which he comes out publicly for Socialism and Bolshevism are of sufficient publicity value to insure successful meetings for him.

"Will you kindly communicate with me and let me know sufficiently in advance when I may expect Comrade Brown in New York?

"Fraternally,

"(Signed) DAVID P. BERENBERG,

"*Director Correspondence Department.*"

As evidence of the fact that the Rand School is not particularly desirous of presenting to its students an anti-Bolshevik view of the Russian situation, we give the following letter and answer, found in the files of the school:

"NEW YORK, *April* 3.

"DEAR BERENBERG: — About two weeks ago I wrote you asking to submit to the Educational Committee of the Rand School a proposal that I deliver a series of three lectures

at the school on the Russian Revolution. I enclosed a prospectus of the lectures, which was as follows:

"LATEST PERSPECTIVES OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

"1. Theoretic conflict with the Russian Social Democracy in the light of the experience of the Revolution.

"2. The Soviet Government, Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and Jacobin Utopias.

"3. Back to Marx, back to the Class Struggle.

"I have not heard a word in reply. I appreciate the fact that the Socialist movement of America, unlike the Socialist parties of Europe, has allied itself irrevocably with the Bolshevik regime, but it seems to me that an institution like the Rand School might not object to have the anti-Bolshevik view, the view of Kautsky, Eisner and others, presented in a scientific manner. Or has the handling of the subject from this point of view been included in the official Index Expurgatorious?

"At any rate, I would be interested to know what has become of my proposal. Can you not enlighten me?

"Fraternally yours,

"(Signed) JOSEPH SHAPLAN."

"*April* 31, 1919.

"DEAR COMRADE SHAPLAN: — The Education Committee of the Rand School request me to tell you that in view of the fact that there is already a course on Russia, planned and advertised, the school cannot book your course of lectures.

"We intended to invite you to speak at the Forum, but two weeks ago we abandoned the Sunday evening forums, because of the poor attendance.

"Fraternally,

"(Signed) DAVID P. BERENBERG,

"*Director Correspondence Department.*"

The following memorandum was found among the papers seized in the Rand School of Social Science under the search warrant of Chief Magistrate McAdoo:

"Joseph M. Caldwell, formerly State Organizer of S. P. of Rhode Island, convicted of violation of the Espionage

Law and sentenced to three years in Atlanta, appealed and now out under $25,000 bonds. Now with 'The Class Struggle,' phone Beekman 3427 during daytime, lives at Hotel Bradford, East 11th street, near Broadway, New York City.

"SUBJECTS:

"Democracy in America, or From Plymouth Rock to Atlanta. An up-to-date topic based on history and personal experiences.

"Fifteen months in prison, a story of a strike.

"An account of the personal experiences of a strike leader in a town owned by one man, a plea for political action to back up industrial action.

"'Industrial Feudalism in America' shows the trend of industrial development and the inevitable result, Industrial Feudalism, if the workers do not organize, industrially and politically.

"P. S.—Member of Socialist Party for 21 years. Have been National Organizer, local organizer, local Cleveland. State Organizer, Rhode Island, delegate to several national conventions."

On April 3, 1919, David P. Berenberg wrote the following letter to Caldwell:

"*April* 3, 1919.

"DEAR COMRADE CALDWELL:—Please note that I have booked you to speak in Passaic on Sunday afternoon, April 13th, at 2 P. M.

"The comrades will probably be able to pay you only expenses, but I shall ask them for a fee.

"Kindly let me know at once whether you can accept this date.

"Fraternally,

"(Signed) DAVID P. BERENBERG,

"*Director Correspondence Department.*"

That agitation was a profitable calling to at least one of the lecturers in the Rand School, namely, Scott Nearing, seems to be indicated by the following entries appearing in the check-book of the Rand School from April 28, 1919, to May 29, 1919:

Check No.	Date	Amount
5	April 28, 1919	$100 00
51	May 3, 1919	100 00
54	May 3, 1919	95 00
81	May 10, 1919	95 00
116	May 17, 1919	95 00
142	May 24, 1919	35 00
158	May 29, 1919	35 00
	May 2, 1919	61 00
Total		$616 00

The Rand School lecture bureau makes it a practice to receive a commission from all speakers that it sends out either on single lectures or on lecture tours.

The Rand School has lost no opportunity for preaching the doctrine of class hatred in every conceivable direction. The following letter, addressed to a negro who wrote to the school for information on the correspondence school courses, is illuminating in two particulars: first, it shows what is really meant by the "social revolution," and second, it shows the existence of an active propaganda among negroes emanating from the Rand School of Social Science:

"*May* 16, 1919.

"MR. FRANCIS J. PEREGRINO, 4 *Fernando St., Pittsburgh, Pa.:*

"DEAR COMRADE.— I am sending you the bulletins covering the courses. Of course, I realize that they are not all that you would like to have, but I think it would be wiser for you to ask me questions which I could then answer.

"There is great need for missionary work among all people and especially among colored people. We have here a very active group of comrades — among them Comrades Owen, Chandler and Domingo — who warn us that unless we make headway with the negroes, the capitalists may use them in time of a social revolution much as the Czecho-Slovaks are being used in Russia.

"For your purposes, it seems as if Special Course 'A' will be the most advisable. I could easily arrange to have you

pay in installments, in case it is difficult for you to pay at one time.

"Hoping to hear from you soon, I remain,

"Fraternally yours,"

This letter was signed by the Director of the Correspondence Department of the Rand School. "Comrade Owen" mentioned in this letter, is the same Chandler Owen who is one of the editors of the radical negro publication called "The Messenger," in the May-June, 1919, issue of which, on page 8, appears the following editorial:

"THE MARCH OF SOVIET GOVERNMENT

"Still it continues! The cosmic tread of Soviet government with ceaseless step claims another nation. Russia and Germany have yielded to its human touch and now Hungary joins the people's form of rule. Italy is standing upon a social volcano. France is seething with social unrest. The triple alliance of Great Britain — the railroad, transport and mine workers — threaten to overthrow the economic and political bourbonism of 'Merry Old England.' The red tide of Socialism sweeps on in America. South America is in the throes of revolution.

"Soviet government proceeds apace. It bids fair to sweep over the whole world. The sooner the better. On with the dance!"

Both of the editors of this magazine, who are negroes, A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, are instructors and lecturers at the Rand School of Social Science.

The close harmony existing between the various radical revolutionary agencies is indicated by an editorial in the New York "Call," in the issue of June 27, 1919:

"The 'Call' is always anxious to give a word of encouragement and support to other publications that are worthy of working-class support. We all the more readily call attention to one of the most valuable and unique Socialist publications that has appeared in this country, the 'Messenger.' It is a publication devoted to the negro workers in particular and the interests of workingmen in general. It maintains a literary and editorial standard that is equalled by few

Socialist publications, and in some respects it surpasses all periodicals of this kind in this country.

"The editors have a thorough knowledge of the economic history of the United States, of the rise of the slave regime, the economics of the plantation and the ill-disguised peonage that succeeded it in the South and the general economic status of the negro worker, complicated as it is by racial antagonism. Some of the best studies in economic history have appeared in the 'Messenger,' studies that are worthy of a wider reception among white workers as well as among negroes. 'The Messenger' is one of the few Socialist publications that has consistently based its Socialism upon a sound interpretation of the economic history of this country. It is a striking fact that it remained for negro comrades to set this standard for American Socialists.

"But, like other publications in the past two years, the 'Messenger' has run foul of His Majesty, Czar Burleson, and has suffered in consequence. Not that its circulation has decreased. In fact, it has more than trebled since Burleson issued his ukase against it. But the 'Messenger' is engaged in a drive for $25,000 for the purpose of meeting the increased demands upon it. The message of Socialism is at last reaching our black brothers of the working class through those who alone can reach them. The negro has so often been swindled and betrayed by the white man that he is always suspicious of him when he comes bearing gifts. He can only be reached by his own people, and that is being done now.

"Besides this prejudice against white propaganda, which has a reasonable justification, there is the servile propaganda of negro leaders who have succeeded to the role once played by the late Booker T. Washington. Their message to the negro is one of contentment, adding to it Iago's advice to 'put money in thy purse.' No white propaganda can contend with this reactionary propaganda waged by negroes among their own race. Only publications like the 'Messenger' can meet it, and it is being met with a generalship and knowledge that wins converts among the black workers every day.

"Quite a number of Socialist organizations and progressive labor unions have already responded to the 'Messenger's' appeal for funds. We urge all those interested in

this necessary work to contribute what they can. Also, send for a sample copy of the magazine, as this will remove any doubts that may exist of the excellence of the 'Messenger.' Contributions may be forwarded to the 'Messenger,' at 2305 Seventh avenue, New York City."

The Rand School of Social Science publishes a bulletin called "Rand School News." The issue for June, 1919 (Ex. 236, Commission Hearings), contain what purports to be the valedictory address of Oscar Edelman, a pupil of the school, delivered by him at the time of his graduation. We quote this valedictory address in full:

"To-night we meet for the last time as Full Time students of the Rand School. The happy days we have spent together during the past six months will never come back.

"But, comrades, let us not be sad at parting for we have before us the most inspiring task of history. We are living in an age of social changes, of great transformations.

"Tonight as we are gathered here to say good-bye, our comrades in Europe are working against great odds, trying to establish Industrial Democracy. For half a century the workers of Europe have been hard at work in their labor organizations; represented on the political field by the Socialist Party, on the economic field by their labor unions. For half a century the message of class consciousness and class solidarity had been preached to the workers of Europe. And the workers of Europe responded to the clarion call of Karl Marx, 'Workers of the World, Unite!' In Germany, France, England, Italy, Russia and Austria-Hungary there arose the most powerful political movement that the world had ever seen. Lassalle, Bebel and William Liebknecht in Germany; Lafarge, Guesde and Jaures in France; Hyndman and Kier Hardie in England; Ferri and Turati in Italy; Plechanoff in Russia; Victor Adler in Austria; these and many others gave their lives to the movement of the proletariat.

"THE WORLD WAR

"Then in August, 1914, came the great World War. Before the onrush of war hysteria the organizations of labor were helpless for the time being. Under the pretense of "National defense" the workers of each country were led to the slaughter. For several years the great struggle raged.

The world seemed to have gone mad, when in March, 1917, came the glorious news of the Russian Revolution. Under the inspiration of the Russian Revolution, the workers in other countries began to break loose from the fetters of social patriotism. As conditions changed a new leadership came into existence; in Russia, Lenin and Trotzky; in Germany, Karl Lieb*—Spartacans, Ledebour and Haase of the Independents; in France, Longuet and Loriot; in Italy, Labriola and Serrati; in England, MacDonald, Snowden and McLean; in Austria, Fritz Adler, and in Hungary, Bela Kun. The second anniversary of the Russian Revolution found the Kaiser of Germany in exile and a Soviet Republic in Hungary.

"IN AMERICA

"And now let us look to America, our own country. For many years American statesmen watched the growing tide of Socialism on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. They said that Socialism was a specific European product which could never take root in American soil. For a long time this seemed to be true. The first representatives of modern Socialism in America were the German exiles who were forced to leave Germany after the Revolution of 1848. Their agitation failed to bring results because the industries of the country were undeveloped.

"A little more than a generation ago, agriculture was still the main industry of the country. Land was cheap and easy to acquire. Those in the East who were dissatisfied could take the advice of Horace Greeley, who said, 'Young man, go West.'

"Today, however, the American frontier is closed. We have become an industrial nation. Within recent years, Capitalism has become firmly established in the United States. The economic background for a real labor movement is here. The America of yesterday, a country of comparatively free and independent producers, has given way to the America of today, a land where Capital is more firmly intrenched than in any European country.

"OUR TASK

"In America we have a longer road to travel, greater obstacles to overcome. Because of historical conditions, the labor movement in America is conservative and more back-

* So in original.

ward than the labor movement of Europe. For us, as students, Socialists and labor unionists, our work is laid out. We must help educate the workers of America so that their slogan 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work' be replaced by the revolutionary slogan 'Abolition of the wage system.' We must teach them the true meaning of Internationalism and Industrial Democracy. We must help our fellow-workers to see the vision of a new social order.

"We see today, that one of the greatest handicaps to our Russian comrades is the weakness of the American labor movement, and the strength of American Capitalism. We are seeing more clearly than ever before, that the workers of one country cannot emancipate themselves without the support and co-operation of the workers in other countries.

"In the great world-wide struggle which is taking place today, we must take active part. We must not fail, we must not falter. The ideals which inspired Marx and Engels, Bebel and Lassalle, the ideals which today inspire Debs and Lenin, are the ideals which inspire us — the ideals of International Socialism. Long live International Socialism! Long live the Socialist Party of America! Long live the educational work of our movement and the Rand School of Social Science!"

The interesting feature of this pupil's valedictory address is that it is illustrative of the effect of a course of training in the Rand School of Social Science. In this it will be noted that the student says, "The ideals of Lenin are the ideals that inspire us." Not a word therein indicates that the ideals of Washington or Lincoln or the other great statesmen of this Nation either inspired this pupil or even entered his mind.

Examining the correspondence courses of the Rand School of Social Science we take at random Lesson 12, entitled "The Human Element in Economics." This lesson, one of twelve prepared by Scott Nearing, under a paragraph entitled "The Industrial State," reads as follows:

"The workers of Russia adopted a constitution in July, 1918, which represents and attempts to put into practice some of the principles of Industrial Democracy. . . .

"The second chapter of the Declaration of Rights provides for 'The abolition of exploitation of men by men, the entire

abolition of the division of the people into classes, the suppression of exploiters, the establishment of a Socialist Society, and the victory of socialism in all lands. . . . By declaring that all private property in land is abolished, that the entire land is declared to be national property and that it is to be apportioned among husbandmen without any compensation to the former owners in the measure of each one's ability to till it.' Likewise, all natural resources are declared to be national property; as are the factories, railroads, banks and other organizations of capital. Furthermore, 'universal obligation to work is introduced for the purpose of eliminating the parasitic strata of society and organizing the economic life of the country.' Furthermore, all workers are to be armed and all members of the property class are to be disarmed.

"These are but instances of the thoroughgoing manner in which the Soviet Constitution approaches the problem of dis-establishing the established order of capitalistic society. The application of the principles embodied in this Soviet Constitution, whether made in Russia or elsewhere, means inevitably the overthrow of capitalist and class government and the establishment of an industrial democracy.

"The French Revolution ushered in political democracy. The Russian Revolution began the movement toward Industrial democracy which has spread so rapidly over Europe during the succeeding months.

"The old form of industrial control based on the power of wealth was a plutocracy. The new form based on the sovereignty of the workers is a democracy.

"The plutocracy bases its power on some form of special privilege. The democracy stands for equality of opportunity. Special privilege is to democracy as the east is to the west. They cannot exist together. Its special privilege is to dominate, equality of opportunity must be denied. If equal opportunity is to be the rule of the community, special privilege must go.

"The struggle between plutocracy and democracy is a struggle for life and death. One must survive, the other must be destroyed."

In one of the correspondence course lessons prepared by Scott Nearing are suggestions for the formation of a Soviet in the town

wherein the particular student happens to reside, with the suggestion that plans for the formation of this Soviet be formulated by the student, but that they be *not* sent to the Rand School of Social Science. As part of its general plan of attracting pupils to the school, there are maintained in the building occupied by the Rand School, a gymnasium, a cafeteria, and other attractive social features.

A large mass of correspondence was seized by the agents of this Committee in the execution of the search warrant against the Rand School and among the papers found in Room 301 of that school was some correspondence between one George Ross and Comrade Mailly and Comrade Keiger, as well as correspondence between the same George Ross and D. Berenberg, director of the correspondence courses of the Rand School of Social Science. From this correspondence it is evident that Comrade Ross was "hoboing" throughout the country from Vermont to California, advertising the Rand School of Social Science correspondence course and organizing classes in Socialism in various states of the Union.

In a letter dated Tulsa, Oklahoma, May 22, 1916, and addressed to "Dear Comrade Mailly," Comrade George Ross says the following:

> "I collected for the seven members $14.00 tuition fees and am deducting one-quarter or $3.50 commission. I have quit hoboing and bumming now, and as I pay my way from place to place, I trust to these commissions to cover fees, so enclosed is $10.50 for class of seven a year on Course 2 by Lee (meaning Algernon Lee, Educational Director of the Rand School of Social Science)."

We give below a copy of a letter dated January 15, 1916, addressed to this same George Ross at Los Angeles, California, and signed by David P. Berenberg, director of the correspondence courses:

> "*January* 15, 1916.
>
> "GEORGE ROSS, Los Angeles, Cal.
>
> "DEAR COMRADE ROSS:— Some time ago we sent T. W. Williams complimentary sets of the Correspondence Courses

Nos. 1 and 2. If these have not reached you, will you not kindly call Comrade Williams's attention to the fact that the lessons have been sent, and no doubt he will send them to you.

"Sincerely yours,

"(Signed) David P. Berenberg,

"*Director Correspondence Courses.*

"(BS&AU12646)

"P. S.— Comrade Maley dictated the above brief note on the eve of her departure to begin an extended National tour for the party.

"Had she not been so hurried, I am sure she would have told you what pleasure the clippings from the California papers gave her, showing as they do, that you are both carrying on so effectively and loyally the work entrusted to you by the comrades, the School and more than all else, by yourselves. We are all glad and proud and hopeful for the future, when we have the possibility of developing such fine spirit as is shown by you both, by John Hughes and Wm. Kruse and Walter Ford and Emanuel Deitch of last year. There are others who came before who show what the socialist spirit can be and is when working through a conscientious nature.

"I shall try to write you a bit of news some day soon. I know you are glad to hear from the comrades here."

A letter dated May 8, 1916, from this same Comrade Ross, is interesting as showing the systematic attempt to spread the teachings of the Rand School in various western states of the Union, and we here reprint it:

"Hutchinson, Kansas, *May* 8, 1916.

"Dear Comrade Keiger:— Not having written you for almost two weeks I am sending you this letter but again I have landed a student for the school. In fact, from now on I think you may expect a letter every week for I should be able to get a class started every week at least, for I am giving the school more of my time now than ever before and I see that with the time given to it results can be ob-

tained as the people are thirsting for knowledge and the Rand School has just the stuff they want. When I make another tour of the country I want to be better prepared to do the working of organizing Rand School classes for they go wherever I speak on them.

"I have not heard from you in reply to my letter from Albuquerque where I organized a class of six members and sent you $8 and in answering me now you can let me know that you received that letter. The reason that I like to hear from the school in reply to letters I send on forming a class is that the class leave it all to me and I like to know that the letter has not been lost and that the responsibility is off my shoulders, for I know that once the school has them in charge all will be well with them.

"I left Albuquerque for Hutchinson, a distance of 750 miles, to beat it all the way and I succeeded. *It took me three days of travelling to get here and I had to beat passengers and freights to do so and camp out three nights, and come near getting in jail when a railroad 'bull' picked me off a passenger but finally I got here and none the worst for it.* Paul had been going ahead of me and I met him here. He tried to organize a class in Amarillo and got them on their way and left it to them to complete the organization and send in the money. However I know how comrades are and usually you must force them into a thing, even though it is good for them. I got a letter from Miss Eddy, the state secretary of Arizona, and she says that the most important thing that has been done in the state the past year has been the organization of study classes in Globe, Phoenix and Glendale. She says that the local attendances are greater than they ever were before and that the comrades have never shown the interest in Socialism that they are right now. She is just daffy over the class. Having been in Phoenix I know that it is saying a whole lot for the course if it could put life into the bunch there for, with the exception of the state secretary they are as dead a bunch as there are any place in existence. Fortunately, it was not a hopeless case and the Rand School class seems to have saved them. Mrs. George D. Smith of Globe writes me that the

class there are doing real fine and their class leader is great. The attendance have not been as big as they ought to but that is due to the fact that being a mining camp they can't all attend as they work on all different shifts. Still they are all satisfied there.

"I met Paul here in Hutchinson after we were separated for six weeks and his voice broke down and he seems to be having bad luck and had a poor meeting here Saturday as that he left for - - Wichita where he is now, and again we are separated. However, we will meet by the end of the week. I did good here and they want me to stay at least two weeks and organize the county. The fact is that since I put my shoulder to the wheel bent on forming classes and also due to the fact that I was engaged by the Socialist Party of Arizona as state organizer I have gotten a considerable experience in organization work for which I am very well satisfied. So they want me to work here organizing the county and they raised $9 at the meeting as a fund to begin with. I may stay here a few days, a week at the most, and if I stay that long may yet succeed in forming a class here. Yesterday they had a meeting, one of the best they ever had. I spoke to them on the Mexican situation and then on the Rand School. They took no definite action on it but were all well pleased and several of them spoke to me about it. So I may be able to do something here yet. One comrade, a young woman, who joined at the meeting yesterday was well interested and the result is that I got her to take the course.

"She is a fine enthusiastic Socialist with that burning enthusiasm that all newcomers have. Her parents were Socialists and also three of the brothers while one of them is bitterly opposed. Her parents having died left her considerable money and made her free to do as she pleased. They always desired that she do some Socialist work and that has been the ambition of her Socialist brothers. So she decided to enter the movement and devote her life to the cause. I would very much like to get her to take the Full Time Course at the school as she could afford to do so but certain family affairs make that at present impossible. However I believe you should in the future, when the winter comes on,

suggest it to her and she may be better able to take the day course then. She wants to be efficient to speak and teach Socialism and then go out and do so free to any place where the work is needed. Her heart, and soul, and pocket-book are all in the movement and I believe the Rand School could give her the best start to train her to do the work. She is a young society woman, but doesn't care for that life and finds her enjoyment in the Socialist movement. She is read up somewhat, but I advised her to start at the bottom and so have gotten her to take a course Number One by Anna Maley which is $2 when taken alone. Also she wants the complete set of books so send them to her, and as they are $2.50 post paid, you will find enclosed $4.50 in money-order form to cover cost of same. Her name is Myrtle Taylor, 514 North Main street, Hutchinson, Kansas. Besides that she wants the local to start a library for the benefit of the members, and is willing to spend $5.00 to purchase books to begin a local library with. I told her that you will send her offers on books for that amount and that you would know the best books to start a library with. So make a list of books, popular ones preferred, that you will sell her for $5 and she will buy them for the local. The books that she is getting now are for her personal use in course one and are the seven books recommended on the leaflets you sent me. Send them, the lessons on course one, book offers and a catalogue to the address just given. She does not work, but has her full time to herself, so that she has all day to do the studying, and therefore she would like to have the course rushed a little and have her get a lesson every three to five days. And with all the books on hand and her full time to devote to the studies I think she should be able to complete the course in six weeks or two months. When through with the course she wants to follow it up with Course No. 2, and then 3, and so on.

"I suppose that gives you sufficient information on her. I will now go after the organization of a class here. How is the class in Albuquerque, New Mexico, getting on. If you have any more lessons on the third course I would like to have you send them to me. All I have is the first seven and they are fine. I would like the rest of them if they are made up and printed yet.

"Write me now to General Delivery, Wichita, Kansas, where I am going to from here. Hoping the Pageant was a success and that you let me know something about it, I am,

"Fraternally yours,
"GEORGE ROSS."

It is rather interesting to note that the field agent of the Rand School of Social Science, boasting a faculty of intellectuals, travels from State to State, spreading the gospel that emanates from this School of Social Science, stealing rides on the bumpers of freight trains in true hobo fashion.

CHAPTER V

Propaganda Among Negroes

The most interesting as well as one of the most important features of radical and revolutionary propaganda is the appeal made to those elements of our population that have a just cause of complaint with the treatment they have received in this country.

The skill with which such complaint is employed to stimulate an interest in and gain recruits for the various revolutionary agencies is an indication of the thoroughness with which such propaganda is carried out. In recent years opportunity for employment in industry has induced large numbers of negroes to come to this State from the south as well as from the West Indies. While in general the negro in New York State has been treated well, the treatment accorded him in many parts of the country has engendered a spirit of resentment which has been capitalized by agents and agitators of the Socialist Party of America, the I. W. W. and other radical groups.

It has also been encouraged by well-to-do liberals who have taken active part in social uplift organizations, working among the negroes in this State. The marked increase of the activities of radicals in trying to recruit negro followers, makes it necessary for the Committee to devote its attention to the various agencies at work to stimulate race hatred in our colored population, and to engender so-called class consciousness in their ranks.

The very fact that the negro has many just causes of complaint adds to the seriousness of the propaganda, and should encourage all loyal and thoughtful negroes in this State to organize to oppose the activities of such radicals, which cannot but lead to serious trouble if they are permitted to continue the propaganda which they now disseminate in such large volume.

One of the most active groups of negro radicals is that which publishes the "Messenger," a monthly magazine, devoted to the principles of internationalism and the stimulation of the class struggle. Its editors, Chandler Owen and A. Philip Randolph, are lecturers at the Rand School of Social Science. Contributing editors are W. A. Domingo, George Frazer Miller and William N. Colson. The business manager is Victor R. Daly and its main office is at 2305 Seventh avenue, New York City.

The periodical is distinctly revolutionary in tone. It is committed to the principles of the Soviet government of Russia and to the proposition of organizing the negroes for the class struggle. A brief editorial appearing in the May-June, 1919, issue, at page 8, is typical:

"THE MARCH OF SOVIET GOVERNMENT

"Still it continues! The cosmic tread of Soviet government with ceaseless step claims another nation. Russia and Germany have yielded to its human touch, and now Hungary joins the people's form of rule. Italy is standing upon a social volcano. France is seething with social unrest. The triple alliance of Great Britain — the railroad, transport and mine workers — threaten to overthrow the economic and political bourbonism of 'Merry Old England.' The red tide of socialism sweeps on in America. South America is in the throes of revolution.

"Soviet government proceeds apace. It bids fair to sweep over the whole world. The sooner the better. On with the dance!"

In another editorial appearing on the same page we find:

"NEGRO MASS MOVEMENT

"The time is ripe for a great mass movement among negroes. It ought to assume four distinct forms, viz., labor unions, farmers' protective unions, co-operative business, and socialism."

In the August, 1919, issue, there appears an editorial under the head "The General Strike."

"Labor in Europe is, indeed, becoming class conscious. It, too, is becoming revolutionary. It appreciates that an injury to one is an injury to all, whether the injury be inflicted upon the workers in Manchester, Paris, New York or Petrograd. Only ignorance stands between labor and the control of the world. Labor need not ever expect Congresses and Parliaments that are dominated by capital, to grant its demands. It would be suicidal to capitalism. For the triumph of labor means the death of capitalism. The lion and the lamb cannot lie down in harmony and peace together. The flea and the dog cannot fraternize. This is also true of labor and capital. Labor is the mother of capital and

hence it must control and own it. The world is the product of labor and hence labor must, ought and will finally own it. A general strike will pull the armies of the Allies out of Russia, the first working-class government in the world. It will free the political prisoners in England, France, and also America. Because the plutocrats out of fear of a similar general strike taking place in this country will 'let our people go.' Mass action is labor's only effective weapon. So, get to it."

In an article entitled "The Awakened Oppressed and the Disturbed Oppressors," by George Fraser Miller, in the September, 1919, issue of the "Messenger," at page 31, we find the following:

"Socialism lifts him above the footstool of supplication and puts him upon the lofty pedestal of independent activity — where he can do things. It puts him where vital and intimate touch with those who are engaged in correcting fundamental wrongs not through empty sentimentality that might be cast to the winds when its force has been expended, but as an element of human need indispensable to the realization of the industrial democracy — the incoming of the CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH."

In an editorial entitled "The Cause of and Remedy for Race Riots," we find the following:

"The solution will not follow the meeting of white and negro leaders in love feasts, who pretend, like the African ostrich, that nothing is wrong, because their heads are buried in the sand.

"On the economic field, industry must be socialized, and land must be nationalized, which will thereby remove the motive for creating strife between the races. . . .

"The people must organize, own and control their press.

"The church must be converted into an educational forum.

"The stage and screen must be controlled by the people.

"IMMEDIATE PROGRAM

"We recognize that the preceding remedy is a comprehensive and fundamental remedy which may take years for attainment. In the meantime, an immediate program must be adopted to meet the demands of the transition period. Hence, we offer this immediate program.

"1. *Physical force in self-defense.* While force is to be deplored and used only as a last resort, it is indispensable at times. The lesson of force can be taught when no other will be heeded. A bullet is sometimes more convincing than a hundred prayers, editorials, sermons, protests and petitions. (The resistance of negroes in the race riots just passed has been helpful to the white and colored people throughout the country.) It has saved us in other cities from riots. Negroes have shown that riots hereafter will be costly and unprofitable, and when you make a thing unprofitable you make it impossible. . . .

"*Lastly, revolution must come.* By that we mean a complete change in the organization of society. Just as absence of industrial democracy is productive of riots and race clashes, so the introduction of industrial democracy will be the longest step toward removing that cause. When no profits are to be made from race friction, no one will longer be interested in stirring up race prejudice. The quickest way to stop a thing or to destroy an institution is to destroy the profitableness of that institution. The capitalist system must go and its going must be hastened by the workers themselves."

Continuous attacks are made upon the American Federation of Labor, and negroes are urged to enter the ranks of the I. W. W. and kindred organizations. "The negroes and the Industrial Workers of the World have interests not only in common, but interests that are identical." (Page 9, October, 1919, issue of the "Messenger.")

In the November, 1919, issue the general spirit of the editors of this magazine is epitomized in an editorial entitled "Thanksgiving," in which we find the following:

"First, we are especially thankful for the Russian Revolution — the greatest achievement of the twentieth century.

"Second, we are thankful for the German Revolution, the Austrian Revolution, the Hungarian Revolution and the Bulgarian Revolution.

"Third, we are thankful for the world unrest, which has manifested itself in the titanic strikes which are sweeping and have been sweeping Great Britain, France, Italy, the United States, Japan, and in fact every country in the world.

"Fourth, we are thankful for the solidarity of labor, for

the growth of industrial unionism, for the relegation of trade unionism, for the triple alliances of the railway, transport, and mine workers in England and America.

"Fifth, we are especially thankful that radicalism has permeated America, giving rise to many of the greatest strikes in history, such as our present steel strike, mine strike, and our impending railroad strike.

"Sixth, we are thankful for the first successful general strike, in America, which lifted its awful head (awful to capital) in Seattle, Washington.

"Seventh, we are thankful for the New Crowd Negro, who has made his influence felt in every field — economic, political, social, educational and physical force. The New Negro has been in the front ranks of strikes. He has taken his place in Socialist politics. He is an integral part of nearly every great social movement. In the field of education, the 'Messenger' magazine and the 'Crusader' have become fixed parts in the life of negro Americans, while the 'Messenger' interprets the negro's new point of view to nearly eighteen thousand white readers every month. On the field of physical force, the negro has been right on the job for the protection of his home, his life and his loved ones. The Washington, Chicago, Longview, Knoxville, Elaine and Omaha riots are bright spots in the New Negroes' attitude toward American lawlessness and anarchy. They present the New Negro upholding the dignity of the law against both the white hoodlums and the government — the latter of whom should have seen that law was upheld.

"Eighth, we are thankful for the waning influence of the Old Crowd Negro and white leaders, and especially pleased to see the accelerated rate by which their power and influence are declining every day, while the new type of leadership of the New Crowd Negro has become popular with the masses in every nook and corner of the world.

"Lastly, we are thankful for the speedy oncoming of the new order of society in which Thanksgiving will be relieved of its cynicism and hypocrisy — when people may be thankful every day in the year instead of as now upon one day, which is more lip thanks than real thanks. The sleeping giant — Labor — has awakened, and for this there should be thanks and rejoicing indeed."

It is this paper preaching these doctrines, advocating these principles, that has commended itself to many of our intellectual liberals.

Quotations from their letters to the editor of the "Messenger" should indicate the character of propaganda which appeals to the writers of these letters as suitable and proper in these days of social unrest:

> *"To the Editor of the 'Messenger:'*
>
> "I have just been reading the March number of the 'Messenger.' Opening it in casual spirit with the idea of glancing at a few of its pages, I found myself reading it through with the greatest interest and care. May I congratulate you upon publishing so admirable a paper? It is handsomely printed, well written, and dominated by that thoroughgoing radical spirit which can alone accomplish anything for truth and righteousness in these chaotic days. I cannot refrain from sending you this word of congratulation and Godspeed.
>
> "With all best wishes, I remain, sincerely yours,
>
> "(Signed) JOHN HAYNES HOLMES."

[1] "We must congratulate you, for you have produced a journal that any race should be proud of. It is discriminative, justly critical, far seeing and tolerant. In fact, we have failed to find one paragraph in the 'Messenger' that strikes a false note.

"THE CRUCIBLE PUBLISHING COMPANY,

"C. D. RAYMER,

"*Business Manager.*

"BERTUCCIO DANTINO (LA VERNE E. WHEELER, SR.),

"*Editor.*"

[1] "You both write clearly, forcefully, in diction that is fine, and with ample knowledge and grasp of your theme. One may dispute your opinions, but not criticise with much success your presentation.

"THOMAS W. CHURCHILL,

"*Former President of the New York City Board of Education.*"

[1] In May-June issue.

[1] "As a former professor of English, permit me to congratulate you both on the skill and vivacity with which you both write. But far more important to me than the style of your writing is the substance — the courage and significance of what you have to say.

"H. W. L. DANA,

"*Former Professor of English and Comparative Literature for ten years in Columbia University, New York City.*"

[1] "We wish you great success and are thankful that we have such fearless and able periodicals as the 'Messenger' and the 'Liberator' to dare to speak out now when others grow silent and submit to be muffled.

"ARCHIBALD H. GRIMKE,

"*President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Washington, D. C.*

[1] "I have just read the current copy of your magazine. It has a lot of good stuff in it.

"ROGER N. BALDWIN."

[2] "I want to express to you my pleasure at the publication of a magazine, edited by colored men, that makes its cornerstone the solidarity of labor, and the absolute need of the negro's recognizing this solidarity. As a Socialist of many years standing, I have looked closely at the young colored men and women, graduates from our colleges, hoping to find some of them imbued with the revolutionary spirit. I have found a few, and I have been especially happy to see, here in New York, two good Socialists of college training who are giving up their life to the spread of Socialist thought.

"MARY WHITE OVINGTON."

One of the contributing editors of the "Messenger" is W. A. Domingo, who is editor in chief of a new negro weekly entitled the "Emancipator," published at 2295 Seventh avenue, New

[1] In May-June issue; last page of cover.
[2] Same, page 19.

York City. It has as contributing editors Chandler Owen, A. Phillip Randolph, Richard B. Moore, Cyril V. Briggs and Anselmo R. Jackson.

This newspaper is of the same character as the "Messenger," having the same purpose, namely, to stir up race hatred and forward doctrines of revolutionary Socialism among negroes. The purpose of the paper is stated on its front page as being "To preach deliverance to the Slaves; to give Light to Them that Sit in Darkness."

"Another extremely radical magazine, published monthly at 2305 Seventh avenue, is the "Challenge," edited by William Bridgetts. Its motto is "It Fears Only God."

Its purpose is manifestly to stimulate among the negro population of this city the idea that they are oppressed and brutally treated by the people of this country. An illustration of the extremely inflammatory articles which appear in this paper here follows:

"LET US STAND AT ARMAGEDON AND BATTLE FOR THE LORD

"Negroes, Unite!

"Brutal oppression is sweeping over us like storm swept tidal waves.

"There will be no mercy shown us because we are black, standing on the highways of the world, pleading for mercy. There will be no sympathy given except what we have always gotten from a small coterie of white men whose puny numbers make them, with us, easy victims, for the stigmatizing, lawless crowd. They too, have cried out with us like Sumner, and Philips, Lovejoy, Garrison, Beecher and John Brown, but their voices have been drowned with ours in a holocaust of slander and abuse.

"We are ignored by the President and law makers. When we ask for a full man's share they cry 'insolent.' When we shoot down the mobist that would burn our properties and destroy our lives, they shout 'Bolshevist.' When a white man comes to our side armed with the sword of righteousness and square dealing, they howl 'Nigger lover and bastard.' If we take our grievances to Congress they are pigeonholed, turned over to moth. We are abandoned, cast off, maligned, shackled, shoved down the hill towards Golgotha in 'The Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave.'

"Every day we are told to keep quiet.

"Only a fool will keep quiet if he is being robbed of his birth-right. Only a coward will lie down and whine under the lash if he, too, can give back the lash.

"There is little pity from the strong for the one that is weak. There is no altruistic religion in the soul of the strong for dispensation among the weak. The only pity obtained is that obtained by superior strength.

"America hates, lynches, enslaves us not because we are black, but because we are weak. A strong, united Negro race will not be mistreated any more than a strong united Japanese race. It is always strength over weakness, might over right.

"But with education comes thought; with thought comes action; with action comes freedom.

"Read! Read! Read! Then when the mob comes, whether with torch or with gun, let us stand at Armagedon and battle for the Lord." (Pages 150–151, October number, the "Challenge.")

A similar article appears on page 100–101 in the September number:

"SHALL WE REMAIN SLAVES, OR BECOME FREE MEN?

"NEGROES OF THE WEST INDIES AND AMERICA, UNITE!

"You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness to gain.

"There is no West Indian slave, no American slave; you are all slaves, base, ignoble slaves.

"There is no more love in the hearts of the British statesmen when passing laws to curtail the liberties of their black subject than there is in the hearts of Americans when passing similar laws to abridge the liberties of theirs.

"West Indian negroes, you are oppressed. American negroes, you are equally oppressed. West Indians, you are black. Americans, you are equally as black. It is your color upon which white men pass judgment, not your merits, nor the geographical line between you. Stretch hands across the seas, with the immortal cry of Patrick Henry: 'Give me Liberty or Give me Death.'

"Prayer will not do all. White men expect to keep you in eternal slavery through superstitions that they have long cast off. They delight in seeing you on your knees. They mean to remain on their feet. They want your eyes kept

on the gold in heaven. They mean to keep their eyes on the gold of the world. They want you to seek rest beyond the grave. They mean to have all the rest this side of it.

"Can't you see that with every tick of the clock and every revolution of the eternal sun your chains are fastened tighter? You are cursed with superstition and ignorance. You are not taught to love Frederick Douglass, L'Ouverture, Dessalines, and Tubman. You are always taught to love George Washington, Wm. Pitt, Abraham Lincoln, and Wm. Gladstone.

"You are not encouraged to hang Negro pictures on your walls, but always white ones. This cultivates submission, servility, loyalty to everything but yourselves; makes you fall at the shrine of the master, causes you to idolize and glorify white militarists, slave owners, slave drivers, slave owning presidents and kings.

"The whole world is reading to-day and asking questions. Shall you join the innumerable train or continue in the role of dunces. No love is greater than the love of one's self, and one's race, no martyrdom greater than that which springs out of struggling to go higher and for the right to liberty.

"There is no greater force than education; it uplifts, directs, guides, teaches the use of gun-powder, electricity and steam. It welds together all the forces of nature, placing them at the free disposal of man either for building up or tearing down, for freeing himself or enslaving others.

"West Indians, the only things you are wanted and permitted to do that white men do is worship the king and sing, 'Britannia Rules the Waves,' no matter if Britannia rules you more sternly than she ever does the waves.

"Americans, the only thing that you are wanted and are permitted to do that white men do is to be loyal and sing, 'The Star Spangled Banner,' no matter how many Southern hillsides are spangled with the blood of many another innocent negro.

"The only time you are free is on battlefields, fighting for the further greatness of white men. The big question today before you, as it has been before every people since the dawn of History, is "Shall you remain slaves, or become free men to live and work out your destinies as God intended that every man should?' Italians asked it, and Garibaldi replied. Frenchmen asked it, and Mirabeau, Danton, Voltaire and

twenty-five millions of their followers mad and blear-eyed from oppression and starvation, answered. Englishmen asked it, and there was Oliver Cromwell with his farmers and farm hands. Germans asked, and there was Frederick the Great, followed by von Bismarck, who answered that the whole world understands. Russia asked, and millions of them who never knew more than the plow, the scourge and Siberia, are answering. Americans asked, and the patriots of Massachusetts, Virginia, and Pennsylvania gave solemn and defiant reply.

"Where is there a negro who loves liberty less than they? Or cares less about death that freedom might displace tyranny, progress, oppression?

"Negroes of the West Indies and America, Unite! Slavery is just as bad under a king as under a president. We don't want white wives; we don't want to dine in the homes of white men; we don't want the things they have acquired; but by the Eternal God that reigns on high listen to the rythmic voices of the New Negro ringing at the court gates of kings and presidents like a raging tempest wind, furious as a curse of Hell, valorous, determined, unafraid, crying: 'Give Us Liberty or Give Us Death.'" (Pages 100–101, September number, the "Challenge.")

The doctrines of Bolshevism are not wanting in its pages. A typical example of this may be found in the August number:

"BOLSHEVISM, NOT LAWLESSNESS

"America, and, in fact, all modern states that are susceptible to the fertile possibilities of gluttonous exploitation existent in others; charged with being less modern, have apparently gone stark mad over the stern grip that new political doctrines, not lawless ones, have thrust aspiringly around the throat of 'weeping' Russia. In all of this rankest of propaganda we might be able to discern a crumb of logic if we did not understand the methods and motives of Bolshevism. There is only one real obstacle in the way of a general understanding of them by everybody, not that after understanding them they will be under any obligation or compulsion to acquiesce in them, everybody still remaining free to reject or accept them as they now are, to accept or reject any political theory of which they do not altogether approve,

is, that the millionaire press, everywhere that Imperialism survives the levelling of progress, prefers a dirty game of villainous distortion to that of telling the candid truth. Bolshevism is not bad. It is not nearly as prohibitory in dealing with the constitutional activities of society as are some putative Democracies. It is neither, as claimed by those who have and hold, take and steal, the negation of democratic ideas and ideals, nor subversive of the principles of 'humanity.' It is, to the contrary, a sort of positivistic confirmation of these very substances in the broadest manner.

"Lenin and Trotzky, despite their personal ambitions, are not arch-fiends, else they would be slavishly driving the millions under them to death with the whip of political corruption and industrial degeneracy. Bolshevism is not an Institution of lynching, segregation, and disfranchisement. It is an Institution of security, equality, giving the ballot to every male and female eighteen years old. Sovietcy, its instrument of administration, is denounced. Is this, nevertheless, honest? Is it healthful criticism aimed solely at dissecting from the Russian body politic those elements that are dangerous to LIFE, LIBERTY AND PROPERTY; or at the re-enslavement of toiling masses to the same abominations inherent in the rotten corpse of the crushed Romanoff Dynasty? The fact that so many negro men, women and children are killed lawlessly in the United States, while so many millions of other people are dominated by England shows clearly that all is not purely altruistic in the shaky camp of the accusers. Sovietcy takes away nobody's freedom. It gives a larger freedom. Lenin and Trotzky, judging them fairly as all men should be judged, are not tyrannizing; they are democratizing, eliminating all waste, and unproductive matter entirely or compressing it within spheres of community usefulness. This incessant barrage of indignation directed at them and their system is piffle and punk, headlines, brainless, and bodyless; grist fallen from the PITYING mill of capitalism, a nasty mill always from which to expect propaganda dedicated to the uplift of the groundhog.

"If America's congressmen and notoriety seekers are truly desirous of accomplishing something reflective of credit to themselves, their Motherland and the world, let them focus

their anti-Bolshevist grenades on the South, not on Russia; on Vardaman, Cole Blease, Hoke Smith and Bilbo, not on Lenin and Trotzky. Make America safe for Negroes. Never mind bettering Russian rule over Russians. It is not our business whether they adopt ballots or bullets. Let us better the rule of America over Americans." (Pages 68–69, August number, the "Challenge.").

The paper advocates that negroes join the I. W. W., in an article entitled, "Negro's Best Weapon," in the November number:

"The world is going forward. We must go along with it. If we falter in the footsteps of the millions who have snatched the veil from off their eyes, we are certain to be trampled and left gasping, helpless, in the dust.

"The One Big Union must become a hymn in the South; the I. W. W. a joyful pæon.

"Race, creed, color are forgotten in their chambers. All men march hand in hand, side by side, in their triumphant course." (Pages 164–165, November number, 1919, "The Challenge."),

Another typical example of inflammatory propaganda is "An Oath," which is published in each issue of the magazine, as follows:

"BY ETERNAL HEAVEN —

"I swear never to love any flag simply for its color, nor any country for its name.

"The flag of my affections must rest over me as a banner of protection, not as a sable shroud.

"The country of my patriotism must be above color distinctions, must be one of laws, not of men; of law and not lawlessness, of LIBERTY and not BONDAGE, of privilege to all, not special privilege to some.

"Kaiser is not the only word synonymous with IMPERIALISM, TYRANNY, MURDER, and RAPINE.

"PRESIDENT AND KING are not the only words synonymous with DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM, PROGRESS.

"I shall love not names, but deeds. I shall pay homage to any and all men who strive to rid the world of the pesti-

lential diseases of WAR, PREJUDICE, OPPRESSION, LYNCHING.

"I am a Patriot.

"I am not merely of a Race and a Country, but of the World.

"I am BROTHERHOOD."

Perhaps the best statement of the reason for carrying on Socialist propaganda among the negroes is a statement written by W. A. Domingo, the editor of the "Emancipator," and a contributing editor to the "Messenger," both of which have been referred to.

This statement was found in the possession of the Rand School of Social Science, and was taken under a search warrant which was executed against that institution on June 21, 1919, at the instance of this Committee. The title of this statement is, "Socialism Imperilled, or the Negro — A Potential Menace to American Radicalism," and appears on page 388 of the stenographer's minutes of the Committee Hearings:

> "At this time when a considerable portion of Europe is reorganizing itself; when for the first time in history millions of working people have begun to think in terms of their class; when the old form of political State is in danger of dissolution, and when sparks of proletarian unrest have passed from Russia, to Germany, Argentina, Italy and the Pacific Coast of the United States, it is well for those who are agitating along radical lines in this country to comprehend all the dangers which beset them. Failure on the part of those who are immediately interested to recognize danger is sure to result in disaster — disaster which may set back economic radicalism in America for an indefinite period. On the other hand, the old adage, 'Forewarned is forearmed' takes on significant importance to those who by failure to properly gauge a situation may precipitate their own destruction. Avoidance of such an eventuality should be the controlling influence in framing the tactics and strategy of American radicals. No element of the population should be despised nor should any reliance be placed upon a purely theoretical and dogmatic assumption that groups of the population can be depended upon, because of their sufferings and oppression, to arrive at an instinctive understanding of where their support should be cast when the crucial moment arrives.

Tactics based upon such a fallacious premise must, and will, result in a catastrophe to those who so calculate, for at the bottom it rests upon no firmer basis than that the wish is the father of the thought.

"Since the Russian revolution of 1917, when the revolutionists, Lenin and Trotzky, came into power, radical propagandists of all shades of belief have been encouraged to extend and intensify their propaganda in the United States. Every social theorist, every genuine social revolutionist is today fired with the determination to institute industrial freedom in America. 'The home of the brave and the land of the free.'

"All of these movements are maliciously labelled Bolshevism by the press, and ignorantly regarded as something dangerous by the majority of American newspaper readers and churchgoers.

"No section of the American people can claim to be immune from being influenced by this wicked characterization which is being made of Socialism and other species of economic radicalism by the press, the pulpit and the platform.

"While during the war everything un-American (which means not profitable to Wall Street) was stigmatized as German propaganda, today it is Bolshevik. As a consequence, Socialist propaganda, although more intense and efficient than in the past, is being met by an equally efficient, less scrupulous and more intensive and extensive capitalistic counter-propaganda. That this counter-propaganda is at present very powerful will not be denied by anyone who is familiar with the political ignorance and national egotism of the average, so-called free American citizen. Abundant evidence of this is extant, notwithstanding the Seattle trouble, the Lawrence strike and the existence of the National Non-Partisan League.

"For proof we have only to note the stolid acquiesence of the masses to the fate of the Industrial Workers of the World, the persecution of conscientious objectors and Socialists, and the complacent willingness with which 'Best Citizens' lead, presumably, the worst citizens to lynch or tar and feather a fellow citizen in the name of patriotism. This attitude is national, permeating the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, and from Maine to Texas, but, perhaps, its zenith is reached in the Southern states where

Americanism is most rampant and least contaminated by contact with tolerant foreigners.

"Revolutionary Socialists in the Socialist Party are agitating for a restatement of the party platform and tactics in terms of Bolshevik tactics which, with the class struggle as its basis, maneuver to establish a proletarian dictatorship in order to accomplish the transition from a capitalist to a Socialist state.

"Already Massachusetts, Michigan and several other States have gone 'Left' and New York is in the throes of an internal struggle for party control, waged between the Right and Left Wings. This is, in itself, nothing strange as nearly every Socialist movement in Europe has had similar disputes all of which center on the question of tactics. The objective sought is the same, but how to attain it is the bone of contention. In France there are all kinds of factional splits in the movement; in Germany there are Majority Socialists, Independent Socialists and Spartacides; in Norway, Denmark and Sweden there are Left and Right Wings; in Great Britain there are British Socialists, Independent Laborites, Industrial Workers of the World and Members of the Socialist Labor Party, and in the United States there are the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party. There are some who bitterly denounce those who agitate for a restatement of Socialist tactics in terms of the present-day revolutionary Socialism; but, perhaps, this party shake-up is not altogether undesirable if it results in a clarifying of tactics and a readjustment of propaganda so as to reach every working-class element that is a potential danger to the establishment of the Socialist State whether achieved through a proletarian dictatorship or a majority vote. So long as there is a numerically considerable group that is a danger to the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth, every ounce of propaganda should be directed at that group. A potential danger should be recognized and steps taken to render it harmless or if possible transform it into a source of strength.

"In the past the officials of the Socialist Party have been doctrinaires so far as their propaganda was concerned. Acting purely upon theory, and in some cases displaying an opportunism that played fast and loose with principles, they

have confined most of their efforts to the industrial centers of the West, North and Middle West. Little, if any, attention was paid to the farmers as a class (unless the maudlin and unscientific agrarian arguments that the 'Appeal to Reason' used to send out can be regarded as such), and still less was paid to that unexplored continent of labor reaction — the South. On a few occasions speakers were sent to tour the South but with little success, for some, like Eugene V. Debs, refused to sacrifice their Socialistic principles upon the altar of race-prejudice. In general, the Socialist Party might be said to have consciously or unconsciously adopted the tactics of the American Federation of Labor and neglected the white Southerner while leaving the negro severely alone.

"The Industrial Workers of the World, avowedly non-political, on the other hand, did not confine their activities to any particular section of the country, nor did they excuse their failure to face facts and consider the circumstances surrounding any particular national element by making general statements that their appeals were made to all, and not to particular groups of the working class. Instead, these intrepid evangels of industrial unionism made special appeals to the migratory farm workers of the West, the ignorant white man of Louisiana, and the despised negro, with the result that they brought all these workers to realize the truth of the Marxian injunction: 'Workers of the World, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain!'

"So powerful is the unity achieved by the I. W. W. that at their trial in Chicago there were men of all races as defendants, among them being Ben Fletcher, a negro, and among the witnesses for the defense were four negroes who gave their testimony despite military and secret service intimidation.

"In recognizing the importance of reaching negroes with their gospel the I. W. W. are showing statesmanlike farsightedness. They are facing facts squarely and by so doing are removing potential dangers from their path. If the Socialist party comes under the control of the 'Left' or the 'Right' let those who will be responsible for its success profit from the mistakes of the A. F. of L. which has shown such

deplorable inaptitude as has resulted in making the negro an enemy of that organization and the scab of America.

"If they follow the methods of the I. W. W. they will secure to themselves the adherence of over 12,000,000 people, and active support, without whose help no radical movement in America can hope to succeed.

"There are over (?) negroes in the United States. The majority live in the South and form the bulk of its laboring population. All the hard work which the white man, with the traditions of slavery as a millstone around his neck refuses to do, is performed by negroes.

"As a portion of the working class, negroes are industrially unorganized and in most cases bitterly antagonistic to organized labor. This is due to racial discrimination against them, the wages they receive and the kind of work usually reserved for them. They are given low wages and are told to be grateful to those who gave them a chance to earn a living, hence, although hating their employers, still they regard them as friends, in that they are given work to the exclusion of members of their employer's own race. In addition to this is the subtle control exercised over negro opinion through negro schools, colleges, churches and newspapers by Northern capitalists.

"The South, that is, the dominant Bourbon South that needs ignorant, docile labor to exploit, is frankly hostile to negro education on the theory founded in economic grounds, that 'education spoils a negro for work'. What is really meant is that education protects negroes from being mercilessly exploited. Due to Southern opposition to education, negro leaders naturally turn to the North for financial assistance in founding schools and colleges. By endowing Southern negro institutions of learning, Northern capitalists like Julius Rosenwald of Chicago and Andrew Carnegie of Pittsburg, control the various boards of trustees of these schools, and shape their policies. Thus the curricula are usually framed in such a manner as to train potential industrial scabs, and the students very naturally regard those who endowed the schools as their real friends and benefactors.

"The same thing is true of negro newspapers. For the most part they exist upon the bounty of the Republican Party, and, it is alleged, receive subsidies from big corpo-

rations for advising their readers to be hostile to organized labor and radicalism in general. Their policy is usually to denounce the white working class, while extolling the virtues of Mr. Rosenwald, Mr. Carnegie, and their ilk. They usually condemn every form of political and economic radicalism and laud patriotism.

"Negro churches are the real source of negro opinion. These churches are usually presided over by the graduates of schools endowed by Northern philanthropists, and true to their training they praise the rich while inveighing against the laboring class. Then there is the question of material interests. Many negro churches have had mortgages lifted, organs presented or stained glass windows installed by philanthropically inclined millionaires.

"Thus every medium of negro thought functions in the interest of capital.

"The individual negro is also subjected to influences that tend to make him defy those who profit from his oppression. For the most part negroes are a distinct caste in American life. They are mostly cooks, waiters, porters and body servants who because of their inferior social and economic status, place an exaggerated value upon opportunities common to others, but denied them. On the trains, in hotels and other places where they work as menials they come in contact with people who can indulge in luxuries, and whose opinions are necessarily of a kind to extol conservatism and condemn radicalism. With the exception of the few who work in the garment industry in New York and come in contact with wholesome radicalism of Russian Jews, the majority of negro men and women are deprived of the stimulating influence of advanced political thought.

"Servants unconsciously imbibe their masters' psychology and so do negroes. Nobody is more intolerant against foreigners than negroes, despite the fact that their lives are safer in the North where so many foreigners reside than in the South where there are so few. Occupational traits are also developed to a marked degree. Being of slave origin and depending on tips to a large degree, the tipper or those in a position to dole out tips take on magnified importance in the eyes of the tip receiver.

"All of the foregoing influences exerted upon negroes have tended to make the race docile and full of respect for wealth

and authority, while creating an immense gulf between the white and black workers which is widened by the fact that white workers on their part exhibit racial prejudice in refusing to give negroes an opportunity to work under the more favorable conditions achieved by union labor.

"Smarting under the injustice of industrial discrimination and seeing the economic results upon himself and family the average negro worker develops a not unnatural bitterness and hostility towards the white worker who, reacting to the cunning of the capitalist press that is intent on dividing the workers, reciprocates the hostility in terms of race hatred of the vilest and most unreasoning kind.

"This results in a warping of the ordinary human instincts of both whites and negroes. They both become indifferent to the sufferings of each other and fail to recognize that most of what they suffer is both preventable and of common origin. So marked is this attitude that it is next to impossible to rouse a white audience of workingmen to the enormity of the crimes committed against society and the black race when the latter is denied elementary justice and fair play. Equally difficult is it to awaken in the breast of negroes any resentment against a vicious system that thrives on the labor of children, the sweating of adults and the robbery of one class by another. Any attempt in that direction among negroes is usually met by them in the same questioning spirit as they meet the tale of any great disaster. If a railroad wreck occurs, or a ship is sunk, the attitude of the average negro is to scan the death list diligently and if none of his race is among the victims, ejaculate 'Thank God, they are all white people. There are no colored folks among them.' In short, negroes react to prejudice and discrimination by becoming distinctly race conscious, but so far as their class consciousness is concerned, it is not even as much as scratched. It is therefore the function of whichever wing, Right or Left, that controls the Socialist Party to transmute the race consciousness of negroes into class-consciousness. This will be necessary when cognizance is taken of some of the ingredients of negro ideology. Some of their ideas are contradictory and illogical but that does not rob them of their vitality and power for good or evil. While it is true that, reacting to oppression, negroes become

racially conscious and think that they hate all white people, still, because of the various influences exerted upon them, they nevertheless make a distinction and feel that the better class among the whites are their friends and should be protected from being encroached upon by the working class who, because of capitalistic tutelage and unfortunate experience, they regard as their enemy. They speak contemptuously of poor white trash and wreak vengeance upon them whenever possible. In their hearts, too, while they may have individual State governments, yet they look to the Constitution as their Gibraltar and the Federal Government as their all-powerful protector. States may forfeit negro loyalty, but the Federal Government has a firm grip upon it.

"Jack London in his 'Iron Heel', forecasts how mercenaries can be used to destroy Socialism if voted into power in the United States. Sixty thousand armed White Guards in Finland are holding down a population of over 3,000,000 people who voted a Socialist government into power. Then there is the classic example of a few thousands of well-armed Czecho-Slovaks being deceived and being used by counter-revolutionary elements and foreign capital to render nugatory the Russian proletarian revolution.

"In Finland, through the martyrdom of 30,000 Socialists, it has been clearly demonstrated that one armed person in a population is able to cow and subdue 500 unarmed ones. The Czecho-Slovaks in Russia have shown how the just national aspirations of the oppressed people can be so successfully manipulated that they become instruments of their own ultimate enslavement.

"The tragic part that the Czecho-Slovaks played in the Russian revolution is too well known to radicals to render a recital necessary. Suffice to say that, although oppressed Slavs longing for national freedom, they are being used by reaction as tools to restore a despotic Czaristic regime.

"Having these examples, and comprehending how much more dangerous the situation in the United States is for radicals it will be the quintessence of revolutionary good sense and self-interest for those who contemplate the transference of industrial and economic power from the hands of the few to the hands of the many to consider the ominous possibility of three or four million black working men being used by

the plutocracy as black White Guards, or Czecho-Slovaks in America.

"Let it be supposed that the Right Wing predominates in the Socialist Party; that it continues in the past policy of the party, concentrates its efforts upon vote getting in the North, flirts with the white South and ignores negroes except in Northern urban centers where their votes are needed to elect a municipal official.

"Let it be further supposed that a majority of senators and congressmen are elected along with a Socialist president. The moment such a result had been flashed over the wires, the bourgeoisie would realize that their days were numbered and would immediately begin to formulate plans for the prevention of their own social and economic extinction. This would be done as a measure of supreme self-preservation. Secret meetings would be held and the situation carefully gone over. Orders would be issued to the prostitute press, time-serving ministers of religion, lecturers and the myriads of parasitical instruments that exist for the corruption of public opinion, to begin a campaign for the purpose of proving that the election was irregular, illegal and consequently void; that the Socialists be not permitted to take control of the government as their program was un-American, atheistic and anarchistic; that it would be the duty of all loyal citizens to save the country from a new form of slavery. In the meantime (and there would be five months between the election in November and induction of the Socialist administration into office in April of the following year) a careful survey would be made of the various sections of the country and groups of the population that were least affected by the virus of Socialism, and having the facts at their finger tips they would quickly turn to the white south and the negroes of the nation as the most likely defenders of the old order. They would play upon the ignorance of both and seek to use them against the class-conscious Northern proletariat. Soon all kinds of propaganda would flood negro sections. Negro ministers, past masters in the art of hypnotic emotional appeal and crude declamatory oratory, would preach diatribes against Socialism and warn their congregations, Cato-like, that the Bolsheviks, Socialists and Anarchists who seek to re-enslave the race and rob them of Jesus must be destroyed. In this

the ministers would be actuated by their own material interest, as colored ministers are, perhaps, the most parasitic of celestial navigators. Evidence of their venality is easily supplied by the fact that most of them are quasi-politicians, and that after the Hylan-Hillquit-Mitchel mayorality campaign of 1917, the majority of colored preachers in New York City were proven to have participated in the notorious Mitchel Slush Fund.

"Leaflets and pamphlets condemning Socialism supposedly written by prominent negroes, but really written by skilled agents of capitalism would be distributed broadcast among negroes. This form of propaganda was resorted to by a colored newspaper in New York in 1918 with the result that nearly all the negro votes which in a previous election had gone 20 per cent. Socialist as a protest against Mitchel, went to the Republican candidates. Speakers who were secretly paid by the master class would appear on the street corners of negro sections, where from ladders and soapboxes they would exhort their race conscious, but politically ignorant and gullible fellow-negroes to die rather than submit to re-enslavement. From ministers, teachers, upstart military officers, newspapers and the diversified tribe of race 'leaders' would come arguments whose gravamen would be to recount the friendship of the capitalists and the enmity of the workers in the past. Eloquent and grateful references would be made to those whose generosity had furnished the beginnings of negro education; those who had out of their magnificent altruism endowed Fisk, Meharry, Talladega, Hampton, Atlanta, Lincoln, Livingston, Tuskegee and other institutions of learning for the negro race; those who had from the fullness of their hearts done acts of charity and philanthropy to uplift the downtrodden race. References would be made to the fact that the race was just getting a grip upon the material things of life and that the white masses, jealous of negro improvement, were determined to confiscate what they had acquired after much personal privations and labor. By tongue, pen and picture negroes would be reminded of the terrible things they had suffered at the hands of the white masses. The horrors of East St. Louis would be painted and retold in harrowing language in order to excite the bitterest feelings of revenge in the breast of those who

were of the same race as the victims of that terrible massacre that put the United States to shame when compared with Turkey. The old hostility of the average American workingman to permitting negroes to earn an honest livelihood in the industrial field among the class of best paid workers would be trotted out with telling effect. Then, to cap the climax, the pathetic and morbid desire on the part of negroes to gain prominence which was denied them in almost every walk of life except where it was criminal or it was military would be catered to by making a few spectacular military promotions and by giving negroes a little more meritorious publicity in the various organs of public information. These negro officers for the most part sharing the common status of their race in industries are not as far removed from the majority of their people as white officers are from theirs. On the contrary, when mustered out it is the dire fate of the black lieutenant or captain to find himself a competitor with his erstwhile private for the same menial job in a hotel or on the train as waiter or porter. This, apart from racial consciousness, more firmly cements the solidarity of the race which on the whole takes place when any of its members can make even a temporary rise out of the common contempt to which they are all more or less condemned. All of this is already known to the plutocracy, but, unfortunately, it is not known to those for whom it constitutes a portentious peril. Already it has been suggested in the press that a sure preventive against Bolshevism (Socialism) in America would be to enfranchise the negro which would mean a permanent increase of the Republican vote of the country.

"Analysis of the recent municipal elections in Chicago proves that the election of Mayor Thompson was due to the solidly Republican negro votes which had been increased in number by large accretions of enfranchised negro emigrants from the South!

"Charles Schwab, the ironmaster of Bethlehem fame, is reported to have made a speech in New York in which he said that negroes can be relied upon to stay radicalism in this country. Col. Watterson of Kentucky said some years ago that the South and the negro will be the firmest bulwarks of conservatism against which the waves of American radicalism will dash in vain. After such testimony can anyone

doubt that driven to desperation by a Socialist victory at the polls, the plutocracy would not hesitate to use force or fraud to prevent the establishment of a Socialist regime in the United States?

"Let the hypothetical election of Socialism into office be further indulged in, and the fact that capitalism, beaten at the polls, has four months of grace before surrendering the sceptre of power be kept in mind; let it be remembered that until the April when it is supposed to abdicate, that reaction still controls the army, navy, railroads, press, steamships and all the various things that make for power in the modern world. Confident that there are 12,000,000 of racially conscious people friendly to it, that it can mobilize the petit-bourgeoisie and the various classes of the priest-ridden South, what is there to deter Capitalism from boldly declaring the election null and void and its intention to retain power? To accomplish this, pretexts will have been found to declare martial law several weeks before April arrived; also specially trained armed mercenaries whose loyalty was unquestioned would be secretly mobilized and placed in charge of arsenals, railroad terminals and all places of strategic or economic value. At the same time negro White Guards would be organized and held in readiness for any emergency. Perhaps Northern workers goaded to desperation by seeing their hard earned political victory stolen from them might rise in revolt, but what measure of success could they hope to achieve without arms and without control of the means of communication? Finland gives the answer. And if one armed person can hold down fifty unarmed ones, how much easier will it not be for for one armed negro to hold down less than ten unarmed white proletarians? Thus can the negro be the black White Guards of America: Thus can they be as effectively useful to American Junkers as the Czecho-Slovaks are to the Kolchaks and Denekins of Siberia!

"Let it be supposed that the other alternative happens, that the Left Wing succeeds in gaining control of the party, that it adheres to a strictly theoretical position and shapes party propaganda on the purely theoretical syllogism, viz., the negro is a worker, he is part of the lowest stratum of the American proletariat, hence when mass action is galvanized into mass movement, he will be swept along with the rest of

his class. Such reasoning has the appearance of logic but fails to recognize the existence of such a thing as group psychology and is out of harmony with the practical experiences of the Russian Bolshevik Party from which the extreme groups of American Socialists profess to have copied their tactics. Be it remembered that the program of that party is fundamentally sound although it had a suggestion of opportunism when it adjusted itself to the immediate needs of the Russian proletariat composed of peasants and workers. Land to the peasants and bread and peace to the people are the ultimate aims of Socialism, but in order to gain power Lenin had to give it an immediate application regardless of all else and thus secure the adhesion of the masses to his policies. In order to accomplish world revolution the Bolsheviki have not hesitated to encouch in their platform statements that are calculated to attract and gain for them the support of all the oppressed peoples of the world. They have made the declaration that they are willing to extend the principle of self-determination to even the toiling 'masses of Africa, Asia and all the colonies'; they have gone further and encouraged the nationalistic ambitions of Ireland, India, and Egypt. Afghan emissaries are reported to have secured aid from Lenin for the purpose of recovering from England territory stolen in former years. Lenin, himself, has justified his employment of highly paid capitalistic experts, the signing of the Brest-Litovsk treaty with imperial Germany and his treating with French monarchist officers on the ground that the international social revolution is a species of warfare and temporary alliance must be made in order to secure ultimate victory for the proletariat. All of this proves the willingness of Lenin to adjust his tactics to existing conditions provided there is no sacrifice of principle involved. He is perfectly willing to use one enemy for the weakening of another with the deliberate intention of subsequently destroying this present ally, if capitalistic. In this respect Lenin reveals himself as a master strategist who is willing to adopt the tactics of the capitalists who do not scruple to use one race against another for the purpose of breaking a strike or suppressing incipient revolts. He uses realities, not theories to cope with the facts of a given situation. He, however, does not make the mistake of alienating from or failing to secure

to his cause the friendship of those who by virtue of class affiliations are his logical adherents. To this end he stresses the needs of the poorest peasants and the industrial workers, and cements their loyalty by placing them in the first class in the scheme of rationing. Since it is the avowed object of the Left Wing to establish Socialism through the medium of a dictatorship of the proletariat, how can they expect to accomplish it with a large portion of the American proletariat untouched by revolutionary propaganda?

"Let the hypothesis of the Left Wing domination of the Socialist party be further pursued. Having captured the party machinery the Left Wing discards all old literature and prepares new and more revolutionary material. It is spread over the country broadcast. Negroes and white people receive it alike. The former, because of radical discrimination, against them, attend no revolutionary mass meetings, do not come in contact with class-conscious workers, and are emotionally religious and intensely race conscious. They attend Lyceums and Forums connected with their churches, read their weekly racial newspapers and listen to lectures, besides reading the usual capitalistic daily, weekly and monthly trash. From all of these sources directly and indirectly controlled by the plutocracy they are poisoned against radicalism and abjured to fight it as the enemy of their most valuable possessions — the Constitution which secures to them the modicum of freedom they enjoy; their churches which are their social centers and the source of their spiritual exaltation and the other things that are to them sacred. Every subtle device would be exhausted to counteract radical propaganda, and with success.

"On the other hand, let it be supposed that the propaganda among the whites makes headway and the workers of the great Northern, Eastern and Western industrial centers reinforced by a few converts in the South, including agricultural workers, prepare for the day when the expropriators are to be expropriated. All radical groups submerge their difference and unite. A working arrangement is effected between the American Federation of Labor and the Industrial Workers of the World, and with the Left Wing in control, a general strike is planned. Of course, it must not be forgotten that among the whites considerable numbers of

the working class would be unaffected and would join the ranks of the bourgeoisie out of a perverted sense of patriotism. This would be particularly true of the South where the doctrine of State rights is a fetish even among the most ignorant and where new ideas on social and economic questions are resisted with intolerant fanaticism. It must also be remembered that the masters, unlike the working class, are very practical and ignore no factor that can be converted into a source of strength by making minor concessions. Being in control, the plutocracy would be in a position to make concessions to distinct radical or other groups so as to seduce them from working-class ranks. Informed by their spies in the ranks of militant labor of what is brewing, the capitalists would begin beforehand to mobilize their strength. And this is now being done with the negro. Witness the calling of a National Conference on Lynching immediately after the Union League Club discovered that Bolshevist propaganda was making headway among New York negroes, and Charles Evans Hughes, ex-Republican candidate for the presidency, a member of this club, making a radical speech against a practice which by silence he condoned for years before! Witness the plea of certain big capitalists to the dominant interests in New York to be a little more considerate to the negro in matters of employment and their rights. Witness the attitude of Samuel Gompers, member of the Civic Federation and president of the American Federation of Labor, the little brother of Big Business and in close touch with President Wilson and other political leaders, at the last convention of his organization held at Buffalo, for the first time openly inviting negroes into the ranks of organized labor, although, no doubt, fully cognizant of the racially discriminatory constitutions of many labor bodies. These concessions and many others are straws that show the direction of the wind.

"The scene for the general strike is set. Enthusiastic leaders fondly believe that this mass action will be transformed into mass movement and lay their plans accordingly. The strike is declared, but the plutocracy already anticipating every move on the part of the proletariat declares martial law, quickly mobilizes thousands of negroes and uses them as slave drivers to compel unwilling white working men to return to the shops, mines and farms.

"In Germany Noske pays his soldiers $2.50 a day. What is to prevent any other government from doing likewise? Chaos reigns for awhile but the plutocracy soon lets loose its unknown trump cards. Negro aspirations are played upon and their just human grievances are diverted so as to make them play the part that the Czecho-Slovaks played in Russia. Working men armed with nothing more formidable than propaganda, promises and revolutionary zeal are beaten to their knees and their leaders seized and quickly executed. With their leaders dead or in jail the workers become panic stricken as the White Terror employs black workers who are not class conscious to render the mass movement one of mass murder. Thus would perish some of earth's noblest in an abortive attempt to institute a dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus because of tactical error one set of workers will have brought defeat to their fellow-workers.

"The point stressed in the foregoing imaginative pictures is that failure to make negroes class conscious is the greatest potential menace to the establishment of Socialism in America whether by means of the ballot or through a dictatorship of the proletariat, and in this must all Socialists and radicals, whether Right or Left Wingers, see their danger. For the sake of their cause, if not for the sake of negro workers, must they confront this problem squarely and firmly. How can the disaster portrayed be escaped, is the task of this booklet to point out. In the first place danger must not be ignored by a gesture or met by a theory. It must be removed. To do this it is necessary for American radicals to do the following:

> "First.— They must unequivocally condemn all forms of injustice practiced against negroes and encouch same in their declarations of principles and platforms, and Socialist officials and legislators must embrace every opportunity to make public denouncements of lynchings, etc.
>
> "Second.— They must give the negro more prominence in their discussions whether by speech or in their publications relative to injustices done in America.
>
> "Third.— They must seek to attract negroes to their meetings and to induce them to become members of their organizations.

FORCE, FORCE TO THE UTMOST--FORCE WITHOUT STINT OR LIMIT!
WOODROW WILSON

LONGVIEW, TEXAS -
WASHINGTON, D.C
CHICAGO, ILL. - ?
GIVING THE "HUN" A DOSE OF HIS OWN MEDICINE
SINCE THE COVERNMENT WONT STOP MOB VIOLENCE ILL TAKE A HAND
THE NEW NEGRO

THE "NEW CROWD NEGRO" MAKING AMERICA SAFE FOR HIMSELF

A cartoon appearing in the September, 1919, *Messenger*, which is clearly intended to stimulate mob violence and race hatred.

THE END OF GENERAL WRANGEL.

(Taken from *New York Call*, Sept. 2, 1920.)

"Fourth.— Those who are members of labor unions must work for the repeal of all racially discriminatory practices in their organizations and endeavor to gain the admission of negroes into them on terms of equality.

"Fifth.— They must have specially prepared propaganda showing negroes how they as a group are likely to benefit and improve their social and economic status by any radical change in the present economic system.

"Sixth.— Radical negro publications must be supported financially even if subventions are to be made to them.

"Seventh.— Radical white speakers must be instructed to try and reach negro audiences while competent paid negro speakers must be kept touring the country spreading radical propaganda. So far, the Socialist Party has taken a definite position on the 14th and 15th Amendments, but this fact is not known to the majority of negroes. It is only known to a few Northern negroes in districts where their votes were catered for. This, and even stronger pronouncements on the negro, should be distributed among the race in the South, because it is the Southern negroes who are most likely to be used as mercenary White Guards. Giving the negro more publicity would induce them to read more radical literature. Already many negroes read the 'Call,' the 'Liberator' and 'Pearson's' for that reason. The same will, no doubt, be true of radical lectures. Induce intelligent negroes to attend radical meetings and to become members of radical organizations and radical propaganda will spread among them. Most negroes avoid these meetings at present because they fear social discrimination. More social contact carries great potential propaganda value. It has healing in its wings. If it becomes known among negroes that Socialists are fighting discrimination in labor unions they will soon learn that Socialists are their friends. At present, as a result of persistent capitalistic misrepresentation negroes identify Socialists with the discriminatory practices of the American Federation of Labor.

"Specially prepared propaganda is absolutely essential. This propaganda should frankly discuss the economics of

so-called race prejudice. It should avoid stressing the question of race and should be designed to wean negroes from their belief that all white people hate them. It should paint the advantages of the co-operative commonwealth and point out its inevitable destruction, if any of its component groups is exploited and discriminated against. It should expose the sham democracy today existing in America, with special reference to negroes. It should explain why Metropolitan newspapers abuse negroes, labor, Socialism and similar other exploited groups. It should explain how capitalists who control the Church, press, platform and stage use these agencies for the purpose of dividing white and black workers, playing one against the other in order to make their exploitation all the more easy. It should point out that Christ, William Lloyd, Garrison, Horace Greeley, John Brown and Abraham Lincoln were abused as radicals in their day and that today they are esteemed as among the world's great benefactors. In short, it should aim to change the race-conscious negro into a class-conscious worker. In supporting radical negro publications financially, white radicals will be making their best investments. Already a few such journals exist but they are woefully handicapped by lack of funds. The easiest avenues to approach negroes through are those used by the master class. Let negro ministers and newspapers preach Socialism and the negro race will be converted to it. At present many white speakers address negro audiences, but they are usually social patriots like Walling and Russell, anti-Socialists like John Wesley Hill, and patriots of the Roosevelt kind. All make time-worn rhetorical allusions to negro loyalty, military records, etc. Socialist speakers should try to avoid this patronizing style and speak Socialism and its relation to the negro as a portion of the working class. As it would be difficult for radical white speakers to get immediate access into negro churches as at present controlled, it will be necessary to maintain a few subsidized negro speakers to prepare the minds of their people and to hold mass meetings at which prominent radicals be invited to speak and deliver the message of class unity.

"On their part radical negroes are doing a little, but it is indeed a little. The 21st A. D. branch of the Socialist Party, Local New York, is almost entirely composed of

negroes. They are doing their best to enlighten their brothers and sisters to the doctrine of Socialism, but they are terribly handicapped by lack of funds.

"A Peoples' Forum is maintained and prominent radical speakers address it every Sunday afternoon, but the result while encouraging is entirely out of proportion to the enormity of the task. It may be argued that since negroes have so much at stake they must help to encompass their own salvation. Granted, but upon white radicals devolves the duty, out of consideration for their own self-preservation and the success of their cause, to aid to the limit of their greater ability to enlighten this most benighted section of the American proletariat.

"It may also be argued that negroes are no more race conscious than Jews and since the latter have become intensely class conscious by reason of economic pressure and oppression negroes must of themselves realize that their racial salvation is ultimately wrapped up with the struggles and victories of labor. This argument is plausible but not true. In the first place, the founder of Scientific Socialism, Marx, and its most active early propagandist, Lassalle, were Jews, hence it would have been absurb to think of carrying to Jews a doctrine formulated by members of their own race. Next, there is no analogy between negroes and Jews, so far as propaganda is concerned. Jews have a distinctive language press which acts as a kind of screen against strictly 'National' ideas; they are inter-racially arrayed against each other as capitalists and workers; they are essentially industrial proletarians — factory workers; and they have an almost unbroken tradition of resistance to oppression without scrupulous regard to the methods employed. On the other hand these things are not true of negroes, who are most pathetically 'Americans.' They speak the same language, have the same ideals and have traditions which teach them to place reliance upon prayer to God, gratitude and 'constitutional' means for their liberation. Added to this is the constant pressure exerted upon them to convince them that they are inherently inferior to their fellow Americans. Then their circumscription tends to narrow their outlook which rarely reaches beyond their own racial concern. The few negroes who have become radicals have been in many

cases foreigners and, if natives have been led to their way of thinking through mental curiosity stimulated by contact with white radicals. In New York, Jews, as ever great propagandists, have been instrumental in making more radicals among negroes than perhaps all the non-Jewish radicals put together. And this small success should be the most convincing sign to Socialists and other radicals that negroes constitute at present the most fertile field for their propaganda. Do not the enemies of radicalism poison and control the wells of public information from which negroes like other Americans freely imbibe? Are they not reached by the subtle propaganda of reaction? If so, are not white radicals justified by self-interest in making every possible effort and sacrifice to win over to themselves the support of over one-tenth of the population that is overwhelmingly of the working class? Was it not necessary to convert the majority of class-conscious workers to their present frame of mind by means of a Socialist tract, book or pamphlet? Look at the Christians! Do they not dispatch missionaries all over the world to convert the most benighted 'heathens,' and are not American negroes heathens so far as Socialism and economic radicalism are concerned? It is true that the 'heathens' need salvation, but in order to keep the 'saved' saved and avoid their destruction it is for them to see that the heathens are converted. Just as Christians follow the biblical injunction, 'Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature,' so must radicals preach their gospel to every member of the working class who is not a 'convert.'

"Experience has taught the workers that Socialism will not be permitted to flourish in isolated spots. Russia like the Paris Commune realizes that international capitalism will ruthlessly destroy any government not built upon the pillars of rent, profit and interest, hence no effort should be spared to hasten world revolution.

"Russian emissaries are sent everywhere and communist propaganda reaches from South Africa to England, Argentina to India, Cuba to Canada. Propaganda is not localized, but goes everywhere. In like manner must propaganda inside a nation reach every element. If America with her boundless resources remains non-Socialist, she will

be a menace to world Socialism and America can remain non-Socialist if 12,000,000 negroes so will it. That some Socialists are getting to realize how serious a menace negroes are likely to be to the movement, is proved by the willingness of the Rand School to institute lectures giving out the necessary facts relating to the race in America; but it is clear that the national leaders and the rank and file of the party do not comprehend their peril. Instead, they sentimentally flirt with the far distance problems of India and China in blissful disregard of the material fact that they will never be in a position to render tangible aid to these oppressed peoples until they succeed in making allies out of American negroes. But perhaps this attitude on the part of American radicals is because of the fact that they are Americans and share the typical white American psychology towards negroes. If this is so, then their radicalism is not genuine and is deservedly doomed to failure. For anyone to think the negro unworthy of consideration is for that one to fly in the face of history. Mere acquiescence in a conventional national belittling of negroes will not make them race-conscious or remove their potentiality for being black White Guards or Czecho-Slovaks. Perhaps a few ominous and startling facts from history may disabuse the minds of those in doubt and sober the blind enthusiasm of the fanatical theorists. These facts contain lessons that even white radicals who are still under the influence of the American psychology which thinks in terms of races, not class, may well heed.

"During the Civil War in which the freedom of negroes from the bonds of chattel slavery was incidentally involved, thousands of negroes were employed by the confederates as soldiers and in other capacities for the express purpose of perpetuating human slavery.

"Negroes, although an oppressed race, volunteered for service and were employed as soldiers to crush the uprising of the Filipinoes under Aguinaldo for national freedom.

"In the present war, although denied a voice in the national government, lynched and prescribed against, negroes volunteered for military service in such numbers as to call for limits being placed upon their further acceptance.

"When the interests of capital are endangered, governments do not hesitate to employ soldiers of any race to destroy

those who menace it. This is proved by England and France scouring the universe for black, brown and yellow soldiers to protect their interests against the enemy. At first the German capitalist government was the 'enemy,' now it is the Hungarian and Russian Soviet government and negroes are being used against them. At Archangel, West Indian negro soldiers were attached to Canadian regiments, while American negro soldiers are alleged to have been rushed from the Philippines to participate in the taking of Vladivostok from the Bolshevik. Official dispatches tell of 60,000 French Colonials under General Mangin marching to capture Budapest and an official Bolshevik document states that negroes were being employed against them at Odessa.

"Colored West Indian troops, until recently demobilized, were stationed in England and Ireland and some of them have said that they were told by their officers that in case of 'trouble' (it was during the strikes in England and the intense Sinn Fein agitation in Ireland early in 1919) they would be called upon to do their 'duty.' In England some of them were given fifty rounds of ammunition while those in Ireland marched to church with fixed bayonets.

"These are but a few examples showing that capitalists, or rather governments, do not discriminate as to the weapons they employ to achieve their ends; they also show that unless instructed, negroes, in their present state of ignorance of the real aims of Socialism, are liable to be willing tools of the plutocracy. History has a curious way of repeating itself and it is quite possible that interested capitalists may help it to repeat itself on the American continent.

"Having regard to the fact already outlined, to the future of mankind; amicable relations between races; the destruction of capitalism and the successful operation of Socialist principles, it devolves upon white radicals to concentrate their efforts and propaganda upon the negro race. Let white radicals remember and be guided by the fate of the Czecho-Slovaks in Russia.

"White Socialists, radicals and liberals, remember that self-preservation is the first law of nature and safeguard yourselves."

That this statement made a strong impression upon the Rand School is evidenced by a letter from David P. Berenberg, of the

Correspondence Department, dated May 16, 1919, to Mr. Francis J. Peregrino, 4 Fernando street, Pittsburgh, Pa., as follows:

"I am sending you the bulletins covering the courses. Of course, I realize that they are not all that you would like to have, but I think it would be wiser for you to ask me questions which I could then answer.

"There is great need for missionary work among all people and especially among colored people. We have here a very active group of comrades — among them Comrades Chandler Owen and Domingo — who warn us that unless we make headway with the negroes, the capitalists may use them in time of a social revolution much as the Czecho-Slovaks are being used in Russia.

"For your purposes, it seems as if Special Course 'A' will be the most advisable. I could easily arrange to have you pay in installments, in case it is difficult for you to pay at one time.

"Hoping to hear from you soon, I remain,

"Fraternally yours."

(Pages 383–4, stenographer's minutes, Committee Hearing.)

An interesting example of the philosophy of revolution which is being spread by the "Messenger" group is found in a speech by Chandler Owen, made at a meeting of negroes at the People's Educational Forum, Lafayette Hall, No. 165 West 131st street, New York City, on the 21st of March, 1920. Mr. Owen stated:

"We have Socialism in Russia. We have quasi-Socialism in Germany, and we have experiments in state Socialism in nearly every country in the world.

"This Socialistic or new order will be built on the destruction of capitalism, and it cannot function freely until capitalism has gone.

"Socialism, however, is not the last order of society. After a period, it will also be destroyed.

"In its place we are going to have anarchy. By anarchy, Anarchism, I do not mean the destroying of houses and the throwing of bombs — but I mean the period of individual liberty and freedom which will come by virtue of a release of social, economic and political forces, whereby with sufficient education, and fairly equitable distribution of property, men may be trusted to be freed from such limita-

tions as will necessarily be imposed by the state, and the Socialistic people.

"Consequently, the period of philosophic anarchy will eventually be the last order of human society."

After going into a lengthy discussion of various forms of animal and vegetable life, that destruction necessarily precedes growth, the speaker went on to say:

"The workers of Russia and other countries are fighting for freedom. They are making a constructive fight, but there is no power to their constructive fight which can be gained without destroying on every hand.

". . . Now, the new order of society will be born out of the ashes of the old. One system is always the basis of the other. Destruction is good or bad, according to what is destroyed and progress takes place only through destruction of forces which limits the enjoyment of men or which gives rise to misery and of happiness.

"So that, hereafter, when one hears it said that such and such criticism is destructive, such and such action is destructive, an examination should be made of the forces that are being destroyed and by what forces they are being destroyed."

One of the most spectacular, as well as the most violent agitators among the negroes is a West Indian negro, who styles himself, "The Honorable Marcus Garvey, D. S. O. E.," who in addition to stirring up violent race hatred among the negroes, is an excellent business man, seeking to reap financial gain through his agitation in founding the so-called "Black Star Line," a corporation to own and operate steamships, manned and officered by negroes to carry the wealth of Africa to the shores of America and to carry emigrants from that country back to their native land.

In a speech made on August 25, 1919, at Carnegie Hall, Marcus Garvey expressed the purpose and object of the organization which he has formed, to which he has given the title, "Universal Negro Improvement Association" and "The African Communities' League of the World." This meeting was attended by about 4,000 colored people, who were extremely enthusiastic and loudly applauded the sentiments expressed by Garvey. He stated:

"I am here, not representing 100,000 people in New York of the race, but 15,000,000 Negroes in the United States of America, 15,000,000 Negroes in the West Indian Islands,

and the Negroes of South and Central America and the 280,000,000 on the continent of Africa. (Applause.) We speak tonight from Carnegie Hall to the 400,000,000 of our people scattered all over the world.

. . . . . .

"The negroes of the world say, 'We are striking homewards towards Africa to make her the big black republic! And in the making of Africa a big black republic, what is the barrier? The barrier is the white man; and we say to the white man who now dominates Africa that it is to his interest to clear out of Africa now (applause), because we are coming not as in the time of Father Abraham, 200,000 strong, but we are coming 400,000,000 strong (applause), and we mean to retake every square inch of the 12,000,000 square miles of African territory belonging to us by right Divine (applause). . . .

"Ain't it time now for the black men to think of turning to the white man and saying, 'I don't want you here?' (Applause.) And if we have come to that stage in America where the white man is in America, ninety millions, whilst we are only fifteen, and if he says it in England where he dominates the country, must we not say it, therefore, in the world, where we dominate by numbers? That is the question. And as the Englishman asked the negro in Liverpool and Manchester what he is doing there, so the new negro means within the next twenty years to ask the white men in the continent of Africa, 'What are you doing here?' (Applause.)

". . . . It took the black man to whip the kaiser's soldiers and up to now there is not a more glorious record in the history of the war than the record of those two boys from the New York Fifteenth. (Applause.) Needham Roberts and Johnson have proved to the kaiser that the negro is more than a match for the German soldier. But Needham Roberts and Johnson were fighting somebody else's battle, and even though they knew they were fighting for somebody else, they did half of their best. (Applause.)

"Now, when those boys and the 400,000,000 of us start to fight for ourselves, what will happen? (Great applause.)

> That is the question — that is the question for the white man to solve, and if he takes my advice, he will solve it quick (applause), because the new negro means business. . . .
>
> "We are out to get what has belonged to us politically, socially, economically and in every way. (Applause.) And what 15,000,000 of us cannot get, we will call in the 400,000,000 to help us get. (Applause.)"

After explaining that the negroes were compelled to fight in the late war, because they were unorganized, Mr. Garvey continued by saying:

> "But there is one thing we are going to do now. We are going to so organize ourselves all over the world that when the white men say — any white man wants a black man to die in the future, they have to tell us what we are going to die for. (Applause.)
>
> "The first dying that is to be done by the black man in the future will be done to make himself free. (Applause.) And then when we are finished, if we have any charity to bestow, we may die for the white man. But as for me, I think I have stopped dying for him."

These extravagant and bombastic utterances may look trivial in cold print, but the continuous utterance of such sentiments has a very disquieting and pernicious effect upon the untutored element of the negro population.

Marcus Garvey publishes a newspaper in New York City entitled "The Negro World," with offices at 56 West 135th street, New York City, through the columns of which continuous propaganda is carried on. The associate editors of the paper are William H. Ferris and Hubert H. Harrison.

As a further illustration of the sentiment being created by Negroes who have come under the influence of the Rand School, namely, Chandler Owen, A. Philip Randolph, and W. A. Domingo, is an editorial appearing in the "Emancipator," in the issue of March 13, 1920, which is as follows:

> "Everywhere Bolshevism brings terror to the heart of Imperialism, secret diplomacy, hypocrisy and oppression, and yet, the chieftains of this liberating doctrine are afraid of some of the very races whom they would free.

"This is the great paradox — the great tragedy. Some of the very Indians and negroes are the potential hangmen of their only disinterested friend,— Soviet Russia.

"It is not idle fear that Trotzky voices. It is easy for propaganda to reach a literate people; but it is a tremendously more difficult task for it to reach an illiterate people. Poland and Roumania illustrate this.

"However, there are signs of negro awakening. All over the West Indies there are strikes and unrest; in South Africa, benighted and oppressed land, 40,000 natives are on strike, and two colored delegates to a labor conference in Johannesburg have been hailed as comrades and brothers. One of them even seconded a motion to support Soviet Russia to the limit. Social equality was also recognized as a prerequisite to industrial unity and racial harmony. The dawn is breaking in Negrodom.

"Black soldiers from the West Indies, South Africa and a certain self-righteous republic, imbued with the spirit of the New Negro will not be willing tools of those who now rule Egypt, India, the West Indies, Africa and Arkansas with machine guns in the destruction of the people's non-imperialist government of Russia.

"We appreciate Trotzky's fear, but feel that it is a little overdrawn. The war has opened the eyes of the darker races a little. They will no longer be their own enslavers. On the Comrades of Trotzky in other lands devolves the duty of paying attention to the 'needs' of the black masses whom the Russian war minister sees as the only possible material in the hands of the imperialists of the world."

A new organization is in contemplation for the purpose of carrying out the propaganda of this group which appears from an editorial in the "Messenger" for March, 1920, page 12, in which we find the following statement of purposes:

"1. We believe that the demand for a new organization is timely and imperative, and we have agreed to take the initiative in forming it.

"2. We propose to call a convention for that purpose on or about the 24th of May in Washington, D. C.

"3. The organization should be international in scope, including the Haitians, West Indians, South Americans and Africans.

"4. Names may be proposed at the convention, which will have full power to adopt whatever one it chooses. We propose. **'The Friends of Negro Freedom.'**

"5. Economic, political, civil, social and intellectual freedom will be the program.

"6. The methods for achieving them will be new to Negro organizations and we believe more effective and quicker."

A new negro organization resulted from a convention held in Washington, D. C., from September 8 to 13, 1919, and known as the National Brotherhood Workers of America. The preamble of the constitution which was adopted by that convention is as follows:

"It is becoming more apparent every day that the present form of society no longer fills the need of mankind, based as it is on private ownership of the means of production, distribution and private control in the management of all industries, which entails unbearable hardships for the great mass of the people, making their lives one continuous round of slavery carrying with it unemployment, suffering, privation and worry for the future, with no hope for the workers or their offspring to attain a status of freedom and economic security. The workers are the producers of all wealth and therefore should be the masters of their own destiny and of the whole world.

"The present controllers of wealth production, 'The Capitalist Class,' are unquestionably proving themselves incompetent to supply mankind adequately, while the bare necessities of life are getting more and more beyond our reach."

It will be noted from the foregoing that the persons who drafted this preamble must have been thoroughly familiar with the preamble of the constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World. The organization appears to be founded upon the principle of the one big union and to develop industrial unionism among the negro workers in this country.

See "Voice of Labor," November 1, 1919.

Propaganda among negroes falls into two general groups, led by organizations having in some cases conflicting objectives, yet, in the main, being supported by liberals, Socialists and other radicals among the whites. One of the most interesting of these groups is the Pan-Negro movement. Agitation is being carried on among the negroes looking to the consolidation of the Negro race throughout the world. In this connection there is also a broader movement which is represented in this country by the International League of the Darker Races, which seeks to unite the darker races, such as the Japanese, Hindus, etc., with the whites.

A conference was held under the auspices of this league at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City, on January 7, 1919, in honor of S. Kurowia, of the Japanese Peace Conference. At this conference there was explained what should be done for the darker races at the Peace Conference, including the abolition of colored discrimination, freedom of immigration, revision of treaties unfavorable to Africa, abolition of economic barriers, self-determination for Africa. Hope was expressed by the Pan-Negro newspapers tha tJapan may come to their aid in their struggle for amancipation. Evidence is at hand that the India Home Rule League and other Hindu revolutionaries are in conference with the various groups of Negro agitators. One of the leading exponents of this group of agitators is Marcus Garvey, heretofore mentioned, the editor of the "Negro World" and founder of the "Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League." That has its headquarters in New York City and has also branches in Chicago, Baltimore, Washington, Newport News, the Island of Jamaica, British Honduras, Trinidad, Panama, and some of the smaller of the West Indian Islands.

The second group of radical agitators working among the negroes is that under the control of the Socialist Party which has for its purpose the organization of the Socialist movement. This movement is headed by the two negro instructors at the Rand School of Social Science, Chandler Owen and A. Phillip Randolph, already referred to. Associated with this movement and having the backing of the leading Socialists in this community is the National Association for the Promotion of Labor

Unionism among Negroes, with offices at 2305 Seventh avenue, New York City.

An organization which has done considerable good to the negro race and which at the same time has been led to take a decidedly radical stand through the influence of certain members of its board is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This association publishes an organ called the "Crisis," a monthly magazine gotten out at 70 Fifth avenue, New York City, of which W. E. Burkhardt Debois is editor. Certain of the board of directors of this organization have extended their sympathy and support to the Socialistic group headed by Randolph and Owen.

Typical of the extravagant propaganda carried on among the negroes by an association known as the International Negro Civil Association is the leaflet freely distributed at a negro meeting in New York City, headed, "A Negro City. Two Nights in New York History Never to Be Forgotten."

> "HARLEM IS A CITY. WHITE MILLIONAIRES ARE MADE HERE EVERY FIVE YEARS. We should own it or leave it; boss it or refused to be bossed by it. It should be HARLEM FOR NEGROES, NOT NEGROES FOR HARLEM.
>
> "A NEGRO BOY HAS AS MUCH RIGHT BEHIND A BANK'S WINDOW AS A WHITE, but we must build the bank.
>
> "A NEGRO GIRL HAS THE SAME RIGHT TO POSITIONS OF REFINEMENT AS THE WHITE, but where are the positions?
>
> "NEGRO STORES SHOULD BE ON ALL AVENUES, not in side streets, but we don't own the buildings.
>
> "There should be a NEGRO POLICE SERGEANT, and more negro policemen, but our complacency in politics as in industry makes everybody believe that we haven't one bit of discontent in the world.
>
> "RENTS ARE MURDEROUS, but owning no houses, YOU MUST PAY WHAT'S ASKED or be scrapped.
>
> "WHAT MUST IT BE, FRIENDS, A NEGRO CITY OR JUST A CITY OF NEGROES?
>
> "SHALL NEGRO MERCHANTS GET BETTER STORES ON LENOX AVENUE?

"SHALL THAT NEGRO BOY AND GIRL IN SCHOOL HAVE SOMETHING TO ASPIRE TO?

"SHALL WE HAVE A NEGRO POLICE SERGEANT AND MORE NEGRO POLICEMEN?

"SHALL WE BE STARVED TO DEATH AND LYNCHED BY HIGH RENTS?

"Common sense asks these questions.

"AND ON THE NIGHT OF FEBRUARY 19-20TH, at Palace Casino, West 135th St., at Madison Ave., in the most colossal demonstration ever staged in America's most colossal city, 15,000 negro men, women and children will answer impressively. They're coming from Washington, Baltimore, New Jersey, New Haven, Stamford, Boston, Long Island — from every nearby town and city to participate wholeheartedly in this gigantic thing under the direction of THE NATIONAL NEGRO CIVIC ASSOCIATION.

"Make reservations now. General admission 35 cents. Boxes $3. On sale at headquarters of N. N. C. A., 2305 Seventh Ave."

The close relations between the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Socialist element among the negroes is illustrated by an article in the "Negro World" for April 3, 1920, which says:

> "A call for a convention of colored radicals to meet in Washington, D. C., on May 24th has been issued through the colored section of the Socialist Party press by A. Philip Randolph, Chandler Owen, Rev. George Frazier Miller, Victor R. Daly, W. A. Domingo and William N. Colson, all of New York City and all editors of Socialist propaganda publications. In the call for the convention inserted in the 'Emancipator,' the Socialist weekly edited by Randolph, Owen and Domingo, it is asserted that 'many N. A. A. C. P. . . . responded favorably.'"

We have quoted at considerable length from the various radical revolutionary negro publications above referred to, in order to clearly bring out the type of propaganda that is being disseminated among the people of this race as well as to show the mental calibre of the leaders of the radical movement among negroes.

This movement is being cleverly fostered by the Socialist Party and by the Rand School of Social Science.

We believe that much of this propaganda falls on fertile soil, by reason of lynchings, Jim Crow legislation and the abridgment of the right of franchise to negroes in many states. Instead of seeking to remedy these conditions in lawful manner, as we firmly believe they should be remedied, they are made the basis for an appeal to class consciousness. This propaganda seeks to make the negro believe that the only way in which his lot can be bettered is by the abolition of our form of government and the substitution therefor of a system of government similar to that of Soviet Russia and by the institution of the co-operative Socialist Commonwealth.

CHAPTER VI

Propaganda by Deed

In addition to the extensive propaganda by speech and writings in periodicals, newspapers and other printed forms, there is a widespread propaganda by what may be termed deed, embracing within it, (a) bomb outrages; (b) direct action, including the general strike; (c) sabotage, and (d) mass demonstrations.

From time to time there have been various bomb outrages perpetrated in this country, directed usually against public officials, prosecuting officers of the Federal and State governments, and the officials of large organizations employing labor. These have been more or less sporadic, and, of course, have invariably brought the severest condemnation from organized labor.

Examples of this kind were the bomb plots of May 1 and of June, 1919, with which the general public is quite familiar through the public prints. These plots are generally the work of anarchists who labor under the deluded impression that their ends may possibly be furthered by a killing or intimidation of public officials charged with the duty of suppressing crime and disorders.

The general strike was sought to be put into effect about a year ago in Seattle and Winnipeg. By the simultaneous cessation of work on the part of men and women employed in public transportation, telephone and telegraph service, in the movement of foodstuffs and freight, as well as the cessation of work on the part of men and women employed in industry in general, it was sought to paralyze the community that the general political objective of the reins of government being turned over to the strikers would be attained. The general strike in both Winnipeg and Seattle was part of the propaganda of the subversive elements that engaged therein. The object in each case was not to bring about a betterment in working conditions so much as to effect the political objectives sought by the leaders. The general strike has been more fully treated in another part of this report.

Sabotage is frequently employed as a means of propaganda. As pointed in another section of this report this may consist either in damaging the tools of production, in deliberately turning out an inferior product, or in so slowing up production as to inordinately increase the cost of the product. This is one of

the means of propaganda employed by the I. W. W., who, as elsewhere in this report pointed out, repudiate the idea of "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work," but who hope by the use of sabotage among other propaganda to carry into effect their syndicalist ideas.

Mass demonstrations, while not unlawful, are frequently used as a means of propaganda. The Socialist May Day parades, parades arranged to impress the desirability of freeing so-called class-war prisoners, parades that have been arranged for enlisting support in behalf of the movement to recognize Soviet Russia, may be instanced as examples of mass demonstrations. When conducted in an orderly way, of course, such demonstrations are not unlawful. The organizers of these demonstrations, however, play upon mass psychology, and by the gathering of a large number of persons apparently pledged to the support of an idea hope thereby to influence the onlooker to the same idea.

Other examples of mass demonstration that recently occurred in New York City were the October 8, 1919, parade of Union of Russian Workers, in Washington Square, and the demonstration of November 7, 1919, which was scheduled to take place in Rutgers Square, New York City, by the Communist Party of America. Lurid posters advertising the last-mentioned demonstration had been widely distributed by the Communist Party, and it was feared for a time that there would be rioting and disorder. The efficient policing of the square and the precautions taken by the City and State authorities at that time prevented the demonstration that had been arranged for.

ADDENDUM

PART I

SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENTS ABROAD AND AT HOME

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Section I. European Conditions and Historical Review..... 1531
II. American Conditions 1773

This addendum contains notes on preceding chapters which call the reader's attention to important information relating to the subjects treated, which has come to the Committee's notice since the filing of its report on April 24, 1920.

The facts and documentary evidence here presented are essential to an adequate understanding of present conditions.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Since the presentation of this report on April 24, 1920, several months have elapsed during which there have been developments of extraordinary importance which make it necessary to add to and to modify statements made in this report. In the following addendum the events which have taken place during the seven months from May to November, 1920 are reported, and many significant documents have been added.

During this time there have been marked changes in European affairs in both economic and political fields. The attempt of the Third International to spread internationalism throughout the world under the dictatorship of Moscow has led to a revival of nationalism in a restricted sense in a number of countries in opposition to the pretensions of Lenin to dominate. We do not mean that there has been a revival of loyalty on the part of revolutionary groups to their respective governments, but rather that the revoluntionary parties in each country, with certain exceptions, are now claiming to use their own discretion as to the methods and tactics to be employed in bringing about the revolution.

Even when the Moscow program has been accepted as for instance by the Executive Board of the Socialist Party of Italy, this has resulted in a distinct split in the party. In England the anti-Lenin trend has taken two forms — one group showing a distinct reaction against the Russian program of violent and bloody revolution as represented, for instance, by the changed opinions of Bertrand Russell and Mrs. Snowden, while the other group shows a revulsion of feeling against Lenin, due solely to his attempt to dictate the policy of the British revolutionary movement. Even those men who are leading British labor more and more toward violent revolutionary action seem now opposed to the acceptance of Lenin's dictatorship.

On the other hand, while nationalism in the sense of independent revolutionary action by national groups is being stressed in this way, there have also been important developments recently in the internationalist movement. For example, the congress at Geneva of the International Miners Association developed a policy to which the miners of all countries pledged themselves,

the result of which was shown in the recent miners' strike in Great Britain. The same is true of the International Congress of Trade Unions at Amsterdam, the moderate revolutionary character of which caused Lenin, in July, 1920, to organize an opposition international congress of "Red" trade unions.

The most important development, however, during these months has been the re-inforcement of the idea of super-governments of labor under the threat of the general strike. This has been illustrated especially in Italy and in Great Britain. The so-called Council of Action established in Great Britain in July, 1920, by the various labor organizations, for the ostensible purpose of coercing the government into abandoning Poland to its fate and of forcing it to recognize the Russian Soviet regime, is likely to be perpetuated as a permanent body ready at any time to dictate to the British government whatever policy the labor organizations may desire to be carried out. This policy is frankly stated by the British labor leaders, and the more radical leaders like Williams and Smillie are increasingly taking charge of the entire labor movement in England, thus superseding the more conservative leaders of the past, like Henderson. This is precisely the result that had been predicted by Lloyd George several months ago. The Socialist labor super-goverment in Italy, on the other hand, exercised its pressure mainly in the economic instead of in the political field, and concentrated its attack upon private property and industrial management.

In both cases the issue was put frankly and brutally up to the governments. The situation created has a world-wide bearing in importance.

The Committee briefly summarizes present European conditions as follows:

Of all European countries Belgium, which was until the war the seat of International Socialism, has most thoroughly abjured revolutionary ideas and settled down to harmony and to the highest standards of production. The only problems in Belgium are those connected with physical recuperation from the German devastation. In Holland, Amsterdam and Rotterdam have developed even more into centers of international politics of a more or less revolutionary and Bolshevik character. Bolshevik emissaries swarm in increasing numbers from Germany, many of them on their way to America. Amsterdam is also the meeting place of the International Socialist Trade Union Congress

which was not sufficiently revolutionary to suit Lenin, so that he staged an opposition "Red" Trade Union organization which is to take its orders from Moscow. The European Trade Unions show no signs of paying any attention to Zinoviev's appeal. The Amsterdam congress, through its secretary, the Dutchman Fimmen, boasts a membership of 28,000,000. Holland herself appears to have settled her own strikes, to be in control of her radical elements, and ready to co-operate in the suppression of the propaganda centered in her territory. The organization in Amsterdam of an open agency of the Third International, previously described in this report, has been discontinued by Lenin himself, because this bureau was not sufficiently subservient.

The situation in the Scandinavian and Baltic groups is constantly improving. The frantic Bolshevik propaganda, though backed by large funds, is meeting with increasing skepticism as the full extent of the internal ruin of Russia under Communism has become evident. The Soviet lies that pass muster in Great Britain, Italy and America only excite derision in countries too close to Russia to allow of much deception. The improvement in popular feeling is helped by the land reforms which, especially in Denmark, are increasing the small peasant holdings and speeding up production. Even in Norway, which is naturally radical, and where the Socialist Party has been consistently Bolshevik, Communism is losing ground. The Federation of Swedish workers, at its congress voted against any intercourse with Soviet Russia.

In Poland the nationalist ferver aroused by the Soviet invasion has eliminated the danger of an internal Communist rebellion. Polish Socialism has moderated and become more nationally patriotic. But the whole world knows that the Bolsheviki will unscrupulously break the peace at any time they think that through the conquest of Poland they can reach Western Europe and destroy its civilization as they have destroyed their own.

Unfortunately the Balkan situation is becoming daily more acute. Roumania is at any moment subject to Soviet invasion. Bolshevism is making rapid progress in Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia. The overturn of Venizelos in Greece has removed the center of reconstructive work in Eastern Europe and made another alliance of pro-German and Bolshevik activities possible.

The undermining of Great Britain by Bolshevik propaganda is on the increase in all parts of the Orient and hampers British

policy. The Oriental character of Bolshevism make it easy to use eastern peoples as catspaws: Turks and Arabs, Egyptians and Hindus, Turkomans, Afghans, Coreans, are all caught by different hooks.

To oppose the threat there seems to be nothing but opportunism. France, alone, seems to follow a consistent and bold policy. Our task at home must not blind us to the world danger, far greater than that threatened by the Pan-German war.

The Swiss Socialist Party has sent out an invistation to Socialists who are dissatisfied with the existing organizations of both the Second and Third International, to meet on December 5 at Berne to discuss conditions of admission to the Third International and in case no modifications can be obtained from Moscow, to discuss the question of the formation of a real International, not subject to the dictation of Moscow. The Independent Socialist Party of Germany and the Independent Labor Party of England have accepted the invitation. The Socialist Party of America was invited but has decided, on account of the shortness of notice, not to attempt to send any delegates to this meeting. We give elsewhere the details of the decision on this point and the plans of the American Socialist Party to connect with an International movement.

The International Labor Organization of the League of Nations has had a number of meetings, both of its general organization and of its subsidiaries. It appointed a Commission for the purpose of going to Russia to ascertain the actual facts in connection with the labor situation and report to the League. For the use of this Commission it drew up and issued a statement of the facts insofar as they were available in order to give the Commission all possible information before their journey to Russia. But the project came to nothing on account of the refusal of the Soviet Government to allow a Commission to enter Russia.

There were several other International Congresses of more or less radical tendencies, such as that of the Miner's Federation, and that of the Garment Workers. These Congresses seem destined to assume more and more importance. The American Federation of Labor continues its careful policy of abstention, but other American Labor unions of radical character are taking part in them as well as sending delegates to Russia.

The drift of the revolutionary Socialist group of Europe away from the leadership of the Moscow International which has been

described may be observed in certain revolutionary groups in the United States. While practically all of the revolutionary organizations in the United States agree that the use of mass action developed under Lenin and Trotzky in Russia for the purpose of bringing about the revolution were demonstrated to be successful and for that reason to be espoused by revolutionary groups in other countries when the proper moment arrived, the reports of delegations sent by various revolutionary groups in Europe to Russia have not been so satisfactory with respect to the administration of Russia affairs since the revolution of November, 1917. In addition, the defeat of the Soviet Army on the Polish front dampened the enthusiasm of the principal revolutionary groups of this country.

The remarkable successes which the Soviet regime have attained prior to this Bolshevik debacle inspired the leaders the Third International to assume a dictatorial attitude with respect to the conduct of the revolutionary movement in other countries, which has been resented everywhere and was manifested particularly in the decision of the Socialist Party of America at its national convention this year. These considerations led the Socialist Party to modify its relations with the Third International so as to reserve to itself the right to determine the methods and tactics, as well as the policy which should govern the revolutionary movement in the United States.

The adoption by the Third International of the 21 conditions of membership has led the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party here to urge upon the membership the necessity of forming a new International alignment of revolutionary groups. This statement will be found in the note dealing with the Socialist Party of America in this addendum.

Although a referendum is being taken by the membership of the Industrial Workers of the World with respect to the affiliation of the Third International, the results are not available at the time of going to press. However, articles appearing in the official organ of the I. W. W. indicate that the same reaction against affiliation with the Third International is taking place in that body. The only considerable group which still adheres without qualification to Russian leadership is the United Communist Party. This is due in large measure to the fact that the controlling elements of that organization are made up of members of the former Russian Socialist Federation, which would

naturally look to the Russian regime for both guidance and direction. Reviewing the general situation, therefore, it is necessary to report that while the influence of the Russian leaders in the revolutionary movement of this country has been materially weakened in recent months, at the same time each of the revolutionary groups here, including the Socialist Party of America, Industrial Workers of the World, and the United Communist Party, maintain their confidence in and continue to preach the use of industrial action, namely, the organization of workers in revolutionary industrial unions, so that the general strike may be employed as a weapon of offense for the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth in this country.

Whether the collapse of Wrangel on the southern front in Russia will result in a new attack upon Poland, with some possible military successes, and will have the effect of renewing allegiance of foreign groups to the Third International, cannot be stated at this time. It will be necessary therefore to keep a close watch upon European developments in order to anticipate the probable attitude of revolutionary groups in this country.

In view of these changed conditions, however, the fortunes of the Soviet regime will have a lesser influence on the revolutionary movement in this country than formerly. Even if that regime is shattered the movement will undoubtedly continue here as well as in other European countries, because of the firm conviction of revolutionary groups both here and abroad that it is the administrative methods and not the political and economic theories of Soviet Russia that will be the cause of its downfall.

NOTES ON SECTION I

EUROPEAN CONDITIONS AND HISTORICAL REVIEW

Note on Chapter II. Socialism and Labor in Germany 1533
III. Socialism and Labor in Italy 1543
IV. Socialism and Labor in France 1557
VII. Socialism and Labor in Scandinavia 1575
X. Socialism and Labor in Austria and Czechoslovakia 1581
XI. Socialism and Labor in the Balkans 1591
XII. Labor and Socialism in Great Britain, Including Canada 1597
XIV–XVI. Russia and Third International With Memorandum on Georgia 1617
XVII. Socialism in Mexico, Central and South America 1767

NOTE ON CHAPTER II

Socialism and Labor in Germany

The Independent Socialist Party of Germany was expected to adhere unconditionally to the Third International when it met at Moscow, but of the men who represented it there the ablest member, Wilhelm Dittmann, on his return to Germany issued two very important articles, published in the two principal daily newspapers of the Independent Socialist Party, the "Freiheit," of Berlin, and the "Volkszeitung" of Leipsig (August 31 to September 3) in which he disclosed his bitter disappointment at the facts which he found underlying the situation in Russia. A very concrete part of his report related to the situation of the German workmen who went to Russia with the expectation of helping to re-establish Russian industries and of finding there a Russian paradise.

Dittmann gives a very sorrowful picture of their disappointment, of their misery and failure. This has resulted in preventing the carrying out of the plans to send large groups of German workmen to Russia for the present. In the "Living Age" for October 23, 1920, is a translation of part of Dittmann's articles. He says:

> "Our German proletariat have very mistaken ideas of the situation in Russia. Their sympathy with the revolution in that country engenders the most marvelous illusion in their brains. Not uncommonly we meet men who are naïvely convinced that food and all the treasures of nature abound everywhere in Russia, and that if some way were provided for transporting them, they would relieve at once all our scarcity here at home. Many a workingman, eager to escape from our distress in Germany, is waiting to seize the first favorable opportunity to get to Russia; dreamers look forward to the time when the Red Armies of Russia will march into Germany, erecting a Soviet Republic here, and joining with the revolutionary proletariat of our own country, will carry the flag of revolution into France, and start a world revolution.
>
> The opinion that the Dictatorship in Russia is based upon the Soviet system and the will of the majority, and that the

voice of the people rules above political and economic life in Russia, is so firmly entrenched among our comrades that a man who expresses doubt on the subject is rated a liar or a fool. . . . The mass of Russian peasants and workers is . . . an uncivilized, ignorant horde of humanity, incapable of forming sane judgments in regard to either economic or political matters, and therefore incompetent to deal with such problems. The Bolsheviki were faced by the alternative of giving up entirely their attempt to graft Socialist methods of production upon the pre-capitalistic Russian industrial system, or to adopt a different policy [after their first year of power]. They did the latter in order that they might monopolize the government. They gave up the idea of democratic self-determination, of proletarian self-government, and went over gradually to a system of state compulsion in every sphere of public life. They were forced to convert the dictatorship of the proletariat, which they originally desired, into a dictatorship over the proletariat. . . . A Bolsheviki dictatorship could not have been created except upon a foundation of apathy and ignorance such as the mass of the Russian people both in the cities and the country exhibited. . . . The forces upon which they rely to carry out this policy are the new Soviet Bureaucracy and the Red Army. Both organizations, in turn, are ruled by the Communist Party, which endeavors to inspire them with its own convictions and spirit. Even the Communist Party has not been able to build itself up by regular democratic methods. It is more or less an artificial creation, and consists largely of members who are far from being trained Socialists or Communists. Only a relatively small elite in this party belongs to that category — the circle of leaders who, in order to dominate the party and guarantee their dictatorial authority, have organized their followers on strictly military lines. It is thus that a few leaders, Lenin, Trotzky, Zinoviev, Radek, Bucharin and others are dictators of the Communist Party and through the party are the industrial proletariat, and through the proletariat of the great mass of peasantry, and thus of the whole people of Russia. . . .

Freedom of the press, of assembly, of association, and personal liberty have been practically abolished, except for

Communists. Elections to the Soviet organizations are held in public assemblies. Secret voting is illegal. Higher elections are mostly indirect, and occur under terrorist pressure; so that effective opposition is practically impossible. Elections which do not suit the government are simply annulled. I have evidence of this from absolutely reliable sources which I received in Moscow. Universal service has been again introduced. All branches of production are organized on a military basis. Workers and other employees are forbidden to strike. If they do they are treated just as deserters from the army would be, and are forced to work in concentration camps. Women are subject to obligatory labor from eighteen to forty years of age; men from eighteen to fifty. The shop councils have long since been stripped of their powers. Each shop or factory is under a manager appointed from above. Shop councils merely look after social welfare, labor discipline and party agitation. They must not interfere in running the business. They are merely an auxiliary of the Communist Party and the state bureaucracy. The same applies to trade unions. All the people employed in an industry are compulsory members of a trade union, and trade union dues are deducted from their wages. . . . A majority of the members of the Communist Party are employed in some department of the Government. According to the last official status of the Central Committee of the Party there were 604,000 members, of whom only 70,000 or 11 per cent. were actually working men employed in manual labor. Of the 89 per cent., 36,000 or 6 per cent., were party officers; 12,000, or 2 per cent., were trade union and co-operative society officers; 162,000, or 27 per cent., were military officers and soldiers; 318,000, or 53 per cent., were employed in government or municipal offices, and 6,000, or 1 per cent., were engaged in commercial duties.

The whole party is thus gradually becoming an army of bureaucrats, whose existence depends directly upon maintaining their dictatorship. "Soviet bourgeoisie" is a common expression. In Moscow there are hardly 100,000 workmen, but 230,000 Government officials of all kinds. I was told that where 10 or 11 clerks formerly loafed 60 to 80 are now encumbering the offices. . . . All efforts to

rid this gigantic bureaucratic machine of its incompetents, sabotage, and corruption, has so far proved in vain.

Socialism and Communism are as unknown today in the cities and industrial districts of Russia as they are in the country. To be sure, the higher government officers prepare beautiful Socialist and Communist theses and programmes. Unhappily, however, they stay on paper, and are distorted oftentimes by subordinate officials into the very reverse of what they were intended to be. Only in a country where the mass of the working population is incapable of taking an active part in its own emancipation could this little group of leaders exercise such absolute dictatorship. It would be impossible in Germany, in spite of all the blunders and weaknesses which may be charged against our working classes. The latter are too advanced intellectually and culturally, their sense of personal dignity and consciousness of their own rights would make them resent such a system of compulsion and servile submission as unendurable tyranny, and they would rebel against it."

The effect of Dittmann's report throughout Germany was widespread. It affected the meeting of the party at Halle which took place in order to pass upon the question of the acceptance or the rejection of Lenin's twenty-one conditions for admission to the Third International. The head of the Third International, Zinoviev, attempted by his eloquence to stampede the meeting. The extreme radicals of the party obtained a majority in favor of joining the Third International. The minority will, it is supposed, drift toward a union with majority Socialists. The result is looked upon with sorrow by a large part of the thoughtful members of the party. It is expressed in the oldest important radical Socialist daily, the Leipsiger "Volkszeitung," which we quote, from the "Living Age" of October 16th.

"The Moscow Communist International has wrecked the grand ideal of an International union of all the revolutionary Socialist parties of the world. It has wrecked this ideal irreparably for years to come. It will have no International embracing all revolutionists, but only an International limited to Communists. It demands an International confined to a group which, excepting in Russia, forms but a minute contingent of the army of revolutionary

workers. Outside of Russia the Communists are only a minor sect. The Executive Committee in Moscow is trying to force all parties which join the Third International to adopt the creed of this petty group and to become mere passive instruments in the hands of their Moscow rulers."

The other most important leader of the party, Crespien, also on the committee that went to Moscow, strongly opposed joining the Third International and bitterly excoriated Däumig, the leader who favored it.

The opposition of Crespien on his return from Russia to the affiliation with the Third International is expressed in a long article of which the following is the conclusion:

"It is unanimously admitted that, under the terms of the resolution adopted by the Leipsig Congress of the Independent Socialist Party, we were instructed to enter into negotiations with the Third International on the basis of our program of action, especially safeguarding our autonomy with respect to interior questions concerning party, as well as questions of tactics. The autonomy of our party was for us the essential condition of agreement. The resolutions adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist International do not leave us the smallest vestige of that autonomy.

"At the present we have considered that the most important condition for victory is the education of the masses, to the point where they will be capable of governing themselves. . . . The officials should be simply advisory bodies on the one hand and administrative bodies on the other hand, to execute the decisions of the working classes who know what they want. What they wish done and how they wish it done — these are for the working class to decide.

"The Communists desire the contrary. After declaring that Marx gave the International slogan — 'Proletarians of all countries, Unite!' — after insisting that by the fault of the Second International this slogan was changed to 'Workers of every country, kill each other.' This is a perfectly true indictment — yet the Communist International proposes to transform the Marxian watchword of labor solidarity into this slogan of hate, 'Proletarians of every country, disunite,' and the reaction will profit by it."

"According to the new decisions of the Communist Inter-

national the 'Bonzes' (a word used by Crespien to designate 'dictators'), whose decrees have occasionally been disregarded, are given full power. The masses are considered nothing more than cannon fodder, or, if one prefers a different terminology, simply fertilizing material. Military discipline, blind obedience — this is the rule. No opinion is to have weight except that of the supreme Bonzes. This is the new Communist gospel.

"We thus reach the pinnacle of perfection of the Russian Communists in their policy for cleaning up the party. The cleaning up process is performed like this: Every four or five months five representatives are charged with the responsibility of revising the party membership list and striking off the names of those whom it believes should be stricken off. . . . But as for me, I emphatically object to having this method of purifying party membership imposed on us. . . . It is a declaration of war not against capitalism but against the conscious proletariat who do not wish to be led like a mass without will power. . . ."

Crespien, to show the bad faith of the Russian Communist policy, quotes a letter addressed by the International to all the organizations of the Independent Socialist party of Germany, asking them to go over the heads of the parties' central committee and to send a delegation to Moscow different from that sent by the organization itself; in other words, preaching disloyalty.

"I went to Moscow with a firm desire to bring about a union of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany and the Third International and to persuade the Revolutionary Socialist parties of other countries to affiliate with it, in order that the real International of action may be founded. I weighed the evidence and this is my firm conclusion; Communists do not have as their object the union of the revolutionary Socialist parties of the world. What they wish, on the contrary, is to recognize in each country but one Communist Party, subjected without restriction to the dictatorship of the Communist Committee of Moscow."

In the "Freiheit" of August 31, 1920, W. Dittman published a remarkable report on the condition and work of the German workmen in Russia, which has stirred up Germany fully as much

as his other general statement just given. During his tour of inspection he visited the workshops of Kolomna, near Moscow, where there had been a settlement of German workmen since last summer. Dittman says in his report: "In this factory which formerly furnished work for 17,000, now for only 5,000 hands, we found that the condition of the concern was far from satisfactory. Materials and tools lay scattered about in a damaged state, and some of the machines which were not working had obviously been neglected. The German workmen told us that everything went on at a terribly slow pace and functioned badly to a degree. Although they could not work so well because of undernourishment and inadequate working conditions, each of them, they said, turned out five times as much as a Russian workman produces in the same time. The Russians had partly been impressed for the work and had partly volunteered in order to obtain the right to 'payok,' the food ration. They showed not the slightest trace of interest in their work. On the contrary they sought to sabotage it where they could. After half an hour's exertion the Russians took a respite, rolled themselves cigarettes and for half an hour or longer smoked and chattered, after which they slowly returned to their jobs, and so it went on all day."

The majority of these German workmen were so disillusioned and dissatisfied that they have returned to German, leaving only a few of their comrades behind. The neglect and disuse of modern and perfectly good machinery by the Russian workmen resulting in its deterioration is a generally recognized fact, even in the reports published by the Bolsheviki themeselves. This contradicts the plea that it is lack of machinery which prevents the turning out of manufactured articles in Russia.

Professor Carl Ballod, another member of the German Mission and one of the German authorities on Russian economics, advised against recommending that German workers should settle in Russia. He has abandoned the opinion that Soviet Russia and Germany could support one another economically. He has also abandoned his former optimistic opinion in regard to Russia's food resources and is also pessimistic in regard to the rehabilitation of transportation facilities and to the possibility of opening up relations with the Russian peasantry. He stated that industrial production in Soviet Russia had fallen to about one-sixth of its former volume; that this was partly due to a lack of raw material, the peasants refusing to give up flax and other products in ex-

change for paper currency, and also because of unalterable opposition to the underlying principles of Soviet government. The sugar industry had wholly collapsed. Coal production in the Donetz Basin was only one-sixth of the former yield. The rich oil lands were not being exploited. He asserted that the Soviet leaders were wholly incapable of effecting any economic restoration, that the bureaucracy was fully as bad as under the Czar.

In so far as general conditions are concerned it is to be noted that the German Labor Unions have enormously increased their membership during recent months. Also that the Communists, split up into four groups, have lost power; that the majority Socialists have been disappointing in the results of Socialist administration; that this was dramatically shown in the collapse of Socialism at the recent elections in "Red" Saxony. Only in case despair takes a firm hold on German labor will Bolshevism become a dominative factor, as it was feared that it would a few months ago.

Whether the Independent Socialists will support their delegates in joining the Third International will be shown at the party referendum in December.

At present the German Communists are split into four groups: (1) the old Spartakusbund, which decided to break its old rule and take part in elections; (2) the Communist Labor Party which is anti-parliamentary and has been scored by Lenin; (3) the National Bolshevists led by Lauffenberg and Wolffheim; and (4) the New Communists formed of the Left Wing of the Independent Socialists.

Until recently the "Rothe Fahne" was the one main Communist organ.

In the June elections the Communists, not yet organized to take part in political action, polled only 438,000 votes. But the trend toward the left was shown by the fact that the Majority Socialist vote dropped from 11,607,000 to 5,331,000, while the radical Independent Socialist Party, not yet split, more than doubled its previous vote, rising from 2,317,000 to 4,810,000.

When in May, soon after its formation, the German Communist Labor Party applied for admission to the Third International, it received the following refusal from Moscow, from the Executive Committee of the Third International:

> "The German Communist Labor party has placed itself in opposition to the Communist International on all questions

of tactics. So the party's request for admission to the Communist International has been answered by the Main Committee to the effect that the party might obtain admission if it obligated itself to obey all the decisions of the Congress and threw out all the Nationalist counter-revolutionists."

This decision was published, June 1, showing that the policy of dictation and expurgation had been decided upon by Lenin and Zinoviev several months in advance of the meeting of the Third International.

NOTE ON CHAPTER III

SOCIALISM AND LABOR IN ITALY

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Socialism and Labor in Italy

The crisis in Italian affairs which was forecast in the previous part of this report came during this summer. The moving cause of the crisis was the action of the Metallurgical Workers Federation, consisting of between four and five hundred thousand members. This Federation is the most radical in Italy. It is also considered with a certain amount of hostility by other workingmen's organizations. The Federation on May 14th presented demands for an increase in wages to the Industrial Masters Federation. Then one month later it presented further demands for a 20 per cent increase in wages and for indemnities for all discharges of metal workers. The manufacturers refused and the workers repeated their demands. At a conference between this Federation and the Italian Syndicalist union, two months later, the workers drew up a petition explaining why wages which they demanded were justified by the high cost of living. The manufacturers again refused and the conference ended. The Federation decided to fight the manufacturers not by calling a general strike but by eliminating all profits through lowering production. This policy of sabotage or, as they called it, "Obstructionism," being decided upon, orders were issued to the works to carry out this policy. The program stated: "Remember, produce the least you can and consume as much raw material as possible, but do not bring about a total stoppage nor a partial suspension of the works. Should any worker be discharged you must not walk out and the remaining workers must not play into the hands of the bosses or provoke lockouts."

To meet the alarming situation thus created the manufacturers called upon the Government to intervene and Labriola, Minister of Labor, attempted arbitration by bringing together the Secretary of the Metallurgical Workers Federation and delegates of the manufacturers. Meanwhile, some of the owners, unable to meet the obstructionist tactics of the workers, decided on lockouts which deprived of work from 400,000 to 500,000 men. This was the signal for the workers to take possession of the plants, according to previous arrangements. On August 30th the plants of Romeo & Company, of Brada and Stucchi, were seized by the workers, the red flag hoisted and the operation of the mills under-

taken by the F. I. O. M., as the Federation was called. It must not be imagined that this was the first seizure of plants. There had been sporadic seizures going on in northern Italy for several months, in every case without any opposition on the part of the Government. In the present cases the manufacturers asked that troops should be sent to expel the workers or prevent the agitation of plants. The Government refused to intervene. The following notice was issued by the Federation:

> "Metal Workers! Romeo & Company have proclaimed a lockout, closing the gates and fortifying the establishment by all means. . . . Yesterday we issued the motto 'Produce less, consume more. Don't cause lockouts.' Today we simply tell you not to abandon the plants until the lockouts are called off."

The metal workers were joined by the supervisors and the clerical workers who voted to continue their work under the direction of the Federation.

The manufacturers almost immediately proclaimed a general lockout which was answered by the following manifesto of the Federation:

> "Italian Metal Workers! Be ready and disciplined to the order of your organization. Wherever a manufacturer attempts a lockout follow the example of your Milan brothers. Long live the workers solidarity!"

By September 30th more than 500 — some say over 600 — plants had been taken possession of by the workers. Food was provided in many plants by the Socialist co-operative organizations. Vigorous attempts were made by the workers to extend the strikes beyond the metallurgical field into the other industries, such as the chemical and textile industries and the quarries and to the transportation field. The railroad workers on September 7th voting to support the metal workers. The association of engineers voted to support the strikers. Attempts were made to secure raw materials for the factories and other branches of industry. The government refused absolutely to intervene to protect private property. As a matter of fact it did not dare intervene. The troops could not have been moved. The Railway men would have struck. The soldiers might have refused. There would have been civil war. The workers took steps by the use of

machine guns and wire entanglements to protect the factories from attack. The Federation took every possible step to insure against destruction of machinery and stock. It was obliged to fight against the campaign for violence organized by the rival organizations to the Chambers of Labor and the General Confederation of Labor. This rival is the anarchist syndicalist organization led by Enrico Malatesta. Malatesta has been the great trouble breeder of Italy during and since the war. He has bored from within into the Socialist Party and the trade unions. It was Malatesta who stood most in the way of the final settlement of the labor troubles through the acceptance of the government plan.

The appeal which Malatesta issued to the workers on September 11th illustrates his plan. It reads:

> "Metal Workers: Whatever your leaders may be deciding upon, do not abandon the factories, do not return the mills, do not deposit your arms. If today you leave the factories, you will return tomorrow decimated after having passed under the yoke prepared for you by the employers.
>
> "Workers of all Industries, Arts and Commerce: Follow immediately the example of the metallurgical workers by accupying all establishments, warehouses, naval yards, bakeries and markets.
>
> "Peasants: Occupy the land.
>
> "Sailors: Occupy the ships.
>
> "Railwaymen: Allow the trains to run only for the common cause.
>
> "Postal and Telegraph Workers: Suppress the correspondence of the bourgeoisie.
>
> "An unforeseen possibility is in prospect through the occupation of the factories; that of accomplishing a great revolution without the shedding of blood or the destruction of national life.
>
> "Do not allow this opportunity to get away from you.
>
> "And you, soldiers, our brothers, remember that the arms which the masters have given you to defend privilege and to massacre the workers struggling for their emancipation can also be used against the oppressors and for the triumph of the proletariat."

It should be noted that Malatesta's activities after the settlement of the strike have led to his arrest.

After a certain time had elapsed since the beginning of the strike on August 20, the metal workers found they could not keep up the majority of the factories; could not secure raw materials, coal or credit. They became amenable to accept the suggestion of the Government that a compromise was possible. This was made rather imperative by a meeting which took place in Milan, September 10–11, between about 500 labor leaders and representatives of the 156 deputies forming the Socialist "Bloc" in the Chamber of Deputies. The meeting decided:

> "That the struggle for workers' control for the time being be confined to the metal workers;
>
> "That the metal workers be ordered, with all the forces at their command, to oppose any effort to oust them from the positions they have conquered;
>
> "That the directorate of the Socialist Party be invited to take steps to guarantee the metal workers the turnover of the factories with direct management by the working staffs in the interest of the common welfare;
>
> "That this syndical control in the metal trades be only a clearing of the way for those vaster conquests which must inevitably lead to socialization of industry."

The resolution to syndicalize and not to Sovietize Italian industry was passed by the enormous majority of 591,000 to 245.

It is to be noted that while there was no disorder or bloodshed in connection with the seizure of the plants, because there was nowhere any opposition on the part of the owners, it is an open question what would have happened, had there been any such opposition. This is a reasonable doubt because of the indisputable fact that the workmen were armed, had many machine guns, fortified, and protected the works seized with barbed wire entanglements and took every precaution for military defense.

The metal workers were organized in four separate unions. The largest is the F. I. O. M. or Federation of Italian Metal Workers, centered in Turin, with nearly 300,000 members. It stands closest to the General Confederation of Labor, and is the least revolutionary of the four groups. Its secretary is the deputy Bruno Buozzi. Next is the U. S. I. or Italian Syndical Union, with about 75,000 members, led by the anarchist Armando Borghi. Slightly larger is the Italian Union of Labor, mainly of Milan.

Finally, the White Syndicate (National Syndicate of Metal Workers), so-called because of its connections with the Popular or Catholic Party.

When these organizations sent memoranda, in June, to the employers asking for higher wages and for industrial control, the employers, to show the impossibility of such an advance, published the budgets of all the firms involved, for the first half of 1920, showing the profits for 1919 to have been of the most meager description: averaging for Piedmont, 7.93 per cent.; for Lombardy, 1.09 per cent.; for Liguria, 6.52 per cent.

The refusal of the employers led to the congress of metal workers at Milan on August 18, at which it was voted to take possession of all the metal and mechanical factories, beginning August 20. It must be noted that the lock-outs had not then been declared.

The terms offered to Premier Giolitti and accepted by the Confederation of Labor of the Socialist Party provide for the following terms:

"1. The Workmen's Council must take cognizance of the purchase of raw materials.

"2. Supervise the sale of finished products.

"3. Fix the price of finished products.

"4. Superintend the grading of wages.

"5. Take cognizance of all goods unloaded.

"6. Decide what task each workman is better fitted to accomplish.

"7. Obey the conditions of employment of the industrial establishments.

"8. Take cognizance of the general expense of the establishments and especially learn the expense of the present proprietors and contractors who will participate in the profits to the extent of 50 per cent.

"9. Decide when new machinery is necessary.

"10. Supervise hygienic and sanitary conditions in industrial establishments.

"11. Insist that the proprietors furnish necessary utensils.

"12. The employers must not resort to artificial industrial crises.

"13. The employers must prevent dumping."

As a typical instance of the attitude taken by employers during the course of the struggle we give here the resolution passed by a meeting of 300 employers held in Turin, September 9th:

> "The employers of the various industries of Turin in meeting assembled, beg to repeat here to your Excellency (Premier Giolitti) the protest which we recently have had occasion to present to the Vice-Prefect of Turin, regarding the failure of the government to protect our constitutional rights and to enforce the laws, a failure which amounts to connivance with lawbreakers.
>
> "We ask the immediate intervention of the government, not to carry out a victory and difficult repression for the misdeeds already committed, but to avoid by all means further crimes against property and the personal liberties of free press and inviolate domicile.
>
> "We ask especially that the exchange of products between the occupied factories be stopped by an injunction on trucking from the plants mentioned. We further declare that the present attitude of the government tends to destroy the faith of the defenders of the present institutions and the policy of said government to uphold our constitutional liberties. Unless steps are taken to remedy the situation we shall be forced to institute through our own initiative the defense which the government denies us."

The history of the readjustment of the labor troubles took place in September and early October. It was on September 15th that Premier Giolitti invited the representatives of the employers and the workers to meet him at Turin. These negotiations were continued at Rome. It was decided to adjust the consequences of the illegal occupation of the plants by a joint commission of employers and employees, based upon the acceptance of the principal of syndicalism by employers and of the principal of evacuation of the plants by employes. Qualified form of syndicalism accepted by the employers involved the participation of the workers in the business, not their predominance. A meeting in Milan of the Confederation of Employers ratified the action of their representatives. This was followed September 26th by a referendum on the same subject of the metal workers who voted by 127,904 against 44,531, to evacuate the plants and to agree to the conditions accepted by the labor leaders. The important

points of the program presented by the representatives of the Joint Confederation of Labor are here given. The details of the method by which this arrangement is to be carried out will be settled by the Chamber of Deputies which was not in session at the time the arrangement was made.

In regard to the political aspects of the situation, especially in connection with the problems of International Socialism raised by Lenin, the radical side of the party is expressed in a sentence of a speech made by Bombacci, assistant secretary of the Socialist Party in Milan, October 1st. He says:

> "The Third International is the highest authority accepted by all true Socialists of the world. We must obey its orders, expelling those among our leaders who do not accept revolutionary methods."

It will be remembered that Bombacci was the author of the famous Soviet Constitution adopted by the party at the beginning of 1920 and circulated in order to accustom the Socialists and labor men of Italy to the idea of Soviet organization. As expressing the opposite ideas to those of Bombacci, we will quote from the report of the Italian Socialist Mission to Moscow. It says of the Soviet regime:

> "While the revolution tends towards the syndicalist system, in reality it is very different from the ideal program. The capitalist regime has been destroyed. But it has not been replaced by anything that meets even the most elementary needs of a civilized people."

The conservative reaction against the decision of the Executive Committee to accept Lenin's conditions is illustrated by the meeting of the conservative Socialists at Reggio early in October, which was attended by the most prominent members of the party.

These leaders are mainly G. M. Serrati, Costantino Lazzari, Secretary of the Party; Filippo Turati, the veteran founder of the party; D'Aragona, General Secretary of the Confederation of Labor; Modigliani, Leader of the Right Wing; and Prampolini, leader in the Italian Co-operative movement. All these men and practically nine out of every ten of the other leaders would have to be expelled if the Executive Committee's decision is upheld!

The National Socialist Congress will meet in Florence in December to ratify or to oppose the decision of the Executive

Committee. At the Reggio Convention the plea was made by the leaders in favor of participation in the Government not for destructive purposes as planned by Lenin, but for constructive work. The principal Socialist members of the Chamber of Deputies were present and spoke in favor of this program. Modigliani stated that it was absolutely necessary for the Socialists to decide at once to what extent they are willing to participate in the government. He predicted a serious coal situation during February and March and declared that a Socialist administration would be better able to cope with it than a bourgeois government because "the Socialists have a greater influence over the masses and can ask them to make sacrifices which will lead to great conquests. To do this we must have a positive program to oppose the plans of the Communists. Only Socialists will be capable of solving the Italian International problem because they are able to break compacts concluded by bourgeois governments and to violate all political and economic traditions. We must have the courage to support this program openly, and delay would only force the proletariat into the arms of the Maximalists (i. e. Communists)."

The same attitude was taken by the deputies and the leaders, Turati, Dugoni and Baldesi.

We read in the Call for November 17th the following summary of the Italian situation since the settlement effected between the Italian metal workers and their employers. It begins by disclosing the fact that the employers in some cases are drawing up a blacklist of radical workmen who will not be employed. It then goes on to say:

> "The settlement of the metal strike received various receptions at the hands of the different elements in the radical labor movement. The anarchists, syndicalists, and certain groups of Maximalists were not satisfied with the way the strike ended. They contended that the factories should have remained in the hands of the workers and that the expropriation movement should have extended to all the industries in Italy.
>
> "The workers' control in the management of industry is a huge defeat, for it will mean, they say, collaboration of the militant labor movement with the moribund capitalist system

"The Syndicalist weekly, 'Guerra Sociale,' insists that the metal workers were betrayed by the leaders of the Confederation of Labor.

"But the official journal of the Confederation, 'Battaglie Sindicali,' calls the settlement 'Our real victory.'"

It considers the part given to workmen in the management of industry to be a real and important advance. The Journal "Avanti," the most widely circulated of the Socialist papers, is dissatisfied with the arrangement and calls it either a mystification or a graft.

The Socialist Party and the General Confederation of Labor have both during the past year especially been making superhuman efforts to bring the Italian peasantry into line with their revolutionary movement. This has been especially active in certain sections of Italy such as Sicily, Romagna, and the north. The peasants have in a great many cases organized raids by which they have taken possession of great estates and parcelled them up amongst themselves for cultivation. In Sicily this has been done on a particularly large scale. It has even been done under the sanction of the religious authorities and with the acquiescence of the great landed proprietors. In certain cases royal estates have been seized without opposition by the peasants. The government, in fact appears to have taken the same passive position it did in connection with the seizure of industrial plants by the workers. In fact, the greater part of uncultivated land in Italy has been taken possession of and also the great estates even when cultivated have been to some extent partitioned.

The general result of both the workers and peasant movements in Italy has been to abolish practically the sanctity of private property and to make it impossible to invoke the protection of the law in favor of the retention of private property, wherever it may be considered to conflict with the interest of the masses.

The recent municipal elections in Italy which took place after the settlement of the strike by the Government show that the Socialist cause has rather suffered than benefited by the strike, and the agitation connected with it. Bologna and Milan are the only large cities where the Socialists obtained a majority and even here it was a reduced majority. In all other cities, notably Venice, Florence and Naples, the Socialists were defeated.

Closely connected with the close of the labor struggle came the question of the Third International.

The Executive Committee of the Italian Socialist party met in Milan to decide whether to accept Lenin's 21 conditions and ask for affiliation with the Third Moscow International, as has already been stated. The vote, after long discussion, was, to accept Lenin's conditions by a vote of 7 to 5. This decision was not final but was to be passed upon by a referendum of the entire membership of the party in December. If the Executive Committee was sustained would it mean the expulsion from the party of the majority of the men who thus far have been its principal leaders, especially Turati, Modigliani and D'Aragona, who were excommunicated by name by Lenin. The immense popularity of these leaders in the party, especially Turati, and the adverse report on Soviet Russia, drawn up by the delegation of Italian Socialists who visited Russia and attended the meeting of the Moscow International was relied on to turn the tide against Lenin, especially as the Italian Confederation of Labor has followed the French Confederation in refusing to obey Lenin's dictates.

Among the stipulations accepted by the Italian Socialist Executive Committee as the condition of their affiliation with the Third International are:

> The dictatorship of the proletariat must not be simply talked about.
>
> Reformists and centrists must be removed.
>
> An illegal political party must be formed.
>
> Agitation must be carried on in the army, legal, if possible, illegal if otherwise.
>
> Agitation must be carried out among the farmers and not left to reformists.
>
> The of Social patriotism and pacifism must be Communism.
>
> A clean break with all reformists must be made.
>
> Agitation for the freedom of colonies must be made.
>
> Agitation must be carried on in the United States.
>
> The Amsterdam International of Trade Unions must be agitated against.
>
> Acceptance of democratic centralization.
>
> Unqualified support of every Soviet Republic in battle against counter-revolution.
>
> All decisions of the International to bind all parties that are members.

Names must be changed to include the word "Communist."

Parties that work legally must regularly clean their ranks of reformists and centrists.

All members of parties who do not accept these conditions to be expelled.

The general opinion of observers is that while Italian Socialists may reject Lenin's 21 conditions and Lenin's dictatorship of methods and tactics, the aim of the labor and socialist elements in Italy is practically the same as Lenin's and the Third International. The Socialist and Labor leaders in Italy openly confess that they have simply taken the first step which they are now preparing to consolidate. Their experience in running the factories has shown them that they still need education in business management. This education they are planning to obtain during the next few months. Then not at the dictation of Moscow but according to the best judgment of their own national leaders they expect to take the next and perhaps the final step. The only question would seem to be whether they will establish a permanent supergovernment similar to the council of action in England or whether they will attempt to overturn the monarchy and substitute a cooperative state.

Note. As we go to press the news comes that Lenin's conditions were accepted and affiliation was agreed upon, almost unanimously.

NOTE ON CHAPTER IV

SOCIALISM AND LABOR IN FRANCE

NOTE ON CHAPTER IV

Socialism and Labor in France

Pierre Renaudel, the well known French labor leader, in an article in the "Contemporary Review" for September, 1920, entitled "Socialist and Labor Movement in France," gives what may be called an authoritative analysis up to August, 1920. He does this under the following heads:

1. Socialist Party.
2. General Confederation of Labor.
3. National Federation of Consumers' Co-operatives.
4. Economic Council of Labor.

We give the full text of this study in the documentary section, merely calling' attention here to its value as a summary. Renaudel himself is a conservative Socialist who is particularly hated by Lenin as opposing communization of the French Labor Party. Consequently he was refused permission to accompany Cachin and Frossard to the Congress of the Third International.

Particular attention should be paid to the newest Executive Board described by Renaudel through which the French Labor Party plans to obtain increased power and advantages. It is called "The Economic Council of Labor" which has already been discussed in this report. It had hardly begun its first investigation into the problem of nationalization of public utilities when its work was largely arrested by the May strikes which forced Millerand to take drastic steps against the National Confederation of Labor and to oppose any trend towards nationalization. The fearless attitude of the French government towards strikes and strike threats in public utilities has been radically different from the policy of absolute non-interference of the Italian government and that of compromise of the British government.

As elsewhere the storm and stress of the labor and Socialist movements have centered about Russia and the Third International.

The report made to the Socialist Party of France by the two delegates which were sent to the meeting of the Third International at Moscow was distinctly favorable to Bolshevism. These two delegates were L. Frossard, National Secretary of the Socialist party of France, and Marcel Cachin, managing editor of the

Socialist daily "Humanité." On their return to France, August 11th, after seven weeks in Russia, Frossard made a preliminary statement in which he praised the power of the Soviet regime, predicted a splendid future for it and supported its policies. He praised the discipline and spirit of the Red army which he claimed numbered three million and a half and claimed that with the disappearance of the bourgeoisie all exploitation had been abolished. He attributed all those painful deprivations from which the Russian people are suffering to the blockade and the war. It is an interesting fact that the French delegation is the only one to return from Russia with complete approval of Bolshevism and that notwithstanding this fact the party itself was not convinced and repudiated the report of its representatives at the ensuing meeting of the party.

The well known Socialist, Jean Longuet, leader of the Centre section of the French Socialist party, in visit to England, in September, gave a very interesting summary of the history and present conditions of International Socialism, especially the present position of the Second and Third Internationals. Longuet has been attacked by Lenin and Zinoviev as "yellow" and a traitor to the cause of Communism because he would not accept the Russian dictatorship and the immediate revolutionary program. Longuet made the following statement:

> "The French Socialist party has done all in its power to establish an International, including parties now in the Third International and also the German Independent Labor party of England, and the other Socialist parties both inside and outside of the Second International. At present, however, the Third International was insisting upon impossible terms."
>
> "The blockade had been a blockade of intelligence — of news — as well as an economic blockade, with the result that the Russian comrades were living in a world of their own and were demanding a program of action which could not be applied to many other countries. The rejection of these principles by France or England did not imply lack of support of the Russian Revolution. We absolutely unite in supporting our Russian comrades. We are fighting with all our strength against miserable efforts of Paris and of London to destory the first great Socialist government the world has even seen."

In the summary of Longuet's remarks given in the "Labor Leader" of London for September 30, 1920, Longuet remarks, in connection with the order from Moscow that the following leaders should be expelled from parties desiring to affiliate: Adler, Ledebour, McDonald, Snowden, Morris Hillquit, and Longuet himself; "I don't take such things badly. I believe they come from an insufficient knowledge of conditions in Western Europe and I will never say a word against my Russian comrades."

He said that Moscow insisted that the French Socialists should declare war upon the French General Confederation of Labor. He said that while Jouhaux and its other leaders did many things during the war with which he disagreed, to break with the trade unions on that account would make the Socialist Party ineffective.

The resolution passed by the Confederation of Labor at Orleans on October 2nd opposing direct affiliation with the Third International was adopted by a vote of 1,478 to 602. Otherwise it was extremely revolutionary in its wording. It urges on the French working class complete solidarity with revolutionary Russia and declared that its own aims were incompatible with present institutions and with its capitalism and its political expressions. It proclaims again its ideal of economic liberation through the suppression of the wage system. It calls for direct action by placing industry and commerce under the supervision of the organized workers. It urges an intensive campaign for the socialization of the basic industries and called on the International Federation of Labor for united international action to accomplish social revolution.

The speech against Bolshevism at the Congress made by A. Merrheim contained the following arraignment:

> "Russian Communism has nothing to do with Socialism or Syndicalism. It can only exist by the dictatorship of an individual or a small group of men who impose a ferocious discipline upon its adherents and dominate by violence and terror, thanks to an army of mercenaries. The Bolsheviki themselves say and write this."

He cites a statement of the foremost program maker of Bolshevism, Bukharin, that the proletariat dictatorship must last at least a generation, and says:

> "This seems a generation bowed under the tyranny of force and violence. It is an admission that Russian Com-

munism can exist only by the aid of bayonets. That is why it is our duty to arise against such retrograde militarist doctrines which create a reactionary militarist caste as criminal, if not more so, than that engendered by capitalism. The hour has come for syndicalism and socialism to choose between the ravages of the destructive hatred which Lenine's so-called Communist Party desires and demands and the constructive work, action and development of the collective social well-being."

The French Socialist newspaper "Humanité," published on September 9th a list of nine conditions laid down by Lenin which the French Socialists must accept in order to be affiliated with the Third International. This list was drawn up before the famous and ultimate list of 21 conditions and would be superseded naturally by the latter document, but it is interesting to reproduce the early form of Lenin's idea and to give the reaction of the French in this connection. These conditions were brought back by the French Socialist delegates, Cachin and Frossard, and were accepted by them. As published, incompletely, in "Humanité" they are annotated, point by point.

In his preface, from which we quote elsewhere, Lenin urges an immediate and bloody revolution, and an uncompromising break with all who do not accept his entire program.

The conditions are addressed nominally to France, but their application is universal. Lenin does not always speak of the French Socialist Party, but just the Socialist Party. The brief explanation after each condition is written by Daniel Renoult, one of Cachin's henchman, acting as a mouthpiece of the Majority section of the French Socialist party which wishes to join the Third Communist International.

The conditions are as follows:

"(1) The Socialist Party must radically change the character of its daily propaganda in the press."

This, explains Renoult, refers to the criticisms addressed by Moscow to the Socialist press here (the "Humanité" and the "Populaire") as not being sufficiently aggressive and revolutionary. He adds in big type, "We accept."

"(2) As regards colonies, the party must pitilessly expose the activities of the bourgeois imperialists and aid, not only

in word but in deed, all movements toward liberation, taking as the watchword that the imperialists must give up colonies, that fraternal sentiments must be developed in French working masses toward the working population of the colonies, that systematic propaganda must be carried on in the French army against oppression of colonies."

"We accept with enthusiasm," says Renoult. "We must cease platonically defending 'the rights of natives.' It is the revolt of these unfortunate populations that we ought to aid with all our force."

"(3) Expose the falsity and hypocrisy of social patriotism. Prove systematically to the workers that without a revolutionary upset of capitalism, no arbitration, no project of disarmament will save humanity from new imperialist wars."

"This condition involves the definite condemnation of the League of Nations," says Renoult. "We accept unreservedly."

"(4) The French Socialist Party must begin the organization of Communist elements in the heart of the Workers' General Federation in order to combat social traitors at the head of this Federation."

Here Lenin is getting to the center of his dogma, that the Communist Party must be supreme in labor councils. To him moderate men like Gompers or Jouhaux, the leader of the French trade unionists, are Laodiceans, who blow neither hot nor cold, and must be spewed out. This condition worries M. Renoult, who says: "We accept with reservations," and tries to show that Lenin himself is opposed to schism in the trade union ranks. This, of course, is absurd, as Lenin's whole object is to make a clean-cut distinction between those who are on his side and those who are not.

"(5) The Socialist Party must obtain, not in word, but in deed, the complete subordination of the Parliamentary group."

"This," says Renoult, "We accept. Nothing is more urgent." It is worth remarking that Renoult there dodges the real issue, which is the subordination of the whole labor and social machinery to the Communist Party, which is to be in direct and flagrant

revolt against constituted authority and can take no part in Parliamentary government. A later condition which perhaps came earlier in the original, demands that the Socialist Party change its name to "Communist."

> "(6) The present majority section of the party must break radically with reformism and free its ranks from elements that do not wish to follow the new revolutionary path."

Renoult says: "We accept, naturally," and adds: "If in the original document from Moscow there are more or less sharp criticisms directed against certain persons, there is no precise demand for their exclusion. It is a question of good faith. Those who will not admit the principles of the Communist International will retire. We hope they won't be numerous in our party." It is notorious in Socialist circles here that this refers to Lenin's thunders against Jean Longuet. Although Longuet is a son-in-law of Karl Marx himself, Lenin considers him precisely one of the "parlor Bolsheviki," who preach revolution without every trying to practice it, that he wishes to get rid of.

> "(7) The party must change its name and present itself before the whole world as the Communist Party of France."

Here is the center of Lenin's dogma once more. He knows well, and the French Socialists know, too, that such a change would mean suffering and persecution, and they do not like it. Lenin is for revolution; they try to trim the word to mean peaceful change. Lenin advocates bombs; they prefer words. Renoult tries to quibble about Socialism and Communism being the same thing, but is finally forced to say that for the time being the party will keep the title it now has.

> "(8) At a time when the Bourgeoisie decrees a state of siege against workers and their chiefs, French comrades must recognize the necessity of combining illegal with legal action."

In plain words, this means that when there is a general strike French "Comrades" must go out and build barricades in the streets and fight. Again Renoult tries to evade the issue by saying: "We accept, because the bourgeois dictatorship, each day more brutal, will more and more force Socialists to daring action. Our masters we know well, no longer worry about illegality. The Socialists will act according to circumstances."

"(9) The French Socialist Party, as well as all parties who wish to adhere to the Third Internationale, must consider as strictly obligatory all decisions of the Communist International. The Communist International takes into account the various conditions under which the workers of the various countries are compelled to struggle."

Here is frank insistence on the infallibility of Lenin and blind obedience thereto. Renoult again shuffles: "We accept, because if affiliated to the Third International, the French party ought to observe its decisions. For its part, the International will take into account the special conditions of France. Nothing can be more reasonable."

There appears to be some mystery about these conditions. The famous document in which they are contained was for some weeks before the publication in "Humanité" a topic of interest in Socialist circles, and it is generally understood that there were considerably more than nine conditions in the original. The "Temps" says so bluntly, speaking of "Lenin's nine points, which, by the way, are really twenty-one or eighteen or fourteen. Doubtless the most suggestive ones are omitted, and L'Humanité offers us only choice excerpts, carefully expurgated."

This assumption is strengthened by the cautious tone of Renoult's comments. The Cachin group could not withhold the publication, but was breaking Lenin's terms gently to the Party, which it wishes to lead into the Bolshevist fold. Several weeks later Lenin's complete 21 conditions became known to the world.

One of the influences that has helped to turn French Socialism and labor away from Soviet Russia has been the report of two French Socialist journalists who were in Russia during May. They are Albert Londres, of "Excelsior" and Charles Pettit, of the "Petit Parisienne." A summary of their reports is given in *L'Illustration* for June 5, 1920, under the title of "Two French journalists in Soviet Russia." They are both extremely opposed to the dictatorial, autocratic, form of the Soviet government and explain it very clearly and the misery which has resulted from it, to the radical element of the French Republic.

It is confidently stated in France that there is a decided turning from Bolshevism to national Syndicalism among the French radicals. It is also felt that the mass of industrial labor is more inclined to an increase of productive and harmonious work and against the use of the strike as a political weapon.

Three 'Red' leaders, including Loriot, chief of the Left Wing Socialists, Boris Souvarine and Monatte are still in prison for the May political strike against the State.

DOCUMENT

THE SOCIALIST AND LABOR MOVEMENT IN FRANCE

The elections which took place in France on November 16, 1919, might induce the foreign observer to imagine that the French working class and Socialist movement was a movement of only second-rate importance. No one can deny the great success obtained by those political parties which united under the name of the National Bloc, nor could anybody attempt to ignore the defeat of the General Strike of May, at least in regard to its main objective, or deny that such defeat might well be taken as confirmation of a pessimistic point of view in judging of the future force and prospects of the political claims put forward by the working classes.

The question is whether the triumph of French conservatism will be permanent, whether the campaign against the General Confederation of Labour and working class organisations, which has been initiated by M. Millerand, or rather which has been promised by him to his parliamentary supporters, will be successful. No observer unacquainted with the real force inherent in the labour movement before the events of this May could possibly venture on any precise prognostications on such a topic; an impartial study of the problem will not be without interest.

In the first place, one characteristic of the French labour movement must be noted. Every branch of that movement is independent, or as we say in France, autonomous. There exist, of course, common ideas inspiring both the economic side of the working class movement, namely, Trades Unions and Co-operative organisations, and also the political side, namely, the Socialist organisations. But no stable tie connects these groups; they do not meet in a normal and regular way to plan their policy, except in special, definite cases. There is no such system as there is for instance, in Belgium, where action is intimately co-ordinated between Trades Unions, political groups, and the Co-operatives. There is no such basis as in Great Britain, where the Labour Party includes those who aim at political action, but fails to distinguish between them and that Trades Union backing from which it draws its most obvious strength.

It is no exaggerated statement to say that in France the organisation of a political movement preceded the organisation of a purely working class movement; that political movement was born of a revolutionary tradition, which falls into historical periods separated by the dates 1793, 1830, 1848, 1871. It is only during the last thirty years that the Trades Union and the Co-operative movements have grown and developed in an uninterrupted and concentrated way.

The Socialist Party

The Socialist Party in its present form sprang out of what has been called the Amsterdam Agreement. Previous to the holding of the Amsterdam International Socialist Congress in 1904, French Socialism was divided up into several schools; these schools contended with each other bitterly for influence over the labour world. They were generally known by the name of their existing or former leaders; thus, the Revolutionary Socialist Party or Blanquistes; the French Labour Party or Guesdistes; the Socialist Revolutionary Labour Party or Allemanistes; the Party of French Workers or Broussistes; the French Socialist Party or Jauressistes.

Unity came in 1905, after the Amsterdam Congress. The Party assumed the name of the French Socialist Party (French Section of the Workers' International), a name which it still bears. It only counted 34,000 members. In nine years it trebled its number; on the eve of the war, in July, 1914, there were 93,000 registered members. Mobilisation naturally caused a shrinkage in Socialist organisations, and in 1915 there were only 25,000 members. But little by little the upward movement began again. In 1918 the numbers had climbed to 133,000, and at the present time of writing, in 1920, 160,000 members' cards have been issued.

Party organisation is based on a system of local groups in the communes called "sections." These commune sections are connected up into a Federation of the Department; such a Federation has a great deal of autonomy in its relation with the central body. It is obvious that this organisation follows the French administrative system. The Party, which holds a General Congress every year, is managed by a National Council; this Council, like the Congress, is constituted of delegates from the Federations. There is also a permanent Administration Commission, for the purpose of organising propaganda and carrying out party resolutions.

Owing to that characteristic of independence attaching to the different organisations to which I have already drawn attention, work has come to be specialised; consequently, the function of the Socialist party is limited to political work properly so-called. For instance, it never has to decide on a strike. It is seldom, therefore, that its more active leaders are called upon to act as propagandists of Trades Unionism or of the Co-operative movement, except in so far as they may be personally connected with either of these movements. Then there is another characteristic of the French Socialist party; it is, of course, in bulk, a party of the working classes; but it also includes a very large proportion of "intellectuals," who are members of the liberal professions, or even of bourgeois professions, or employers of labour; they are attracted towards Socialism by a profound instinct for democracy. This instinct causes them to associate themselves with the effort of the labouring classes to turn the political Republic into a social Republic. The Socialist Party also includes a great many peasants; in certain districts it could never have carried elections except by the peasants' influential support.

The electoral force behind the Socialist party might be held to be out of proportion to the number of registered members. It is in truth very considerable; no judgment of the real strength of the party could be based on the number of members alone. At the elections of May, 1914, the Socialist party obtained nearly 1,400,000 votes out of an electorate of 11,170,000, of whom 8,600,000 went to the polls. In the November elections of 1919 it obtained over 1,700,000 out of an electorate of 11,044,500, of whom 8,130,000 went to the polls, these figures including the three new departments of Alsace-Lorraine. In 1914 the voting constituency was the *arrondissement,* or administrative subdivision of the department. There were two counts; the Socialist party obtained about forty seats on the first count, by absolute majorities (half the number of voters plus one), the remainder of its seats were obtained at the second count, mostly by means of coalition with the Republicans. The number of Socialist deputies elected was 102. In 1919 the constituencies were the departments, except for a few important departments which were subdivided. A pseudo-system of proportional representation was introduced. Sixty-eight Socialist deputies were elected.

The Socialist Party was unjustly robbed of the whole or the greater number of its seats in certain departments where it was

the strongest of the parties. This was partly due to the coalition which was formed against it, partly to the untrue nature of the system for counting the votes, partly also to the wave of anti-Bolshevism which was exploited against Socialism. These three factors are temporary and passing. It is certain that the number of Socialist voters in the country will grow, and with them, and with the increase of support to the party, will also grow the number of Socialist deputies.

The General Confederation of Labour

The birth of the General Confederation of Labour goes back to the creation of Labour Exchanges; these Exchanges co-ordinated and protected the Trades Unions of a given area. The first house rented for a Labour Exchange was in Paris in 1886. The Federation of Labour Exchanges was founded in 1892. Simultaneously craft and industrial Trades Union Federations were also formed, in which these bodies received a national grouping. The General Confederation of Labour was formed out of both sets of bodies. Its birth may be traced back to 1895, but it did not truly begin to operate until 1903. These two sections — the Labour Exchange on the one hand, and the craft and industrial unions on the other — were formerly practically independent; even to-day they continue to exist side by side within the heart of the Confederation, the first being known as the Section of Departmental Unions, and the second as the Section of National Federations. Each Section has its own secretary attached to the Bureau of the Confederation.

The Departmental Unions are federations of all the Labour Exchanges of any one Department. Eighty-eight such Unions were represented at the January Conference of the Confederation; their number is fixed, as they correspond to the division of the country geographically into Departments. The National Federations represented at the Lyons Conference (September, 1919), numbered forty-three; in January, 1920, there were only forty-one, as several allied industries had coalesced. These organizations, which before the war counted scarcely 500,000 or 600,000 members, on the 1st of May last had over 2,000,000. These 2,000,0000 Trades Unionists are drawn principally from the mass of industrial and commercial wage-earners, whose total numbers may be estimated at about 5,000,000 of persons of the male sex. Besides these there are the agricultural workers, who

amount to about another 2,500,000 persons (1911 census). Thus there is still a big margin available for the possible growth of organized Trades Unionism, a growth which, before the recent strikes, was making rapid progress.

The first article of the constitution of the General Confederation of Labour deserves to be quoted in its entirety. It runs:

> The General Confederation of Labour, as at present constituted, has the following aims:—
>
> (1) To unite wage-earners in the defence of their moral and material, their economic and professional, interests;
>
> (2) The Confederation unites, apart from all political theses, all workers who are conscious of the struggle to be waged in order to destroy the system of wage-earners and employers.
>
> No person may take part in any electoral political act whatsoever in virtue of his membership or may make use of the Confederation for such purposes.

Last year the Confederation altered its constitution and administration, and set up a National Council like that in the Socialist Party. This National Council includes delegates from each of the Departmental Unions and National Federations. It thus consists of 130 members, meeting three times a year. The Council appoints an Executive Committee of thirty members and a Bureau of five members responsible for the carrying out of resolutions. The Confederation requires a subscription of thirty francs per thousand members per month for the use of its services; this subscription is paid by the Departmental Unions and Industrial Federations. It publishes a monthly bulletin, *The People's Voice,* to which the Unions, the Federations, and the Trades Unions are bound to subscribe.

A very slight consideration of the nature of this body leads to the conclusion that M. Millerand's Government may perhaps be able to force the Confederation of Labour to change its name, not for the first time, but will not be capable of seriously interfering with its work. The Government will not draw blood, unless indeed it hurls itself throughout the country into a persecution of the labouring classes, such as would not fail to arouse a formidable agitation against itself. The General Confederation of Labour has its roots very deep and very far down in the masses. It is a

body which has matured slowly, and for that very reason has a solid strength; moral or physical violence will come to grief in contest with such a force. There may come a period during which progress is checked; but the forward movement will be resumed little by little. The snowball may possibly be a little soft at the edge, nevertheless it will be big enough to gather up, in its renewed course, and more widely than at first, the masses who are still dispersed.

The National Federation of Consumer's Co-operatives

The consumer's Co-operative movement has grown as rapidly as the two other movements which I have discussed. I here omit any discussion of Co-operation by producers, on the ground that such producers' movement has less real and permanent contact with the Labour world. The consumers' movement did not suffer from that arrested development which the war inflicted even on the political movement; on the contrary, the consumers' Co-operative Societies enlarged themselves during the war. They were assisted by the public authorities, who were thankful to be able to rely on organised bodies ready to act on the question of the distribution of commodities with a loyalty such as is not always displayed by associations of individuals. The National Federation of Co-operative Societies was therefore on several occasions summoned to assist in the distribution of frozen meat, milk, coal, potatoes, and was instrumental also in organising popular restaurants for factory workers during the war.

The Co-operative idea received a further impetus by the formation of military Co-operative societies. Along the front these took the place of the normal channels of trade, which had been destroyed, and checked the effect of that spirit of profiteering which was constantly trying to speculate in an underhand way on the shortage of goods. Here the civilian Co-operative movement did good work, and at one moment the whole of an army corps was restocked by a system of motor lorry shops launched by the French Wholesale Co-operative Society.

The National Federation of Consumers' Co-operative Societies is another example of a fusion of different bodies. The Co-operative movement, whose real growth dates from about 1880, began in a very scattered way, from what might be likened to a fine dust of the Co-operative spirit. But here again, as in other movements, an effort towards concentration and unity made itself felt. In

December, 1895, the Socialist workers taking part in the Co-operative movement, left the Consultative Chamber, which until then had been the federal unit of the French Co-operative Societies, and founded the Co-operative Exchange of French Socialists; a little later, in 1906, they set up the Wholesale Co-operative Society. Another section, not claiming to be purely Socialist, had also developed under the name of the Co-operative Union of Consumers; this society, too, had its wholesale organisation. But in 1912 the two bodies joined. The process of union resulted in the formation of two institutions: firstly, an ethical institution, the National Federation of Consumers' Co-operative Societies, and, secondly, a wholesale buyers' society, the Wholesale Co-operative Society.

At its most recent Conference, in September, 1919, the National Federation of Co-operative Societies claimed to represent over 2,000 federated societies, serving a million families, and having a turnover of a milliard of francs; in 1914 the estimate had been barely 300 millions of turnover and only 500,000 families. These figures are admittedly very inferior to those shown by some Co-operative movements in Europe, particularly by the movement in England; nevertheless, the trebling of the figures is a very marked symptom of progress.

The National Federation is built up on district Federations. These are very capriciously arranged; there is a suggestion to reorganise them by co-ordinating them with the economic districts established by M. Clémentel as Minister of Commerce, on the basis of a decree of April, 1919. The financial resources of the National Federation rest on a subscription of 3 centimes per 100 francs of turnover paid by the societies. The last balance-sheet showed receipts amounting to 106,516 francs, but it was based on a previous subscription of only 2 centimes.

The impulse towards unity which brought about the fusion from the top of the principal bodies in the French Co-operative movement, also affected the local movement in each district. It is interesting, in my opinion, to note the fusion of the two groups existing in the Paris district, the Union of Co-operators of Paris and the Union of Co-operatives; they joined to form a single society which will consequently include all the societies existing in the Seine and the Seine-et-Oise Departments under the name of the Union of Co-operators. The Union of Co-operatives alone had a turnover of 56 millions in 1919.

This short study of the French Co-operative movement would

not be complete without some mention of what the Wholesale Society, a buyers' and producers' co-operative society, stands for. In 1914 the number of societies having shares in this body was 425, with a turnover of 13,720,000 francs; by the end of May, 1919, the number of shareholder societies had risen to 1,088, and the turnover stood at 79 millions in the 1918-1919 balance sheet, and could be estimated at 130 millions for 1919. The Wholesale Society has its own factories of tinned fish and vegetables at Nantes, it owns three boot factories, clothing factories, and coffee-mills.

The Economic Council of Labour

Such are the three great political and economic bodies which sum up the activity of the French working classes. A new factor, however, has arisen, and this must not be omitted. Economic difficulties of every kind, which had accumulated in consequence of the war, induced the working masses to demand from the Government in the course of the year 1919 the institution of a National Economic Council. Such a Council was to unite in common discussion workman and employer, producer and consumer. At that time M. Clemenceau was at the head of the Government, which seemed inclined to make trial of the suggestion; it was even discussed for some weeks. Then the Government appointed a Commission, on which it conferred the title of Economic Council, and this Commission, I believe — never met even once.

The General Confederation of Labour itself took the initiative in setting up a body which should correspond to its desire. In order to do this, it applied on the one hand to the National Federation of State Employés, on the other to the Trades Union of Industrial, Commercial, and Agricultural Technical Workers, and thirdly to the National Federation of Co-operatives. The National Federation of State Employés includes the greater number of State employés, both those workers and employés of the public services who are already members of the General Confederation of Labour and also those who by the Trades Union Law of France are still debarred the full rights of association. The Trades Union of Technical Workers (U. S. T. I. C. A.), which has recently been formed, unites those who until lately, with a few exceptions, seemed to hold aloof from social propaganda, namely, engineers and intellectual workers engaged in productive processes, whose brains co-operate with manual labour in making the forces of capitalism function. This union between the expert and the manual worker is clearly a sign of the times.

The first problem which the Economic Council of Labour has attacked is that of nationalisation. Just at the moment when the May strikes broke out the Economic Council was engaged in drawing up definite suggestions which were on the eve of being published, and which dealt more especially with railways, mines, and maritime transport. The characteristic feature of these proposals is that they assign to producers and consumers as such, represented by Trades Union and Co-operative bodies respectively, that share in the management of industry which the community ought to give them if interests are to be reconciled and the public welfare consulted by a really good administration of the public services. Events may be said to have taken the Economic Council by surprise; this is one of the criticisms which labour circles themselves are giving vent to against those who, by over hasty action, launched the railway strike without waiting until there had been time to instruct public opinion on this problem in the manner proposed by the Economic Council of Labour. The General Confederation of Labour could not dissociate itself from the call for solidarity which the strike evoked; but the best informed militants in it were well aware that public opinion was insufficiently prepared. Nevertheless, the question of nationalisation has been started; by means of the Economic Council of Labour the workers' organisations will continue to concentrate their efforts on it; the problems of economic life will prevent it from losing actuality. The bodies engaged in studying it will concentrate on the search for a solution which shall satisfy the interests of the whole body politic, not merely their own corporate or professional interests. Doubtless the first great effort of these bodies will consist in breaking up the crust of prejudices with which the profiteering employer tries to surround such questions, prejudices which the strike was possibly instrumental in encouraging. The problem is, of course, political as well as economic. For this reason the Socialist Party, in spite of not being an original member of the Economic Council of Labour, will all the same work in an identical direction, side by side with the economic organisations. Recent events have made the struggle only too bitter; they were but a stage in the journey and may cause the working class to amend or to modify part of its tactics and unite still more closely. The prophet of the future must, at any rate, be acquainted with the forces at work. It has been my interesting task to discuss one of these.

Pierre Renaudel

[*Contemporary Review*, September 1, 1920]

NOTE ON CHAPTER VII

SOCIALISM AND LABOR IN SCANDINAVIA

NOTE ON CHAPTER VII

Socialism and Labor in Scandinavia

DENMARK

The attitude of the Danish people toward Communism has been somewhat influenced by the ten months' residence of the Soviet representative, Litvinov, in Copenhagen. He came there with a staff on account of the refusal of Sweden to let him have his headquarters at Stockholm. The dream of a tremendously lucrative Danish trade with Russia, which would have put an end to the financial and economic depression in Denmark, was not realized. Fundamentally the workingmen of Denmark are anti-Bolshevistic. Even the radical labor leader, Borg Bjerg, editor of the "Social Demokraten," who at one time favored Bolshevism and went to Petrograd to negotiate with Lenin, is now regarded by the Bolsheviki as a dangerous counter-revolutionary. The September elections gave 48 Socialist members of the Volkething, a slight gain.

Litvinov took advantage of his stay at Copenhagen to attempt to found a new Communistic Party distinct from the regular Social Democratic party. He founded two daily papers, "Arbeitet" and the "Solidaritat," as organs of syndicalism and communism, and backed them with Soviet money. Their propaganda was so little successful, however, that the elections in the summer of 1920 showed only about 3,500 Communist votes out of about one million voters. It may, therefore, be considered that Denmark is no fruitful field for Bolshevism. The Executive Committee of the Communist Party has accepted by 13 to 2 Lenin's 21 conditions.

Two recent events have, it is true, modified the conservative attitude of Denmark. The congress of the Socialist party of Denmark which met early in November decided at its meeting of November 8th to accept the 21 conditions laid down by Lenine for affiliation with the Third International and applied for admission, changing its name to that of the "Communist Party of Denmark," in order to meet Lenin's requirements.

The second fact is the radical land law by which Denmark enters the group of nations carrying out fundamental and radical land changes.

These new land-laws passed by the Rigsdag of Denmark are planned for the purpose of breaking up the big landed estates and distributing them to small farmers. The law gives big landowners until January 1, 1921, to sell 33 per cent of their land to the government at a fair valuation. They also place a special tax of 20 to 25 per cent on the value of the land. If this plan is not accepted an additional land tax of five per cent will be levied during 1921. After this day the offer is withdrawn and the rate is increased by one or 1.2 per cent on the capital value of the entire estate. One hundred twenty-five thousand acres of farm land will be taken from the lay land owners and one hundred thousand from the church lands. The land thus forced into public ownership will be distributed to citizens in good standing and nine-tenths of the value of any building put up by them will be loaned at a low rate of interest by the government which charges a rental of only 4½ per cent on the valuation. It is reckoned that in this way the government will become the landlord of 10,000 families each having a life lease renewable from one generation to another. (See N. Y. "Call," November 12, 1920.)

This appears the most scientific scheme for solving the farm problem, so acute in European countries, attacked in so illegal a fashion in Italy and so unscientifically in England.

Both in Norway and Denmark, as a result of the various strikes and threats of general strikes, the people have organized on a big scale a protective association of citizens under the title of Community Aid to enable the functionary of all necessary activities to continue in any emergency.

SWEDEN

As for Sweden, the situation is not so clear. The Socialist government, under the leadership of Branting, who is a convinced conservative Socialist, has recently fallen, through the failure of the Liberal Party to support him against the radical element. There is an ever-increasing propaganda carried on by the Swedish Left Socialist Party, financed by the Bolsheviki. The effect of this propaganda is more likely to be successful among the *intelligentsia* than it is among the masses of the Swedish workingmen who are too intelligent not to understand the reasons for the failure of the Russian Soviet government. The mission of a select group of Swedish workmen to Russia which returned with an adverse report, advising the Swedish workmen against going to

Russia, is extremely important in the probability of its influence on the Swedish mass. This Swedish labor delegation was composed of the men who would be considered normally the most sympathetic with Bolshevism, that is, representatives of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party. Their report was published in the "Social Demokraten" of Stockholm for September 9, 1920. They found workingmen in Russia, where they spent nearly two months, to be in a dreadful state of apathy. They found many undertakings absolutely ruined. In one factory 850 looms of the latest pattern had become so rusty through never having been used for a whole year that they were rendered almost useless. They noted an extremely low level of working capacity and an absolute lack of organization in the work. They found that the Russian industrial workers were struggling against their Soviet masters, just as much as, if not more, than the Swedish workingmen were struggling against their employers.

We quote from the "New Russia" of September 30th, from an article written by Axel Karlsen, published in the "Roda Fanor," which is a Swedish Bolshevist newspaper. He says:

> "In Soviet Russia public criticism is impossible; both private and public rights are controlled by a party dictatorship; the Extraordinary Commission is organized on the old Czarist system wrought to a pitch of diabolical perfection.
>
> "The all-Russian Extraordinary Commission is the real master of Soviet Russia; the people have lost every vestige of the revolutionary spirit and have fallen into a state of utter apathy; all over the country there are city prisons for children.
>
> "Formerly a live co-operative movement existed in Russia. Now it is ruined and abolished and its leaders shot wholesale. The Bolshevist authorities have spies everywhere, and it is exceedingly dangerous to express any views which may be unacceptable to the higher authorities. As a result of the suppression hundreds of trades unionists have been imprisoned."

Karlsen's general conclusion is "Bolshevism in Russia is an institution founded on lies, fraud and oppression, supported by violence."

When this opinion is voiced by a revolutionary Socialist in Sweden, we may well believe that Swedish workers have been inoculated against Bolshevik propaganda.

NORWAY

The situation in Norway is now, as it has always been, very much more favorable for Bolshevism than in the rest of Scandinavia. This is partly due to a lack of continuous contact, and partly due to trade relations. The staple industry of Norway being the fish export trade, gives a great opening for doing business with Russia on a large scale and makes it quite natural that commercial and industrial pressure should be brought on the Norwegian government to recognize the Bolshevik government and its representatives. Thus far, however, the failure of Litvinov and his staff to carry through any large business deal with Norwegian firms has prevented any absolute action on the part of either the Norwegian government or the Norwegian population, which has been influenced in an anti-Bolshevik way by the report after the meeting of the Third Internationale from the German and the Swedish workmen who visited with Russia.

It remains a fact, however, that the Socialist Party of Norway has become officially affiliated with the Third Internationale.

Also it must be noted that the National Congress of Trade Unions of Norway, held in Christiania, in July, and representing about 150,000 skilled workers, adopted some rather radical resolutions. One of these was about organizing workers' committees in all factories and workshops in order to obtain control of production as a first step toward nationalization. Another accepted the plan of the Norwegian Labor Party's Nationalization Committee for the nationalization and administration of industries. By a vote of six to one the revolutionary platform of the Labor Party was accepted, including the adoption of the Soviet system, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the use of mass action to secure the destruction of capitalism in industry and state. It sent a representative to the meeting of the Third International.

NOTE ON CHAPTER X

SOCIALISM IN AUSTRIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NOTE ON CHAPTER X

Socialism in Austria and Czechoslovakia

AUSTRIA

Recent elections in Austria have shown a weakening of the influence of Socialism over the masses and an increase in the strength of the Catholic or so-called Christian Party.

The Communist Party has not made progress, and Lenin's program has, here as elsewhere, disrupted the Socialists.

The Austrian Social Democratic Party is to have a convention in December at which it is to decide whether it will affiliate with the Third International or will join those groups that no longer wish to belong to the Second International and aim to form a Fourth International at the meeting scheduled to take place at Berne on December 5th.

There have been two messages sent from Lenin to the Austrian Socialists and labor unions relating to the affiliation of the Austrian Socialists with the Third International. Fritz Adler, the leader of the Austrian Socialists, induced the party to withhold sending delegates to the Second International at Geneva, but the party never officially withdrew from the Second International. A group called the "Labor Unions of the Revolutionary Social Democrats" formed within the Austrian party, sent a telegram to the Moscow Congress in the name of the new Left Wing of the Social Democratic Party, stating its acceptance of the principles of dictatorship of the Workmen's Councils.

The Executive Committee of the Moscow International answered this telegram as follows:

> "The Congress of the Third International receives your fraternal greetings with satisfaction. Parties in every country affiliated with the Third International have decided at this Congress to realize the Soviet idea in all countries by the most rigorous discipline. In German Austria the fight will be made by the Communist Party. If you sincerely desire final victory for the world revolution, you have a distinct duty to perform in German Austria. You must wage a war of destruction against that portion of the Austrian Social Democratic Party represented by the reformist leaders and social traitors, Renner, Bauer, Fritz

> Adler, Hubner, Tomschik and Domes, these being the most widely known. There must be an unconditional rupture with reformist social democrats and a fusion with the Communist Party of German Austria and a battle under the Workmen's Councils for the realization of the Communist program. The speedy victory of the world revolution will not be obtained by verbal affirmations, but by brutal revolutionary actions."

The official organ of the Austrian Social Democratic Party, "Wiener Arbeiter Zeitung," declares that the conditions for affiliation laid down by the Moscow Congress are unacceptable and would lead to the defeat of Socialism in Central and Western Europe. It recognizes that accepting dictation from Moscow would mean the complete renunciation of independence and autonomy. It states that Moscow has demonstrated that it does not desire the union of the great revolutionary proletariat party in an internationale of action, but that it aims at the establishment in world power of the present Russian parties, which would support in different countries assaulting troops or storming parties directed from Moscow.

It especially condemns the declared intention of the Moscow International to break up the trade unions which are the spinal column of the labor movement.

The second communication from Russia consists in a letter from Lenin written on August 15th and addressed to the Austrian Communist Party, which is extremely interesting as elaborating his present theory of urging the Communists in all countries to take part in parliamentary elections in order to obtain control of their country's institutions for purposes of destruction.

The letter reads:

> "The Austrian Communist Party has decided to boycott the elections to the bourgeoisie democratic parliament. The second Congress of the Communist International which has ended, recognized as proper tactics the participation by the Communists in the elections to the bourgeoisie parliaments and in these parliaments themselves.
>
> "On the basis of information received from delegates of the Austrian Communist Party, I do not doubt that the latter will regard the decision of the Communist Inter-

national as outweighing the decision of one of its parties. The lackey-like services of Mr. Renner, the Austrian Socialist Premier, have been sufficiently revealed and the indignation of the workingmen of all countries against the heroes of the second or yellow international is growing and spreading further and further.

"The Austrian Social Democrats in the bourgeoisie parliament, as well as upon all other fields of activity, even to their press, conduct themselves like petite bourgeoisie democrats only capable of swaying back and forth aimlessly in their actual and complete dependence upon the capitalist class. We Communists must plan to enter Parliament in order to bare this humbug from the tribune of the completely rotten capitalist system under which the workers and working masses are deceived.

"So long as we Communists still lack the power to seize control of the state and are unable to put through elections by the workers alone, opposing their councils to the bourgeoisie; so long as the bourgeoisie still controls the powers of the state and interests the most varied classes of the population in the elections, we are obligated to take part in the elections and to agitate among all the workers, not merely among the proletarians. So long as the workers are deceived in their bourgeois parliaments with phrases about 'democracy' and financial peculation, and all sorts of bribery are concealed — nowhere else is the fine art of bribing writers, deputies, lawyers, et al, so widely practiced by the bourgeois as in the bourgeois parliaments — just so long are we Communists in duty bound, right in this institution, which is said to express the will of the people, but which in fact conceals the tricks of the rich, to expose those deceptions absolutely, as well as every single case where Renner & Company go over to the side of the capitalists against the workers."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A ministerial crisis occurred in September which led on the 15th to the resignation of the Tusar Cabinet. This was due to the clash of opinion among the Czech Social Democrats over the question of affiliating with the Third International. The united support of all 74 Social Democrat deputies in the parliament was absolutely necessary for the maintenance of any political

cabinet. Tusar himself belonged to the moderate element of the Social Democrat Party. His resignation was the first case in which a regular European Cabinet has come to grief through a frankly Bolshevist revolt on the part of some of its followers. On this occasion several Czechs politicians actually advocated the official endorsement by the Czechoslovak state of the creed of Lenin and of membership in the Third International. The only solution possible was the one that Masaryk decided upon — that is, the appointment of a Ministry of non-political experts in the various branches of government to which they are assigned. On this occasion President Masaryk himself made a declaration of official Marxian Socialism. He says:

> "I believe that Marx and those Socialists whose political experience and education enabled them to see thing from world-wide standpoint that there are doubtless a few advanced peoples who know how to put through very far-reaching changes in the social order in a peaceful way. I believe that our nation with its republic and its democracy is one of those politically ripe and conscious peoples."

In so far as the split in the Social Democratic Party itself is concerned, its Executive Committee declared itself against accepting Lenin's 21 conditions and refused to attend the Third International. The vote in the committee was 38 to 18. It gave as its reason that:

> "The principles of Social Democracy and those of Communism, directed from Moscow, are in so sharp contrast that attempts to reconcile them within the frame of one party must prove futile."

The Left Wing of the party then seceded, taking possession of the office, and management of the party organ, Pravo Lidu, and demanded that the organization declare its acceptance of the program of the Third International. The Right Wing of the Party is led by ex-Premier Tusar, Dr. Francis Soukup, Rudolph Bechnic, and other prominent deputies. They apparently feared that the Left Wing would be supported by the majority of the rank and file, so they put off the party convention from September until December 25th, so that the rank and file may be shown that when the party voted to adhere to the Third International it was unaware of the drastic nature of the 21 conditions afterwards prescribed by Lenin.

The Left Wing of the party is fighting for control of the entire party instead of seceding and joining the already existing Communist Party.

The events leading up to the crisis described above began with the freeing on May 30th of Alois Muna, the Communist leader, who had been imprisoned on the accusation of returning from Russia and Hungary for the purpose of starting a violent revolution in Czechoslovakia.

In June, Dr. Newman, one of the extreme Communists, had organized a separate Communist Party. Later still, a Left Wing began within the Social Democratic Party and part of the local party units, and instructed their delegates to the national convention, which was to meet in September, to vote for the unconditional affiliation with the Communist International. This is what led to the split and the resignation of the Tusar Cabinet.

Czechoslovakia is overrun with Bolshevist emissaries and representatives. The Red Cross is used, as it was in Hungary before the Bela Kun revolution, as an excuse for the presence of Soviet representatives. The most prominent of the Red Cross Soviet members are Hellerson, Kousmin and Yakobson, while the commercial representative of Soviet Russia is Toutchek. These and other Soviet representatives have been so far encouraged by the tendency towards Bolshevism among the Socialists of Czechoslovakia that they demanded of the Czech government that they should expel all Russians opposed to the Soviet government. As a concession to Communist sentiment, which has both its dangerous side and its use as a safety valve, is the policy of the government to nationalize all the public utilities of the republic. In connection with the struggle and split between the right wing and the left section, already described, a conference of the right wing was held and a proclamation was issued calling for a struggle against the anarchist and communist tendencies of the left group of the party. The left group answered by articles of a strictly Bolshevist character issued in the party organs "Liberty" and "Social Democrat." After the conflict between the two sections of the party took place at the conference at Smihov, a second conference took place at Kladno, at which an attempt was made to prevent an absolute split in the party. It is interesting to note that this split was actually opposed by Lenin's representative, Lucas Toutchek, who, in the name of

Lenin himself, asked that there should be no breach between the different sections in the interest of Communism as a whole.

There was then formed a commission of reconciliation in which the left was represented by Muna who was the previous most prominent revolutionary leader, and Zapotozko, while the right section was represented by Behin, Swetzni, and Shalak.

In parliament the government is supported by the right section under the leadership of Tomashenko, who presides over the parliament. The left section is unalterably opposed to the government. As conditions have been developing during the last few weeks, it looks as if the tendency was increasingly towards Communism and anarchy, and that it is only a question of time when Bolshevism will triumph. This will be helped by the antagonisms between the different races in the country. The population consists of aobut six million Czechs, four million Germans, three million Slovaks, and half a million each of Magyars and Carpatho-Russians. Aside from purely Communist activities the greatest element of discord is the German population. In the German regions there are constant strikes and disorders, and in all these disruptive activities the Magyars support the Germans and the radicals, especially in Slovakia. Even under the guise of clericalism, agitators are carrying on their propaganda against the dominant Czech party. One of the sources of Bolshevist propaganda is to be found in the various Russian concentration camps which still contain many prisoners not yet returned to Russia.

In connection with this there is a strong Bolshevistic movement on the part of the new state, usually called Carpathian-Russia, or, as it is officially termed, Sub-Carpathia. The failure of the government to agree to certain Separatist claims of the Russo-Carpathians has led them to turn towards Bolshevism. Any Bolshevistic military success, whether in Poland or in the Ukraine, is being hailed by these people, as heralding a reunion to Russia, and this nationalist feeling assists the Communist Bolshevistic propaganda.

We will quote from the "New Russia" of August 12, 1920, the observations of a Russian written in Prague, August 1, 1920. He says:

> "The situation in Czechoslovakia gives little cause for optimism. The Bolshevist tendencies among the masses are

growing not daily, but hourly, not only in extent but also in intensity. When one listens to conversations in the queues in the trams; when one observes the meaning in which all speeches at meetings and political debates are interpreted by the audience, one cannot but become a prey to the same forebodings which tormented us all in August and September, 1917, in Russia.

Strikes are becoming frequent, and the political element is by no means relegated to a secondary plan by 'hunger economics,' the *leitmotiv* of the entire strike policy being 'all power to the proletariat.' The Czech bourgeoisie is thoughtless and ignorant, while the local German bourgeoisie are not only flirting with Bolshevism but are almost openly patronizing it. The government realizes the danger but being composed of and overrun by Socialists is following the path of Kerensky. Czechoslovakia is on the eve of an outbreak. Will the clouds disperse or will the storm break out in thunder and bloody downpour? . . .

"Casual visitors to Czechoslovakia will probably tell you that the peril is exaggerated. They base their arguments on their talks with representatives of the higher intelligentsia; but that which is surging within the dregs beneath remains hidden from their eyes. They may refer you to the 'Sokol rally' which is supposed to have proved the predominance in Czechoslovakia of national sentiments above all others. This would be an enormous mistake. At present, perhaps, no feeling in Europe generally and in Czechoslovakia in particular, is so acute as the fierce hatred of the lower strata towards the upper. And this feeling exists perfectly well side by side with nationalism and all the other tendencies which, in the opinion of certain observers, form an antidote to Bolshevism."

NOTE ON CHAPTER XI

SOCIALISM AND LABOR IN THE BALKANS

NOTE ON CHAPTER XI

Socialism and Labor in the Balkans

During the last few months there has been an extraordinary development of Communism throughout Jugoslavia, a condition which the enormous percentage of peasantry among the population would seem to have rendered improbable. In Serbia itself, as well as in Bosnia and Herzogovina, the peasants form 87 per cent of the population. In Croatia and Slavonia, the peasants form 78.8 per cent of the population, and industrial element is as high as 13.4 per cent, as compared with 8.4 in Serbia.

The Communist movement seems to have begun, as would seem natural, in Croatia. The movement is entirely distinct from any republican tendency opposed to the royalist constitution. The Communist movement went so far that a group of Jugoslavs and Hungarians attempted an armed insurrection at Subotitsa, which resulted in the overthrow of local authority and a proclamation of a Soviet Republic. The Communist movement is absolutely subject to the Russian movement, and Lenin is the patron saint of it. The local Communists appear to be well supplied with funds. They have started daily papers and even a Communist journal for children. There are Communist book shops full of propaganda. Public meetings have been held frequently in Belgrade by the Communists.

In June, 1920, the Communist Jugoslav Party held its second Congress at Bukovar. The program which was then issued stated that the immediate object of the Communist Party was the introduction of Soviet rule immediately into Jugoslavia because it "insures the dominance of the industrial proletariat which has become the ruling class owing to its better organization and greater political development." The resolution declares that the "Soviet Republic of Jugoslavia must enter into a fraternal alliance with all nations for the purpose of establishing a Soviet federation of the Balkan and adjoining states as a component part of the International Federation of Soviet Republics which will insure eternal peace to all nations." The resolution embodies a complete Communist program. For the greater part it corresponds exactly to Russian teachings. The only class of property holders that will not be expropriated and socialized is that of the small land owners who are to be converted to the process of socialization by experi-

ment and example. "Jugo-Slav Communists will exert every influence to bring about the recognition of the Russian Soviet government and will support its international propaganda in every way."

It is an interesting fact that where in local elections the Communists were successful this happened mainly in places where they were supported by the German element in the population which voices in this way its opposition to the government. It is reckoned by some Serbian politicians that in the elections to the Constituent Assembly, the Communists will not have more than 10 per cent of the voters on their side. But the Communists have made it perfectly clear that they are not going to wait for electoral successes. The great majority of the peasantry are opposed to Bolshevism.

On the other hand, the recent spread of Communism has been shown very clearly in the municipal elections over the whole country in August. These elections foreshadow the possible victory of the Communists in the coming elections to the new chamber. The Communist victory has been absolute in the larger towns and cities, and naturally less so in the country districts where the industrial workers are not numerous because peasants are not as thoroughly propagandized.

The capital, Belgrade, has a Communist mayor in Philipovitch, who is secretary of the Communist Party. The new municipal council at Belgrade is composed of 41 Communists, 8 radicals, 6 democrats and 1 republican. The other municipal governments where the Communists obtained the majority were Nich, Monastir, Uskob, Leskovatz, Chabatz, Pirot, Veles, Prilip, Valejo, Koumanova, Outjitz, Oub, Sechnitza and Kragonievetz.

In a number of other departments in the country districts the Communists obtained a majority and in many cases lacked but a few members of a majority.

The program of the Communist party was a program without compromise, an extremist program which accepted the twenty-one principles of the Moscow Third International. The Communists aimed openly to enter Parliamentary and municipal institutions in order to destroy them. The parties that were opposed to Communism showed complete incapacity to organize and to form an alliance. The prospect of the establishment of a Soviet Government in Jugoslavia seems imminent.

BULGARIA

The split in the Socialist Party of Bulgaria has resulted in a decided gain for the Communist or Left Wing element. The moderate Socialists who believed in political collaboration with the government were badly defeated in the general elections in March, polling only 55,000 votes, losing 30 deputies and electing only nine representatives.

The Communist Party obtained sixty seats in the Chamber, with 181,500 votes. Its leaders are Blagoieff and Dimitrow. The old moderate Socialist Party, when called upon to decide as to the acceptance of the 21 conditions for affiliation, voted 106 to 28 against acceptance. The minority, led by the party's secretary, Yenko Krestof, left the party and joined the Communists.

The combination expects to take in the trade unions as well as the political sections of the organization. Of course, the Bulgarian Communist Party had already accepted the 21 conditions and asked for affiliation, agreeing to stand squarely on the platform of the Third International (see N. Y. *Call,* August 14, 1920).

The recent revolutionary measure looking toward Communism in Bulgaria is the enactment of a law for labor conscription. It is different from the Soviet form of forced labor in this: that it does not demand continuous labor but only labor extending over a period of 16 months for men and 10 months for women. All men between 20 and 50 and women between 18 and 40 are obliged to work at assigned jobs unless physically or mentally incapacitated. The preamble to the law states its purpose:

> "1. To organize and utilize the social forces in order to increase production and general welfare.
>
> "2. To stimulate in all citizens, irrespective of their social and material condition, devotion to public needs and love for physical labor.
>
> "3. To lift the people morally and economically by cultivating among the citizens the sentiment of duty to themselves and to society and by teaching them rational methods of work in all the domains of national economy."

In connection with this daring experiment is the plan to expropriate all land not already being cultivated, in order to increase production. The fact that the government is run by the farmer party makes the entire scheme one based on practical instead or theoretical considerations.

The government has legislated praiseworthy measures to correct profiteering and to limit both wholesale and retail profits. These as well as other measures, and the labor law, have led into accusations of Bolshevism. But this is in contradiction to the law introduced by Premier Stambolisky for the severest form of repression against all local or foreign propagandists who aim at the overthrow of the existing and constitutional law and order.

This was, of course, bitterly opposed by the group of 50 Communist deputies among the 270 who formed the constituent Assembly or Sobranje.

ROUMANIA

Roumania has, in self-protection, joined the other Balkan States in an Agrarian Reform Act which has given about five million acres of state, institutional and private lands to the peasants. This land has been given to the peasants in outright ownership. The land given includes a large part of the royal holdings. As nearly 85 per cent of the population is engaged in agriculture, the new law has constituted a real defense against Bolshevik propaganda. It has been in operation for almost a year, so that it has been thoroughly well tried out. Present conditions have made it difficult to market surplus in the crops. This is the only reason why the fertile fields of Roumania have not yet shown the results of the new law in an increased production.

NOTE ON CHAPTER XII

LABOR AND SOCIALISM IN GREAT BRITAIN, INCLUDING CANADA

NOTE ON CHAPTER XII

Labor and Socialism in Great Britain, including Canada

The most momentous step taken by labor in England has been the establishment of the Council of Action. The occasion for putting this project into execution was the Polish crisis, when the question of England giving assistance to Poland against Soviet Russia was a burning one in Great Britain.

On August 9, 1920, there took place at the House of Commons in London a joint conference of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, the National Executive of the Labor Party, and the Parliamentary Labor Party at which the following resolution was carried [see "New Russia," Aug. 12]:

> "That this joint Conference, representing the Trades Union Congress, the Labor Party, and the Parliamentary Labor Party, feels certain that war is being engineered between the Allied Powers and Soviet Russia on the issue of Poland, and declares that such a war would be an intolerable crime against humanity. It therefore warns the Government that the whole industrial power of the organized workers will be used to defeat this war.
>
> "That the executive committees of affiliated organizations throughout the country be summoned to hold themselves ready to proceed immediately to London for a national conference, and that they be advised to instruct their members to 'down tools' on instructions from that national conference and that a Council of Action be immediately constituted to take such steps as may be necessary to carry the above decisions into effect."

The following fifteen men, five from each group, were afterwards appointed as the Council of Action:

> Representing the Parliamentary Labor Party: Messrs. W. Adamson, M. P., J. R. Clynes, M. P., J. O'Grady, M. P., John Robertson, M. P., and Colonel Wedgwood, M. P.
>
> Representing the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress: Messrs. Harry Gosling, A. A. Purcell, A. Swales, R. B. Walker, and Miss Margaret Bondfield.
>
> Representing the Executive Committee of the Labor Party: Messrs. A. G. Cameron, Frank Hodges, C. T. Cramp, Robert Williams and J. Bromley.

> The Council of Action will meet the Prime Minister to-day (August 10th) at 12.30 at 10 Downing Street.

On August 13th the conference of labor organizations adopted the following revolutionary attitude expressed in the main decision here quoted ["New Russia," Aug. 19]:

> "That this Conference of Trade Union and Labor representatives hails with satisfaction the Russian Government's declaration in favor of the complete independence of Poland as set forth in the peace terms to Poland, and realizing the gravity of the international situation pledges itself to resist any and every form of military and naval intervention against the Soviet Government of Russia. It accordingly instructs the Council of Action to remain in being until they have secured:
>
> (1) An absolute guarantee that the armed forces of Great Britain shall not be used in support of Poland, Baron Wrangel, or any other military or naval effort against the Soviet Government.
>
> (2) The withdrawal of all British naval forces operating directly or indirectly as a blockading influence against Russia.
>
> (3) The recognition of the Russian Soviet Government and the establishment of unrestricted trading and commercial relationships between Great Britain and Russia.
>
> This Conference further refuse to be associated with any alliance between Great Britain and France, or any other country, which commits us to any support of Wrangel, Poland, or the supply of munitions or other war material for any form of attack upon Soviet Russia.
>
> The Conference authorize the Council of Action to call for any and every form of withdrawal of labor which circumstances may require to give effect to the foregoing policy, and calls upon every Trade Union official, executive Committee, Local Council of Action, and the membership in general, to act swiftly, loyally and courageously, in order to sweep away secret bargaining and diplomacy and to assure that the foreign policy of Great Britain may be in accordance with the well-known desires of the people for an end to war and the interminable threats of war."

It it important to note that the conditions of peace offered to Poland at that time by Russia were anything but of the generous

character described by the Conference. On the contrary, the terms involved the practical subjection of Poland to Russia by the reduction of her army to 50,000, the arming of her proletariat and disarming of the bourgeoisie and by land grants to soldiers and the practical establishment of the Russian Soviet form of Government throughout Poland such as had been attempted in all the parts of Poland already occupied by the Soviet troops.

The revolutionary character of the policy of the Conference and the Council of Action was emphasized by statements made by the labor leaders at the conference itself. One of the most dramatic was made by a relatively conservative labor leader, J. H. Thomas:

> "Desperate as are our measures, dangerous as are our methods, we believe the situation is so desperate that only desperate and dangerous methods can provide a remedy. These resolutions do not mean a mere strike. Do not make any mistake. They mean a challenge to the whole constitution of the country.
>
> "It means a fight against the Constitution of our country but I do believe that we are a united Labor movement, and much as we regret the action, much as we deplore it, we are prepared to take the risk."

Another conservative leader, J. R. Clynes, said:

> "Every member of the Parliamentary Party was ready to commit himself to every word of these resolutions. There was no alternative. No Parliamentary and no political action could be effective. But with such an organization as they have got there could be no more war in Europe, and the reins of power could pass from the hands of those who wrongfully hold them into the hands of labor."

The more radical labor leader, Robert Williams, emphasized the unconstitutional nature of the demands of the conference. He said that the conference was individually more representative than the House of Commons. It might be called upon to go into permanent session. That might be unconstitutional, but it was better to make peace unconstitutionally than to go to war and to go to hell in the name of the British Constitution.

The leader of the miners, Mr. Smillie, proposed to use the power of the conference not merely in Great Britain but in France,

which emphasizes the meaning of the mission of the Council of Action to Paris somewhat later when its members were ordered out of France by the French Government. What Smillie proposed is expressed in these words:

> "If France and Wrangel cut off coal from Moscow and Petrograd will it be interfering too much with France if we leave her alone, if we cut off the supply of coal from France to this country? That would be the action that has been proposed."

The radical organ, the Daily Herald, on August 14th had the following headline:

> "Labor's National Conference yesterday made the dramatic decision to vest in the Council of Action full authority to call at its discretion an immediate national strike to enforce the demands of the Conference. . . .
>
> "After the main resolution was passed the delegates stood silent for a full minute and then broke into the strains of the 'Red Flag.'"

The Herald uses the expression "All power to the Council." Knowing as we do that the meaning of the word "Soviet" is simply "Council" it is equivalent to the slogan with which Bolshevism began in Russia: "All power to the Soviets."

A member of the Council of Action, Colonel Wedgwood, in an article in "Labor Leader" for September 23d, entitled "Labor, the Constitution and Foreign Policy" summarizes the reasons for the establishment of the Council of Action and its implications. He lays great emphasis upon the ignorance and incompetence of the men in charge of the British Foreign Policy, asserting that in foreign affairs parliament has now no voice and no ears and no control. He says:

> "That a Council of Action should have been formed to deal with the matter of foreign rather than of domestic policy is significant. A Council of Action is extra-constitutional, it is the creation of labor, and 'ill-educated parochial workingmen" are not supposed to know anything of foreign politics. The unobservant would have expected that if labor went outside of the constitution it would have been in connection with some question that directly affected bread and butter."

He gives two reasons why this was not so: The lack of power in Parliament in the matter of foreign affairs and the incompetence of the men in charge of foreign affairs.

He asserts:

"The labor movement to-day is an idealistic movement."

In "The Call Magazine" of November 14th, Professor H. W. L. Dana, the well known intellectual Bolshevik, under the heading "Free Revolutionary Trade Unions Congressses," gives a partisan account of three meeetings that took place in England during the summer, which are especially interesting as bearing on the radical movement in Great Britain.

The first was a special trades union Congress of July 13th at Westminster to consider the critical situation in Ireland. Frank Hodges, of the Miners Federation, brought forward a revolutionary resolution seconded by Robert Smillie demanding the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland and the cessation of the production of munitions of war to be used against Ireland or Russia. It demanded that in case the Government refused these demands the Congress should recommend a general strike. This resolution was carried by 2,760,000 votes, against 1,636,000. This threat of strike on an international issue was an especially dangerous step.

The second special trade union Congress took place August 13th in Westminster. It gave full power to the Council of Action which had been formed by the joint Conference, which has already been mentioned, on August 9th, and which consisted of 15 members in three groups of five each to represent the trades unions Congress, Labor Party and the Parliamentary Labor members. It was at this meeting that the even more radical resolution against intervention in Russia was passed and that the "Red Flag" was sung by the standing delegates.

The third meeting was the regular annual meeting of the Trades Union Congress at Portsmouth from September 6th to 11th. The election of a general council of 32 representing different groups of the Trades Union was an important step in coordination and unification of policy and direction. One radical decision was not to refer, as in the past, questions of political action to cabinet ministers through deputies, but to refer questions of political action to the labor party executive and questions of industrial action to the trades union concerned. In connection with the great development of education of the workers

under their own special direction, it is interesting to note that a resolution on education was passed, condemning all schools or classes controlled by employers as antagonistic to the interests of the working class. The development of special educational institutions for workmen in Great Britain has been continuous and always toward the left, culminating in the Bolshevik Communist College at Glasgow.

As a result of this 20th Annual Conference of the Labor Party at Scarborough in June, British labor has refused to join the Moscow International. This conference took place at Scarborough in June. The Hampstead Labor Party offered a motion to the effect that the British Labor Party should leave the Second International. This was voted down by 516,000 to 1,010,000. The British Socialist Party made an amendment to this motion to the effect that the Labor Party should join the Third Moscow International. This was defeated by an immense majority. Only 225,000 were in its favor and 2,940,000 were against it. The objections to joining the Third International were largely practical. Mr. Ramsay McDonald was the principal speaker against the Third International. Joining it was favored by Tom Shaw, recently returned from Russia. While opposed to accepting Lenin's dictation there seems to be no question that the Conference adhered to a policy that was substantially identical with that of Russian Communism.

As a consequence of the rejection of a Third Moscow International by the British Labor Party the extremists in Great Britain decided to form the Communist Party as the British Section of the Third International. The initiative was taken by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Editor of the "*Workers Dreadnaught,*" who has always been recognized by Lenin and the Third International as the foremost Communist leader in Great Britain.

The organization of this group is thus described in the *Workers Dreadnaught* for June 26th:

> "On Saturday, June 19, 1920, at the International Socialist Club, 28 East road, City Road, London, the Communist Party (British Section of the Third International) was formed.
>
> "The Conference at which the new party was formed consisted of delegates from the Aberdeen, Croydon, and Holt

Communist groups, the Stepney Communist League, the Gorton Socialist Society, the Labor Abstentionist Party, the Manchester Soviet, and the Women's Socialist Federation (Communist Party, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's own group) and its branches.

"Letters were read from various Communist Organizations in the provinces sympathizing with the objects of the gathering, but unable to send delegates."

The meeting made the following declaration:

"We, revolutionary and Communist delegates and individuals, pledge ourselves to the Third International, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet system, nonaffiliation to the Labor Party and to abstention from Parliamentary action; and decide not to take part in the August 1st unity conference or in the Unity negotiations concerned with it."

In consequence of a revolutionary article in a subsequent number of the *Workers' Dreadnought,* Sylvia Pankhurst was arrested and condemned to six months in prison.

Another group, led by McManus, also took steps to form a Communist Party. Neither group appears to have any special importance.

Before the meeting of Congress of the Third International and, therefore, before the issuing of its famous 21 conditions, Lenin wrote a letter to the Communists of Britain in which he favored the formation of a United British Communist Party. This letter is so interesting that we give the full text:

"Moscow, *July* 10, 1920.

"*To the Joint Provisional Committee for the Communist Party of Britain:*

"I have received the letter of the Joint Provisional Committee for the Communist Party of Britain dated June 20, and hasten to answer in reply to their request, that I entirely sympathize with the plan they have developed for the immediate organization of a single Communist Party in England. I consider that the tactics of Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst and of the Workers' Socialist Federation are mistaken because of their refusal to join in a unification of the

> British Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, and other organizations into one Communist Party. In particular I am personally in favor of participation in parliament and also in favor of adherence to the labor party under the condition of reserving complete freedom and independent communist action; and I shall defend these tactics at the Second Congress of the Third International on July 15th in Moscow. I consider as most desirable the immediate organization of one Communist Party on the basis of all these decisions of the Third International and also the bringing of that party into the closest touch with the Industrial Workers of the World and the shop stewards committee, in order to unite completely with them in the nearest future."

British Labor and Socialism has apparently decided to go on its own way, becoming more and more revolutionary but absolutely declining to be herded into the Russian Bolshevist "pen." This will be illustrated in the addenda to the following chapters (XIV–XVI), but will be also treated here in connection with the various reports published by the British delegates to the Congress of the Third International after their return from Russia. Aside from the official report of the British Labor Delegation, published in the N. Y. *Nation* of September 25, 1920, which was largely a review of conditions in Russia, seen through official glasses, there have been a number of individual reports. That of Mrs. Snowden's, embodied in a book. Her opinions are given succinctly in chapters XIV-XVI. Those of Mr. Bertrand Russell and Mr. Haden Guest will be given here, as well as the later impressions of Mr. Wells.

One of the most damaging and detailed reports from the delegates to Russia is that of Mr. Haden Guest, joint secretary of the British Labor Delegation to Russia. He reports on the interview which the delegation had with Lenin who made the following extraordinary statement:

> "The Left Communists in England are making blunders because they are too much copying the first forms of the revolution in Russia. I am in favor of parliamentary action. We had 25 per cent of Communists in the Constituent Assembly and this was enough for victory. In your country 15 per cent might be enough for complete victory. . . . We are firmly for the Red terror against the

capitalist class. We are firmly convinced that the capitalist class will use every means of violence against the proletariat. It would be good to form a Communist Party in England. I hope Henderson comes into power with the Labor party. It will be a lesson to the workers."

In answer to a question about free press and free speech, Lenin said:

"Freedom for which class and for which use? We have freedom only against the capitalists and bourgeois.

"We have been at war against counter-revolution *A la guerre, comme à la guerre.* We are waging a ruthless war. . . . The bourgeois press is not free. It is venal, especially in the United States. When the former oppressors cease their opposition then we will get freedom. . . . We force peasants to give up their corn. We have given land to the peasants and workers are starving in the towns. We do not admit free trade in corn; the peasant is obliged to give corn in exchange for paper. If the peasant refuses we send armed workers to the village."

Lenin explained in passing that "the paper money costs us nothing, we only print it," and was very much amused at making the peasants accept this worthless paper by the use of force.

Dr. L. Haden Guest has published in the "London Times" a report on his Russian trip which was more independent and intensive than that of any other member of the British delegation. This was due mainly to the journey of about 1700 miles which he made as the guest of B. M. Sverdlov, the Soviet Commissar for transports and communications. He accompanied Sverdlov on his ship down the great river Volga and back by land. The discussion of labor control of governments was particularly interesting. It commenced by a conversation with two English shop stewards, who were discussing the general principles of workmen's control of industry. Sverdlov expressed the dominant, practical, Soviet government theory that workers' control is a danger. He demonstrated from Russian experience the fatal effect of confiding control and management to the workingmen. Sverdlov's plan was that of one man management. He believed in his own system of making one man individually and personally responsible for the success and the management of each

special railway. In every case the man in charge was a specialist. All democratic concessions Sverdlov simply swept to one side. He was in favor of the severest discipline both on the railways and in river transportation. He stated that if a railway worker gets drunk he is shot without mercy. Sverdlov's theory of one-man management has been officially adopted over the whole of Russia and "Workers' Control" has been modified out of existence, sweeping away the "democratic lumber" of the early stages of the revolution.

Haden Guest points out how the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Government is much less practically in touch with the people of Russia than is the case with the British Parliament, or in fact any parliamentary regime of Europe. As a result of his conversations with Sverdlov, Dr. Haden Guest says, after describing the absolute power residing in the Central Executive Committee:

> "It is thus quite clear that the whole power of the Russian Government is in the hands of the Cabinet — the Soviet of People's Commissars, who legislate without reference to any other body and whose decision is final, but Sverdlov also told me that 'from the Soviet of People's Commissars is formed a Soviet of Defense and Labor.' Formerly this was called 'Soviet of Defense' only, and corresponded in constitution to our own Council of Defense, but had practically absolute instead of limited powers. This Soviet of Defense and Labor consists of Lenin, Trotzky, Sverdlov, Rekoff, Staalin, and Tzurupa. It is these six men who hold the great territory of Russia in their hands. It is they who take the great decisions and dispose of the life of 125,000,000 people without appeal. . . An important point and one to which I attach significance is that many of these People's Commissars are men who have suffered punishment, imprisonment and exile to Siberia. It is a cabinet of tortured men. Some of them have obvious marks of illness caused by their sufferings in past years. One, at least, carries on his work propped up with a straitjacket to counteract his tuberculous disease of the spine resulting from his sufferings in Siberia. Physically and mentally they are not normal. They are men of great, sometimes devastating energy, but they are fanatics and they are tortured souls."

Dr. Guest brings back the impression from his interview with Lenin that Lenin is a "Central Asiatic Mohammed," sending out the cry of his new materialist religion from his high tower in the Kremlin in Moscow. . . . the new conception already hopelessly old in the Western world . . . the crudest kind of materialist fatalism. . . .

It was in this interview with Lenin that Lenin made his plea for taking part in parliamentary action and suggested that 15 per cent of Communists in the British Parliament might be enough to secure complete victory.

The well known English radical philosopher, Bertrand Russell, visited Russia with the British Labor Mission. He went to Russia a Bolshevist. He came out of it absolutely opposed to Bolshevism. His defection has caused an international sensation. The articles in which he expressed his changed opinions, appear in the New York *Nation* of July 31st and August 7, 1920, under the title "Soviet Russia." He was admitted on the condition that he should travel with the British Labor Delegation. He describes how they were conveyed everywhere in a special train de luxe, were received everywhere by regiments of soldiers with the "Internationale" played by the regimental band; were treated to congratulatory orations by local leaders; the entrances to the carriages guarded by magnificent cavalrymen; feted with banquets, public meetings, military reviews. In the atmosphere of this royal progress it was impossible for them to study Russian conditions and Russian methods of government. The only time when he was able to do this and get into free contact with any part of the population was on the occasion of the trip with Sverdlov, acting Minister of Transports. The result of a long trip on the Volga by boat and return by train is described in connection with the visit of that other important Englishman, Haden Guest. The first thing that Bertrand Russell noted was the obvious difference between theories of actual Bolsheviki and the versions of those theories current among advanced Socialists in England. He says:

> "Friends of Russia here think of the dictatorship of the proletariat as merely a new form of representative government, in which only workingmen and women have votes and the constituencies are partly occupational, not geographical. They think that 'proletariat' means 'proletariat,' but 'dictatorship' does not quite mean 'dictatorship.' This is

the opposite of the truth. When a Russian Communist speaks of dictatorship he means the word literally, but when he speaks of the word 'proletariat' he uses the word in a Pickwickian sense. He means the 'class conscious' part of the proletariat, i. e., the Communist Party. He includes people by no means proletarian (such as Lenin and Chicherin), who have the right opinions, and he excludes such wage-earners as have not the right opinions, whom he classifies as lackeys of the bourgeoisie. The Communist who sincerely believes the party creed is convinced that private property is the root of all evil. He is so certain of this that he shrinks from no measures, however harsh, which seem necessary for constructing and preserving the Communist state. . . Opposition is crushed without mercy and without shrinking from the methods of the Czarist police, many of whom are still employed at their old work. . . . These views are the familiar consequences of fanatical belief. To an English mind they reinforce the conviction upon which English life has been based ever since 1668, that kindliness and tolerance are worth all the creeds in the world. . . Bolshevism is internally aristocratic and externally militant. The Communists have all the good and bad traits of an aristocracy which is young and vital. . . They are practically the sole possessors of power. . . In a thousand ways the Communists have a life which is better than that of the rest of the community. The Communist theory of international affairs is exceedingly simple. . . . In countries where the revolution has not yet broken out the sole duty of the Communist is to hasten its advent. Agreements with capitalist states can only be makeshifts and can never amount on either side to a sincere peace. No real good can come to any country without a bloody revolution. English labor men may fancy that a peaceful evolution is possible, but they will find they are mistaken. Lenine tells me that he hopes to see a labor movement in England and wishes his supporters to work for it, but solely in order that the futility of parliamentarism may be completely demonstrated. To the British workmen nothing will do any real good except the arming of the proletariat and disarming of the bourgeoisie. Those who preach anything else are social traitors or deluded fools. For my part, after weighing this theory carefully and after

admitting the whole of its indictment of bourgeois capitalism, I find myself definitely and strongly opposed to it. The Third Internationale is an organization which exists to promote class war and to hasten the advent of revolution everywhere. My objection is not that capitalism is less bad than the Bolsheviki believe, but that socialism is less good, at any rate, in the form which can be brought about by war. The evils of war, especially of civil war, are certain and very great; the gains to be achieved by victory are problematical. In the course of a desperate struggle the heritage of civilization is likely to be lost, while hatred, suspicion and cruelty become normal in the relations of human beings. In order to succeed in war a concentration of power is necessary, and from concentration of power the very same evils flow as from the capitalist concentration of wealth. For this reason chiefly I cannot support any movement which aims at world revolution. The injury to civilization done by revolution in one country may be repaired by the influence of another in which there has been no revolution; but in a universal cataclysm civilization might go under for a thousand years. . . . If the Bolsheviki remain in power it may be assumed that their Communism will fade and that they will increasingly resemble any other Asiatic government — for example, our own government in India. Before I went to Russia I imagined that I was going to see an interesting experiment in a new form of representative government. Every one who is interested in Bolshevism knows the series of elections, from the village meeting to the All-Russian Soviet, by which the People's Commissaries are supposed to derive their power. We are told that, by the recall, the occupational constituencies, and so on, a new and far more perfect machinery had been devised for ascertaining and registering the popular will. One of the things we hoped to study was the question whether the Soviet system is really superior to parliamentarism in this respect. We were not able to make any such study because the Soviet system is moribund. No conceivable system of free election would give majorities to the Communists, in either town or country. Various methods are therefore adopted for giving the victory to government candidates. In the first place, the voting is by show of hands, so that all who vote against the government are marked

men. In the second place, no candidate who is not a Communist can have any printing done, the printing works being all in the hands of the state. In the third place he cannot address any meetings, because the halls all belong to the State."

Bertrand Russell describes the various elected bodies, how they are made subject to the domination of the central authorities; how impossible it is for a non-Communist representative, even if by chance he is elected in a village, to obtain a railroad pass and be allowed to travel to the provincial meeting.

In his interview with Lenin he found, as in the case of almost all leading Communists, much less eagerness than existed outside of Russia for peace, and the raising of the blockade. He believed that nothing of real value could be achieved except through world revolution and the abolition of capitalism and regarded the resumption of trade with capitalists as a mere palliative of doubtful value. This is of particular interest on account of the propaganda in this country in favor of opening up trade relations in the plea that we are starving the Russians. Mr. Bertrand Russell's testimony in this particular is merely one of the many, some of the visiting Socialists even going so far as to say that the Soviet government would prefer not to have the blockade raised.

Commenting upon the evident fact that Lenin had no love of liberty whatsoever, he says:

> "I went to Russia believing myself a Communist; but contact with those who have no doubts has intensified a thousand fold my own doubts not only of Communism but of every creed so firmly held that for its sake men are willing to inflict widespread misery."

Mr. Russell stresses the opinion that Russian methods should not be adopted by the Socialists of advanced countries as they would be unnecessarily retrograde and because we have a heritage of civilization and mutual tolerance which is important to ourselves and to the world. It should be noticed that these conclusions are practically the same as those reached by Mr. Wells in his later visit to Russia. Mr. Wells is even more extreme in his conclusion that civilization is not only imperilled in Russia but that it is already practically dead on account of the extermination of the intellectual and artistic elements in Russian life and the death of protective city life, of real art and literature and

scientific work and the opportunity for study, leisure, and a healthy standard of living.

The points of view and the judgments that have been quoted at length in this supplement are considered to be of importance because they are conclusions of men who, of all classes outside of Russia, would be most thoroughly in sympathy with the Russian experiment. The excuses that are made by a number of these investigators to explain the present situation in Russia are that the situation is mostly due to the Great War and to the blockade rather than to defect of internal policy and administration.

Mr. H. G. Wells, so well known as a sympathizer with Socialism, visited Russia in October. He felt that the breakdown in Russia was no longer concealed because it was impossible to conceal it. He says:

> "Our dominant impression of things Russian is an impression of a vast irreparable breakdown. . . . Not in all history has there been so great a debacle. The fact of the revolution is to our minds altogether outweighed by the fact of its downfall. By its own inherent rottenness and by the thrusts and strains of aggressive imperialism the Russian part of the old civilized world that existed before 1914 fell and is now gone. The peasant who was the base of the old pyramid remains upon the land living very much as he has always lived. Every one else is broken down or is breaking down. . . . Nowhere in all Russia is the effect of that crash so completely evident as it is in St. Petersburg. . . . It is wonderful, I think, that in this city in which most of the shrinking population is already starving and hardly anyone possesses a second suit of clothes or more than a single change of worn and patched linen that things can be and are still bought and sold. . . . I don't know if the words 'all shops have ceased' convey any picture to the western reader of what a street looks like in Russia. . . . This cessation of shops makes walking about the streets seem a silly sort of thing to do. . . . Electric street cars are still running, and buses until six o'clock. . . . The roads along which these tramcars run are in frightful condition. They have not been repaired for three or four years. They are full of holes, like shell holes, often two or three feet deep. The frost has eaten out great cavities. The drains have collapsed and the people have torn up the

> wood pavement for fires. Only once did we see any attempt to repair streets in St. Petersburg. . . . Every wooden house was demolished for firing last winter. . . The peasants look well fed and I doubt if they are very much worse off than they were in 1914. Probably they are better off. They have more land than they had and they have got rid of all their landlords. They will not help in any attempt to overthrow the Soviet government, because they are convinced that while it endures this state of things will continue. . . . But every class above the peasant, including the official class, is now in a state of extreme privation. . . . Nowhere are there any new things. . . . Such things as collars, ties, shoelaces, shoes, and blankets, all haberdashery, crockery and the like, are unobtainable. Drugs and any medicines are equally unobtainable."

After describing the collapse of Petrograd, Mr. Wells describes a visit to Gorky and gives some details of Gorky's forlorn attempt to save what he can of the remnants of Russian art, science and literature. He describes the theatre as the only part of Russian artistic traditions that is still kept alive.

> " For the rest of the arts, for literature generally and for scientific work, the catastrophe of 1917–1918 was overwhelming. There remains no one to buy pictures or books and the scientific worker found himself with a salary of rubles that dwindled rapidly to less than one five-hundredth part of their original value. The new crude social organization fighting robbery, murder, and the wildest disorder, had no place for them. It had forgotten them. For scientific men at first the Soviet government had as little regard as the first French Revolution, which had ' no need for chemists.' "

He describes that asylum for the Russian intelligentsia established under Gorky's direction in the so-called House of Science where he met the careworn sad figures of the few great survivors of the Russian scientific world:

> " The mortality among the intellectually distinguished men of Russia has been terribly high. Much, no doubt, has been due to the general hardship of life but in many cases I believe that the sheer mortification of great gifts become futile, have been the determining cause. They could no more

live in the Russia of 1919 than they could have lived in a Kaffir Kraal. Science, art and literature are hothouse plants demanding warmth and rest and service. It is a paradox of science that it alters the whole world and is produced by the genius of men who need protection and help more than any other class of workers. The collapse of the Russian imperial system has smashed up all shelters in which such things could exist. The crude Marxian philosophy which divides all men into bourgeoisie and proletariat, which sees all social life as a simple class war, has no knowledge of the conditions necessary for creative mental life, but it is to the credit of the Bolshevist government that it has now risen to the danger of universal intellectual destruction in Russia. . . . In regard to the internal life of the community, one discovers that Marx's Communism is without plan, without idea. Marx's Communism has always been a theory of revolution, a theory not merely lacking in creative and constructive ideas, but hostile to creative and constructive ideas. Every Communist orator has been trained to condemn Utopianism, that is to say, has been trained to condemn intelligent planning."

Mr. Wells describes seeing warehouses in which room after room was piled with beautiful works of art and luxury belonging to the former Russian social system, including thousands of pieces that would be priceless in our museums, passages packed with inlaid cabinets piled to the ceiling; rooms full of cases of old paintings and piles of magnificent furniture. This accumulation has been counted and catalogued and there it is. Nobody has any idea what to do with this lovely and elegant litter. It does not seem to belong in any way to the new world. As a result of his visit Mr. Wells feels that the civilization of Russia as represented by its cities, is absolutely dead and cannot be revived.

CANADIAN CONDITIONS

The fall fruits of agitation in Canada by I. W. W. and other agents, including Russians, appeared in the famous Winnipeg strike which lasted for six weeks, from May 15 to the end of June, 1919, and assumed from the start a revolutionary and political aspect, and caused the Canadian Government considerable anxiety.

The trouble started with the Metal Workers (Metal Trades Council) who demanded higher wages, shorter hours, more union privileges, including collective bargaining. They declined arbitration. The strike became general in this city of 250,000 inhabitants. All public utilities went on strike, including telegraph and telephone operators. The strikers closed all shops; abolished all newspapers except the *Labor News;* stopped traffic and street cars; took over the food supplies; usurped all authority, declining to acknowledge any municipal, provincial or federal authorities. It was an attempt to establish a "Soviet" Government. The city was practically isolated.

The epidemic of strikes and unrest spread to British Columbia, to Lethbridge, Edmonton and Calgary in Alberta, and even to Toronto and Montreal.

The evidence collected by the Government led to the arrest of eleven leaders and the seizing of tons of revolutionary propaganda in German, Ruthenian and English. Those arrested included four Russians and a "Red" from Chicago (R. N. Russell).

This action combined with the opposition of a Citizen's Committee of 1,000 and of the returned soldiers caused the final failure of the strike.

NOTE ON CHAPTERS XIV AND XVI

RUSSIA AND THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

NOTE ON CHAPTERS XIV AND XVI

Russia and the Third International With Memorandum on Georgia

Since the filing of the main body of this report events have happened that have radically changed the situation of International Socialism and Communism. This has been due to the meeting of the Third Communist International at Petrograd and Moscow in July and August, 1920, for its second great congress. At its first Congress, in 1919, circumstances made adequate international representation impossible. We were able to publish an absolutely unique report of the speeches made at that first congress, by men representing different countries outside of Russia, but the unimportant character of these international representatives was self-evident.

The contrary was the case at this second congress. While the delegates sent from different countries had often serious difficulties to contend with in reaching Russia, the men delegated were, in most cases, representative leaders of Socialism in their own land.

There were several classes of persons present. There were not merely delegates who were entitled to a vote, but, numerous delegations who were there either with consultative powers or merely as sympathetic on-lookers. Of the members entitled to a vote: Russia had 63 delegates; Great Britain 6; Germany 5; France 5; Sweden 2; Austria 4; Spain 1; Hungary 2; Bulgaria 3; Jugoslavia 1; Italy 3; Mexico 2; Switzerland 3; Turkey 3.

The following Communist delegates were also sent from the following countries: Poland 1; Eastern Galicia 2; Lithuania and White Russia 2; Georgia 5; Latvia 3; Persia 1; Korea 1; Finland 5; Holland 2; Armenia 2; Belgium 1; Azerbaijan 1.

There were five representatives of America: 3 sent by the Communist Labor party and 2 by the Communist Party of the United States. Socialist or Social Democratic delegates were also present: 2 from Dutch India; 8 from Norway; 2 from Denmark; 2 from Esthonia; and 2 from Czechoslovakia.

It is to be noted that the 63 Russian delegates could on any occasion out-vote the combined delegates of every other country.

Some of the speeches made by the Russian Soviet leaders at the meetings of the congress between July 30th and August 6th

may be summarized as follows: July 30th, Zinoviev said that up to the present the Third International may be considered to have been a society for Communist propaganda on a universal scale; that now, however, it must become the fighting organization of the proletariat in order to lead it and to direct the revolutionary struggle. The Third International must become a fighting, leading center, with definite aims and tasks.

Karl Radek, referring to the situation of the Socialist and Communist parties in Germany, said that if the so-called Socialist Left and Independent parties follow in the steps of Hilferding, if they do not rid themselves of all their Hilferdings, their Kautskys and Haases, then at a critical moment we may always expect to be betrayed. Every party which joins the Communist International and the Communist International itself, must relentlessly destroy treason within themselves.

Trotzky analyzed the representation made by the Independent German Socialist party in regard to the use of terror and violence. Trotzky considered that it was impossible to entertain any other policy that should be unconnected with terror and with violence. No dictatorship of the proletariat is possible without terror and violence directed against the bitter enemies of the proletariat and the working masses. No matter what the position, the necessary struggle against them must be carried on and must be perhaps even more intense during revolutionary periods than at times when the revolutionary movement is on the wane.

On August 4th, Bukharin, the program maker, and mouth-piece of Lenin, said:

> "The revolutionary workmen completely denounce the participation of Parliament, and consider that the formation of a Communist party without any conciliatory elements, will serve as a guarantee for the revolutionary utilization of Parliament. Then only will the Socialist party become the real means of the destruction of Parliament."

On August 4th an important discussion took place on the subject of international trade unions. The theory was proclaimed that the bourgeoisie has its headquarters in the League of Nations. The Amsterdam International Federation of Trades Unions was denounced as simply a screen for the "yellow" leaders of the Trades Union movement, who have gone over to the side of the imperialists. Therefore on July 15th a center was created in Moscow for an international trades union movement, in opposition to the Amsterdam center. This will be described elsewhere.

Radek, taking part in this discussion, said that after the proletariat has gained the power, the trades unions must become one of the fundamental economic organizations of the proletarian dictatorship. He said that during the capitalist regime we cannot hope to systematize or organize our economic apparatus; the organization can be used only for waging war in order to obtain the control of industry and for workmen's administration. The Communists must take their places at the head of these organizations; they must direct them and take the initiative.

It is interesting to note that at this time a decree of the Soviet of Defence was published regarding the construction in the Moscow district of a radio station of continuous current, in order to insure direct and permanent communication with America. The district of the Shaturov station has been chosen for its location.

On August 6th, in discussing the necessity of illegal Communist organizations, Zinoviev considered it imperative that illegal Communist organizations for proletarian revolution should exist simultaneously with the legal organizations in all countries. The motion which he made to that effect was passed unanimously.

The rules governing the organization of the Communist International, passed on August 1st, were made extremely severe. They require the centralization of the party administration, who are to have absolute control of membership.

The general scheme and theory, that will dominate the collective work of the Communist Party through the Third International, the Trade Unions, the Cooperatives and the Labor Army was at the outset outlined by Lenin before the assembled Congress. An excellent summary is given by Leo Paslovsky in the *Saturday Evening Post* of November 20, under the title "Moscow's Bid for World Power."

The most important document issued was the "Resolution on the Role of the Communist Party in the Proletarian Revolution." It adopts a triple classification in the organization: (1) the Communist Party; (2) the Soviets; (3) the Productive Unions. The Soviets express merely the political activity of the Party and the Unions the economic activity of the entire population under the absolute control of the Party. The Party is a restricted and closed Corporation — a small class-conscious minority of oligarchic character. This character it must maintain even after the revolution's permanent success. This fact is frankly stated. It is also frankly stated that the Soviets must be directed and controlled by the Party, to prevent their becoming counter-revolutionary.

In our study of the Russian situation we abstained from any attempt to analyze the political or military situation and reviewed the internal situation of Russia only along the general lines of economic evolution and especially those elements which affect the international situation. Only in those fields that relate to the influence of Russia on the general situation do we enter into details. During the last four or five months there has been in Russia an increasingly active movement towards centralization. This centralization is both internal and external. It would appear as if the situation of Russia had become more and more stabilized in so far as the general program of the Communist Party is concerned. We wish to call attention to the very important and detailed program of the Communist Party issued by Bukharin, which is practically unknown in this country, and of which we print the complete text. It is the fullest early expression of the ideas at the basis of the activities and program of the Communist Party. It expresses what it is that the Communists of Russia are attempting to carry out. It is important because written as early as 1918 and should be compared with the similar document just issued by the Third International.

We also publish a document of great historic importance: the so-called Zimmerwald Manifesto. We have shown in this report how the meeting of revolutionary International Socialists at Zimmerwald in Switzerland in September, 1915, laid the basis for the Third International. It was the red bud that has since burst into full bloom. We have only recently obtained possession of the full text of the manifesto.

What the Russian Communist Party believes it has accomplished recently is interestingly set forth in their May-Day proclamation, from the text of which we print selections in order to give an idea of what they believe to be the situation of their ideas in the rest of the world, as well as in Russia. To show how inaccurate is the information distributed through Russia by the Communist propagandists, we print a synopsis of a review of the European situation as compared to the Russian, given by one of the Communist comrades on his return from a European tour.

The keynote of "no compromise" which is struck again and again by Lenin and the Third Internationale is illustrated in the disavowal of the Amsterdam Bureau established by the Soviet emissaries as the proposed center for their propaganda in Europe from a convenient base. We described in the previous part of this report the establishment of this Bureau and its plans. Appar-

ently it did not carry out with sufficient docility the Soviet program and it has been disavowed and dissolved, so that now the Soviet propaganda again emanates directly from Moscow. The internal development of centralization in Russia is best illustrated by the annexation to the government of two groups that had before been, at least in part, independent of government control: the Trades Unions and the Cooperatives. In the original Soviet plan the trades unions had been given a large part of the direction of industry. Little by little that control was taken away from them and finally, at the beginning of 1920, they were reduced to absolute dependence on and enslavement to the administration. It was the same with the Cooperatives, which had attained such tremendous development and which had been relied upon by the advocates of opening of trade relations with Russia, as agencies that could be dealt with independently of the Soviet Government. During the past five or six months they have been completely absorbed into the government machinery and the heads are really government bureaucrats. Any arguments in favor of trading with Russia based on independent dealings with the Cooperatives are used either in ignorance or wilful perversion of the facts.

We also print in this supplementary note to the chapter on Russia a number of important documents, including the addresses made at Congresses held in Moscow and Petrograd during the spring and summer of 1920. Very important steps were taken in these Congresses towards centralization. The subordination of the trade unions and the cooperatives to the Soviet Government and the Communist Party organization which was already decided upon in January was carried out in detail. Among the important Congresses that met to carry out the details and arrangements were the following:

> "The Ninth All-Russian Congress of the Russian Communist Party; the Third All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions; the Third All-Russian Congress of Metal Workers Unions; the First All-Russian Congress of Miners Unions."

The absolute subordination of these Congresses to the dictation of the Communist leaders is shown in the addresses that were made and the resolutions passed. The problems were presented by the leaders. The same men made the principal speeches at all the Congresses, headed always by Lenin. After him the most prominent of the speakers, judging by the reports, was

Bukarin, who also spoke at all the Congresses. Again and again the statement was made that the Communist Party is responsible for solving the economic problems now confronting the Soviet regime. Many of the decisions of policy adopted by the Communist Party at its Congress were re-adopted by the trade unions and other Congresses which followed. The official policy of the Communist Party was to support trade unions by making the membership in them obligatory and by placing them under absolute party leadership.

There was a frank discussion of the peasant problem and it was repeatedly stated that the peasants must submit to the leadership of the workmen class. Frank acknowledgment was made repeatedly that the economic situation was desperate and would take many years to become satisfactory. The solution was found in the efforts of 600,000 Communists leading the three million organized workers of the trade unions. The militarization of industry and the compulsory labor policies were considered successful and entirely desirable. The important statement was made that compulsory labor was not invented at a moment of crisis as the last resort, but that it had always been an essential part of the Socialist order as planned from the beginning. It was considered a great victory for Communism to have abolished "free labor," which was considered to be in the same class as private and free trade as bourgeois instruments of exploitation.

While the statement was made that the Soviet Government was not afraid of investigation, it is interesting to note that Soviet representatives abroad, such as Rapp in Berlin, were instructed not to give out any passports for Russians or non-Russians wishing to enter Russia, without obtaining from Moscow a permit in every specific case.

Emphasis was laid by the trades union congress on the necessity of getting into touch with Red trade unions all over countries through the Third International.

The most important result of the Second Congress of the Third International at Moscow was the effect that it had upon the countries outside of Russia. The delegates sent by the Socialist and Labor organizations of Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy were given the most enthusiastic and friendly reception in Russia. They saw Russia under the most favorable circumstances. They were personally conducted, entertained and informed, from official Soviet sources. They saw only what it was intended that they should see. Special festivals, processions and meetings were

held for their benefit. They were taken to visit factories and schools and academies where things were staged for the best effect.

There was considerable difference, however, in the amount of enthusiasm accorded to the different delegations. Especial enthusiasm was aroused by the Italian delegation, because the Italian Socialist party had always given its uncompromising adherence to the Soviet government and the Third International. The Italian delegation was urged officially to start its revolutionary action immediately in Italy, and to take over both political and economic power. The welcome to the other delegations was not so unqualified. It was recognized that the British delegates, for example, were by no means prepared for immediate revolutionary action, and represented a diversity of opinion.

It was most important that these different delegates should take back to their respective countries a unified program of action, and a recognition of Russian dictation. Lenin, with his usual fondness for program making and thesis writing, drew up a series of conditions, which he delivered to the French Socialist representatives. There were over twenty of these conditions. The French delegates demurred to the absolute dictatorship involved in these conditions. After long discussion Lenin reduced the number of conditions to nine. The French delegates — Cachin and Frossard,— brought back these conditions to France. Most of them were published in the Socialist organ *Humanité*, and aroused immediate opposition.

Further discussion of the conditions with other delegates lead to a re-formulating of them by Lenin, and to a final announcement of twenty-one absolute conditions that the Socialists of each country must accept as the price of their admission to the Third International. Beside the complete text under "Documents" the most important of these twenty-one conditions are here given, because of the tremendous influence they have had upon the attitude of all Socialists and Communists throughout the world. They are given as follows in *New Russia* for September 9, 1920:

> (1) All propaganda and agitation must bear a really Communist character and be in accordance with the program and decisions of the Third International. All press organs of the party must be conducted by reliable communists, who have proved their devotion to the cause of the proletariat. . . . The press and all party publishing establishments must be under complete control of the party committee. . . .

(2) Every organization which wishes to join the Communist International must regularly and methodically remove from all more or less important posts in the labor movement (party organizations, editorial staffs, trade unions, parliamentary parties, associations, communal administrations) members of the Reform and Center parties, and replace them by trustworthy Communists, without being troubled by the circumstances that, especially at first, simple workmen from the masses take the place of experienced opportunists.

(3) In almost all the countries of Europe and America the class war is entering the phase of civil war. Under such conditions Communists can have no confidence in bourgeoisie legality. They are bound to create everywhere a parallel illegal organization, which at the decisive moment will lead the party to fulfill its duty towards the revolution. . . .

(4) The duty of spreading Communist ideas embraces the special obligation to conduct a vigorous, systematic propaganda in the army. When the agitation is hindered by exceptional laws it is to be carried out by illegal means. . .

(7) Parties which wish to belong to the Communist International are pledged to recognize the complete breach with Reformism and the policy of the Center. . . . The Communist International demands expressly and finally that this breach be carried out as speedily as possible. The Communist International cannot tolerate that notorious opportunists, such as Turati, Kautsky, Hilferding, Longuet MacDonald, Modigliani, etc., should have the right to be regarded as members of the Third International. This could only lead to the Third International strongly resembling the defunct Second International.

(8) In the question of colonies and oppressed nations a particularly definite and clear standpoint is required of the parties in countries the bourgeoisie of which is in possession of colonies and is oppressing other nations. Every party which wishes to belong to the Third International is pledged . . . to support every liberation movement in the colonies, not only by words but by acts, to assist in the expulsion of its own Imperialists from these colonies . . . and to carry on among the troops of its country a systematic agitation against all oppression of the colonial peoples.

(9) Every party which wishes to belong to the Communist International must systematically and persistently develop

Communist activity in the trade unions, the Workmen's and Works Councils, the Co-operative Societies and other mass organizations of workers. It is necessary to establish within these organizations Communist "cells," which, by continuous and persistent work, may win over the trade unions, etc., to the cause of Communism. . . .

(10) Every party belonging to the Communist International is pledged to carry on a stubborn fight against the Amsterdam International or "yellow" trade unions. It must carry on a most vigorous propaganda among the workers who are organized in trade unions, to show the necessity of breaking with the "yellow" Amsterdam International. It must by all means available support the International Association of Red Trade Unions which is being created. . . .

(15) Parties which have hitherto retained their old Social Democratic programs are now pledged to alter these programs as speedily as possible, and work out a new Communist program in accordance with the particular conditions of their country. The program of every party belonging to the Communist International must as a rule be confirmed by the ordinary Congress of the Third International or the Executive Committee. . . .

(16) All decisions of the Congress of the Communist International, as also the decisions of its Executive Committee, are binding for all parties belonging to the Communist International. The Communist International, which is working under conditions of the most bitter civil war, must be organized on a far more centralized basis than was the case with the Second International. . . .

(17) All parties which wish to belong to the Communist International must alter their designation. Every party which wishes to belong to the Communist International must bear the name, "Communist Party of this or that country (section of the Communist International)." . . .

(18) All leading press organs of the parties of all countries are pledged to reprint all important official documents of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. . .

(20) Those parties which would now like to enter the Third International, but have not radically changed the tactics they have followed hitherto, must come, before their entry into the Third International, and say that not less than two-thirds of the members of their Central Committees

> and of the most important central institutions consist of comrades who before the Second Congress of the Communist International had publicly expressed themselves unequivocally in favor of the entrance of the party into the Third International. Exceptions may be made, if confirmed by the Executive of the Third International. . . .
>
> (21) Members of the party who reject on grounds of principle the conditions and instructions issued by the Communist International are to be expelled from the party. This applies in particular to the delegates to the special party meeting.

The publication of these 21 conditions aroused a storm of discussion and opposition in the ranks of the Socialist parties of all countries. Two outstanding conditions were the substitution of the term "Communist" for the term "Socialist" or "Social Democratic" in the titles of all the various national branches of the Socialist party. Of course this forcible substitution was in harmony with the original idea of Marx's Communist manifesto. The second outstanding condition was the acceptance of the absolute dictation of the Russian Soviet government and Third International organization by all countries and the adoption of a program dictated from Moscow.

Even before the publication of these 21 conditions their substance had been heralded by other documents of equally official importance. The British labor leaders, Turner and Shaw, had brought back from Russia, when they returned from the meeting of the Third International, a letter of Lenin addressed to the Socialist workmen of Great Britain. This letter was just as dictatorial and as narrow-minded. It is characterized by the well-known British labor leader Clynes, in the *Daily News* of June 14th, as follows:

> "To denounce as 'faithful servants of the capitalists' all men who reject the violent and even murderous methods which revolution and dictatorship involve, is dogmatism of the worst kind, and reveals the mind of the tyrant more than the Socialist. It betrays an outlook which in this country (i.e., England) can find little place, and which even in Russia is scarcely likely to help the suffering and distracted people of that poor country. If this document of Lenin and his conception of those who 'represent the interests of mil-

lions who are oppressed by British and other capitalists' are the measure of his outlook on world affairs, I would rather trust the well-being of the British workers to the most commonplace trade union effort than to the reckless upheaval which the document seeks to instigate."

In order to make the British attitude clear, we will quote sections of Lenin's letter, which is printed in "*New Russia*" for June 17, 1920, and is given in full at the end of this chapter:

"I was not surprised to find that the view-point of some of the members of your delegation does not coincide with that of the working class, but coincides with the viewpoint of the bourgeoisie, the class of exploiters. . . . For the purpose of getting access to the secret agreements of the British government it is necessary to overthrow it by revolutionary means, and to lay hold of all documents of its foreign policy, as was done by us in 1917. . . . Members of the delegation have asked me what I think to be of greater importance, whether the formation in England of a consistent revolutionary Communist party or immediate help of the working masses in England to the cause of peace with Russia? I replied that the answer to this question depends upon the convictions of those who give the answer. Genuine partisans of the liberation of the workers from the yoke of capital cannot possibly oppose the foundation of a Communist party, that alone is able to educate the working masses, not after the bourgeois and shop-keeper fashion, that alone is able actually to expose, deride and disgrace leaders who are capable of doubting whether England is helping Poland, etc. It need not be apprehended that there will be in England too many Communists, as even a small Communist party is not existent there.

". . . Some of the members of your delegation have asked me with surprise concerning Red terror, about the lack of the freedom of the press, about the lack of feedom of assembly, about our persecution of Mensheviks and Menshevik workers, etc. I replied that the real culprits of the Terror are the imperialists of England and her allies. . . . Our Red Terror is a defense of the working class against the institutions. . . . The freedom of press and assembly in a bourgeois democracy is tantamount to the freedom of the well-to-do to plot against the working people. It means free-

dom of bribing and buying up newspapers by the capitalist. I have so often explained this in the press that it was not very entertaining to me to repeat myself."

This letter of Lenin is dated Moscow, May 30, 1920.

The delegates from England to the Congress of the Third International include Mrs. Philip Snowden, whose report is the most intelligent and independent. We publish here extracts from it, and only refer here to the full text of the official report on Russia, issued by the British Labor party. The six delegates from the British Socialist party were Quelch, Tanner, MacLean, Murphy, Beach and Newbold. Mrs. Snowden, in an interview published in the *Evening Standard* for July 1 and 2, 1920, says, among other things:

"I was always accompanied by representatives of the government. I met people who hesitated to speak to me because they were afraid of being arrested afterwards.

"I should hesitate to say whether the government or the Extraordinary Commission rules Russia. I am inclined to think that even the rulers go in fear of what may happen to them at its hands.

"My outstanding impression of Lenin is that he is a prince of fanatics and a slave of dogma. What struck me also was that he seemed to be a far less able man than I — and probably many others — had believed. He is so badly informed about England that his views appear grotesque.

"At present a handful of men rule Russia under the camouflaged title of Workers and Peasants Government. There is no real freedom, and everybody suspects everybody else. In a word, liberty is suppressed.

"I am a Socialist, a democrat and a Christian. I oppose Bolshevism because it is not Socialism, it is not democratic, it is not Christianity."

She added that these Bolshevik leaders have abolished God and set up Karl Marx in his place.

As a result of the return of the various groups of Socialist and labor delegates from the Third International Congress, special meetings and congresses have been called in different countries to discuss the acceptance or the rejection of Lenin's 21 conditions, with all that these conditions involve, and also his call for immediate action.

The result has been a distinct split in Socialist ranks everywhere. A special Communist party of small dimensions was almost at once established in England, at the same time that the British Labor and Socialist groups rejected Lenin's leadership and conditions. The Independent Socialist party of Germany had a special meeting called at Halle, at which special speeches and pleas on behalf of adherence to the Third Communist International were made by the Russian Soviet leaders Zinoviev and Losovsky. The result of the Halle meeting was that the majority, swayed by the Russian influence, accepted Lenin's program by about a two-thirds majority vote. There has been a meeting of the minority, which heralds the permanent split of the party, the change of the name of the majority to that of the Communist party in Germany, and the probable affiliation of the minority with the old majority Socialist party.

We have already seen that the German Deputy Dittman, of the Independent Socialist party, who was the leading delegate to the Third International at Moscow, on his return to Germany made a terrible indictment of the Soviet government. One of the most damaging parts of his report was the description of the absolute failure of a large colony of German workmen, who had gone to Russia lured by the Soviet government's promises, and whose terrible disappointments and pitiable condition are given in detail. All these Germans are anxious to return to Germany, and this report will undoubtedly prevent any other Germans from going to the Russian paradise.

In that statement of Lenin which he gave to the French delegates, that has already been referred to and which was partially published in the *Humanité*, there occur some very remarkable statements. Lenin says frankly to Western labor, "You talk and talk about joining the Third International. Do you know what that means? It mean Red revolution, with blood and fire. It means martyrdom and persecution. It means the formation by you of a Communist party on Russian lines, which shall owe full allegiance to Moscow and accept my decrees as infallible. It means obedience and sacrifice. It means that the day of half measures is past, and that waverers must be expelled. He who is not with us is against us. Thus and thus only can our goal of world revolution be achieved."

The result of the publication in France of the nine conditions that Lenin delivered to Cachin and Frossard, even before the issuing of the final 21 conditions, created such opposition in

France that the meeting of the General Confederation of Labor decided against joining the Third International.

In the discussion which took place at the Orleans meeting of the Confederation, the vote was 1,478 to 602 against joining the Third International. The principal speech against Lenin's dictatorship was made by the famous extremely Radical leader, Merrheim, the same man who was the principal delegate from France to the Zimmerwald Conference of 1914. The Confederation of Labor has far more influence in France than the small Socialist organization. The effect upon the French groups seems to have been to strengthen the evolutionary syndicalists, as against the exponents of violent revolution.

In Italy, as was to be expected, the result was more favorable to Lenin. The Executive Committee of the official Socialist party voted, by 7 to 5, to accept Lenin's 21 conditions and Russia's dictatorship. Here again a serious split has taken place, and the majority of the Socialist Deputies to the Italian Parliament have sided with the minority of the party in opposing immediate use of violent methods in bringing about the revolution. Full treatment of this question is given elsewhere. As we go to press the news comes that the party has voted to accept Lenin's terms.

On July 15th, there met in Moscow a so-called Central Council of Trade Unions, organized for the purpose of inviting trade unions of other countries to join in an International Communist League of Trade Unions, under the direction of the Russian group.

At a plenary sitting of this Council, Shliapnykoff presented a report of his visit to Norway, Sweden, German and Denmark for the purpose of bringing about a co-ordination of trade union effort. Losovsky spoke of the early departure of a Russian trade union delegation for England for the same purpose. He also announced that an agreement had recently been reached in Moscow between representatives of the labor movement in different countries, for the organization of a provisional International Committee of Trades Unions for the purpose of arranging a meeting on January 1, 1921, of an International Conference of the trade unions of all countries, based upon the platform of revolutionary class rule.

The original program of Lenin for the world revolution has been modified in the direction of participation in the different national parliaments for the purpose of more easily subverting democratic parliamentary government. There are several interesting documents which relate to this program. The instructions issued by the Third Communist International to the I. W. W.,

the Communist and the Communist Labor Parties of the United States, urge participation in both parliamentary life and trades union organizations for the express purpose of more easily absorbing them. There are other documents with similar instructions; for example the letter of Lenin to the Austrian Socialists, already published. In this connection we give here the text of the instructions of the secret committee of the Third International to the Communist members of the bourgeoisie parliaments. It is a summary taken from the Paris "*Journal des Debats*" and reproduced in the *Weekly Review* of November 3, 1920:

> "1. Communists elected to bourgeois parliaments must completely put themselves into the hands of the Central Communist Committee, whether this committee is allowed or outlawed by the law of the land.
>
> "2. If Communist members are to speak in the legislative chamber on any matter of importance the speaker or speakers must be selected by the Central Communist Committee, and submit to that committee the complete text of the speech to be delivered.
>
> "3. Every Communist shall keep in mind that he is not a legislator among legislators, but an agitator in the enemy's camp.
>
> "4. Every Communist member shall add to his efforts that are within the law, efforts that are forbidden by the law.
>
> "5. If the bourgeois law grants immunity to parliamentary representatives, this immunity must be made use of to further illegal organization and propaganda for the Communist Party.
>
> "6. Whatever measures the Communist member introduces by permission of the Central Committee will be merely demonstrations, that is, not intended for adoption by the Chamber, but for agitation and propaganda.
>
> "7. The parliamentary speeches of Communist members will denounce not only the bourgeoisie, but reformists, patriotic socialists, and hesitant persons of that kind who think themselves advanced."

Reference to the effect of all this Russian agitation on American organized labor will be in order at this point.

Under the title "The European Brainstorm," Samuel Gompers and Matthew Walsh published in a recent number of the *"American Federationist,"* a review of the attitude of the American

Federation of Labor towards European organized labor, showing how impossible it was for American labor to work in harmony with the present trend of labor in Europe. This article is reproduced here in great part and the position taken by the so-called Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions considered so radical by the leaders of the A. F. of L. is given elsewhere in full, in order to show that radical as it is it does not meet with the approval of the Russian Communists. We give also the text of the attack of the Russian Third International and its newly organized subsidiary, the "Red International Trade Union." The men who, on behalf of the International Federation of trade unions are working along the same revolutionary lines as the British Council of Action in the establishment of a revolutionary super-government, are not considered real revolutionists by the Russians. The Manifesto issued on July 15th by the Red International Council of Trade Unions is given in full at the end of this chapter.

It is interesting to compare with the summary of progress issued in connection with May Day, 1920, the report of Radek on the Third International which was made by the ninth Congress of the Russian Communist party and published in the "Izvestia" and the "Pravda" on April 3d.

In the United States the attempt is made by leaders of the Socialist party, like Hillquit, to obscure the issue by insisting that there is a strong distinction to be made between the Third International and the Soviet Government, that the policies of the two are distinct, that when Zinoviev as head of the Third International makes certain demands and certain conditions for admission, that these are not the expression of Lenin's opinions and demands. This contention is one that shows that Hillquit is attempting to connect with Zinoviev the repudiation of himself which is contained in the pronouncements of the Third International. No person of intelligence can deny the absolute identity between the Third International and the Communist Party, the members of which compose the Soviet administration. Lenin and Zinoviev are entirely at one and in Europe the 21 conditions of the Third International are termed, for short, "Lenine's conditions," and the identity is not questioned in any of the countries of Europe. As the opening paragraph of Radek's report distinctly states it, when he says, "The Third International is the child of the Russian Communist Party." The full text of Radek's report follows:

"The III International is the child of the Russian Communist Party. It was created here, in the Kremlin, on the initiative of the Communist Party of Russia. The Executive Committee of the III International is in our hands, and therefore so long as political barriers have not been destroyed, which prevent our comrades from speaking with us, the Congress of the Communist Party is the place where one should summarize the work of the III International.

"The III International was formerly founded in March of last year, but it has behind it a five-year history. When in 1914, the international war began, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia, at that time the Central Committee of the Bolshevist Party, in its first manifesto declared to the whole world that the II International, as a revolutionary International, had died. At that moment also, when we had noted the above fact, we proposed the task of a new International, an International in fact, which would gather together the growing forces of workmen, who had rebelled against the war, in order to fight against capitalism.

"The only real force capable of gathering the workmen around a single flag is the III International. Who of us now doubts that a united front of capitalists is impossible, that the cause of the capitalists is lost, and that in a year or two Europe will be a federation of Soviet Republics. There is no doubt that this will be. Here we come right up against the problem of evaluating the events of the last year and here we must indicate for this first period just what has been accomplished. . . .

"However often Communists suffer defeat, however often they are driven underground, nevertheless every defeat is for them a step toward victory. . . .

"The German experience marks the first step of the Russian revolution abroad, and the appeal of the I Congress of the Communist International chose the flag of the Soviet Republic as an international flag. It pointed out to the workmen that only through civil war can they arrive at dictatorship, and that only dictatorship can save the proletariat; but these were general indications.

"The resolution adopted at the October Congress gave yet a second fact which has an international significance. This resolution indicated concretely the road to be taken by workmen in capitalistic countries in connection with their struggle.

> This concrete step consists in this, that they say to the workmen that we, Communists, stand for the Soviet Authority, but that does not mean that the Soviet Authority is possible in all times and in all places. When workmen have not the force to seize power, then it is possible to enter bourgeois-democratic institutions and use them. Communists should not refuse to do this. The III International does not require of Communists that they refuse as a matter of principle to take part in parliamentary work in those countries where for the moment, workmen are not able to take power into their own hands."

Further, Comrade Radek describes the revolutionary movement in England, America, France and other countries.

> "In England and America at the present moment there are no economic productive forces, and the economic crisis there will end in revolution.
>
> "As for Germany, Italy and France, you can count on the possibility for catastrophe in the immediate future.
>
> "If at present such a union as the Union of American Railway Workers put forward the idea of nationalization, and carries on the struggle for this idea, it shows that one has passed beyond the dead point, and that such usurpers and servants of the bourgeoisie as Gompers are under the hammer of the revolution.
>
> "The Communist International is in fact ten times more powerful and influential then anyone knows. The Communist International is an immense force.
>
> "News to the effect that the Congress had adopted a statute abolishing 'freedom of labor,' will be for every Communist in Europe news of the greatest victory in Communism. When we, in fact, organize labor, we shall repair locomotives, we shall increase by at least an eighth the food ration, and this will be an enormous victory, which will hasten the growth of international revolution."

We have already called attention to the intense activity of the Bolshevik propaganda throughout the different countries of the East, extending as far as China and Japan, as well as Afghanistan and India. This propaganda was largely for the purpose of disrupting the British Empire, and for weakening, through its menance, the strength of the opposition of the British government.

As a result of the second meeting of the Communist International there came a more elaborate systematizing of this Oriental propaganda. The Executive Committee of the Congress convened a special Congress of the Workers and Peasants of Persia, Armenia and Turkey, to be held on August 15, 1920, at Baku, the famous center of petroleum production in Asia. The appeal for this Congress is given in full under the Documents.

In response to this call of the Third International, the Conference at Baku was attended by about 2,000 delegates from all Oriental countries, not only Chinese, Japanese and Hindoos, but Persians, Turcomans, Turks, and Afghans. The presiding officer was Zinoviev himself, head of the Third International. He did not succeed in bringing unity out of the chaos of all these heterogeneous elements. He excited the animosity of the Mohammedans by insisting that as a preliminary to entering the Third Communist International they should get rid of their Sultans and their Caliphs. The Tartars demanded explanation and satisfaction for the alleged murder of about 15,000 Tartars by Bolshevik troops at Yelitzavetpol. In consequence of violent racial and religious quarrels that developed, the convention came to a hasty end after a few days meeting.

In view of the fact generally stated in the United States by Socialist speakers and writers, for example, Professor Dana in the New York *Call,* that all the missions that went from various countries of Europe representing labor and Socialism to the Third International Congress, even when they were not friendly to Bolshevism before they went there, were converted by their visits and all unanimously returned filled with enthusiasm for the Soviet system, it is rather important to note that this statement is absolutely contrary to the truth.

The only deputation which returned as enthusiastic as before it went was the French deputation of the Socialist Party, Cachin and Frossard. The British delegation was divided, but even those most favorable to the Soviet government were not as enthusiastic after as before, and the majority of the English visitors came back partly or absolutly opposed to Bolshevism. This was notably the case with Bertrand Russell, Mrs. Philip Snowden, Dr. Haden Guest and the famous Mr. Wells. The Italian and German delegations were turned into practically unanimous opponents of Bolshevism from being its warm friends. Of the Italian deputation, Lenin himself says: "The Italian proletariat was betrayed by Deputies D'Aragona and Turati and Modigliani." He asserts

that these great Socialist leaders "are guilty of sabotage against the revolution in Italy, at the moment when it begins to ripen."

It was the same with the two delegates of the German Independent Socialists, Dittman and Crespien. Their adverse reports on their return from Russia is elsewhere described, and as a result they also have been excoriated by Lenin. They led the moderates at the meeting of the party who declined to join in the Third International.

GEORGIA

The new State of Georgia is a Socialist Republic, and the experiment is unique and especially interesting as applied to an Oriental race. The State has almost four million inhabitants. It has a Parliamentary régime elected by proportional representation for the whole country, being a single constituency. The Social Democratic Party has 103 out of a total of 130 members of Parliament. Its rule has brought in in a perfectly peaceful manner a Socialist system. Its inhabitants are engaged mostly in agriculture, 80 per cent being peasants. The land system is based upon a peasant proprietorship, not upon nationalization. The limited holdings are valid only so long as peasants themselves till the land. They pay taxes. The forests have all been taken over by the State. There is universal suffrage for all men and women over twenty. The nationalization of the mines is being carried out. Cooperative production is encouraged. The nobility and other wealthy magnates have apparently offered no resistance to the government's action. The country is already extremely prosperous. A very favorable report was made by the delegates of British labor, Ramsay MacDonald, Tom Shaw and Mrs. Philip Snowden, who visited Georgia during their visit to Russia. The satisfaction given to the population has prevented successes of Bolshevik propaganda which, at first, was very active, and which has succeeded in dominating the neighboring State of Azerbaijan.

RUSSIAN DOCUMENTS

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Document I

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE PRINCIPLES GUIDING THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

The following program, issued on July 15, 1920, by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist party, outlines the program of the approaching Second Congress of the Third International:

(1) The year which has just elapsed since the first Congress of the Third International has been characterized by a great development of the international labor movement in all countries, as well as by an unprecedented development of national revolutionary colonial movements.

(2) The dying world of capitalism is losing its last resort, which is the League of Nations; the growing Communist revolution is uniting its forces around the Third International.

(3) This increasing unity is finding expression in (a) the general watchword of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet regime and the mass revolutionary struggle for the Soviet regime; (b) the formation of Communist parties throughout the world; (c) the formation of works and factory committees and the struggle to insure participation of workmen in administration, which can be observed in almost all the large capitalist countries; (d) the simultaneous international struggle of the proletariat against any intervention in Russian affairs and against the White Terror in Hungary and Ireland; (e) the increasing wave of strikes and partial risings; (f) finally, the union of the proletariat around the Third International, which is now taking place.

(4) This is expressed by the fact that our foreign comrades will be splendidly represented at the Congress, it is being attended by delegates of all Communist parties and groups and sections closely allied with Communism, from England, Ireland, France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, Norway, Poland, Bulgaria and the Balkans generally, Finland, etc., from the U. S. A., Africa and Australia, and finally from the East (India, Turkey, Persia, etc.).

(5) The principal object of the International Communist Congress is the introduction of complete unity of tactics into the international movement of the proletariat, and the

creation of a strong international headquarters for a proletarian uprising against world imperialism.

(6) The following are the most important questions to be discussed at the Congress: The organization of and the part to be played by the Communist party, participation in the trade union movement, works and factory committees, utilization of bourgeois parliaments, the national colonial question, Soviets, international proletarian discipline, etc.

(7) The Congress will have to struggle against members of the "Right" Central parties, who wish to join the Third International, because it is now a powerful force and has therefore become fashionable, and also against misunderstandings on the part of those comrades who are opposed to severe discipline, to the utilization of parliaments, and so forth.

(8) As the importance of the Congress to the international movement of the proletariat is immense, its importance therefore, to Soviet Russia, is gigantic, and it will facilitate our struggle against the pirates of international imperialism.

(9) By having the directing organization of the international revolutionary proletariat and by leading it to victory, the Communist International is preparing a fraternal union of toiling proletarian Soviet republics. This union will join together industrial and agrarian countries, will assist in the re-establishment of national economy on new principles, and will once and for all lead humanity out of the quagmire of capitalist wars, slavery, oppression and exploitation.

(10) The Soviet Republic of Russia is proud of the fact that it is guarding the world revolution, and that the Red army is defeating all enemies and thereby clearing the way for the victory of the world proletariat.

Document II

RELATIONS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL TO THE RUSSIAN TRADE UNIONS

The Russian "Pravada" on April 3, 1920, contains an address of welcome by Zinoviev on behalf of the Communist International to the Third All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions then in session at Moscow. It is important as showing the way in which the Communist Party was absorbing the trades unions and shows that the plan to organize the International of Red Trades Unions was well under way. The text of this important document follows:

"Dear Comrades:

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International sends fraternal greetings to your Congress.

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International from the very beginning of its activity took the point of view that the Communist International is to be an organism uniting not only part organizations of workmen but also producers' unions and all other economic organizations of the proletariat. . . .

"The great historic mission of the glorious trade unions of Russia at the present moment is to assume the initiative in creating an actually proletarian international union of Red trade unions, which will stand for dictatorship of the proletariat, and are ready to fight for this not in words but in fact. The Communist International considers it a mistake to believe that Communists should come out against the trade union movement as a whole. The Communist International is convinced that a great future in the Communist construction awaits these producers' unions that are re-organized and torn from the hands of socialist-traitors, that are revolutionized and brought to the Communist International. It believes that we need trade unions just as man needs air, both in those countries where the proletariat is still struggling for authority and also in those countries where this authority is already in the hands of the proletariat. Therefore, the Communist International on its part will do everything that it can to assist the revolutionizing of the trade union movement in all countries and to assist the closer

bringing together of the Red unions on a world-wide scale. The Executive Committee of the Communist International is firmly convinced that at the next Congress of the Communist International will be present proletarian trade unions of the whole world, which will thus become a part (section) of the Communist International.

"The revolutionized trade unions of those countries where authority still belongs to the bourgeoisie and to socialist-traitors, are in need of our practical support. We are deeply convinced that your Congress will lay the foundation for creating a militant fund to assist our foreign brothers. We propose that your Congress should resolve that all former strike funds of trade unions in Russia, in view of the fact that these funds are no longer needed by us, should be used as the basis for the international fund of the Red trade unions. When the Petrograd Soviet of Trade Unions several weeks ago called on the Petrograd workmen to render material assistance to the Swedish metal workers who had been locked out, in the course of several days more than ten million rubles were collected. The authoritative decision of your Congress will be able to give us even larger sums to assist foreign Red unions.

Your voice on the matter of the organization of an International of Red Unions will resound over the whole world.

Long live the Third All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions.

Long live the International of Red Producers' Unions.

President of the Executive Committee of the Communist International,

G. Zinoviev.

Document III

MANIFESTO OF JULY 15, 1920, OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS

To the Trade Unions of All Countries:

What have the trade unions of both great and small nations done during the course of the war? How have they carried out the solemn pledges of international solidarity and working-class fraternity? The trade unions mostly became the pillars of Jingo policy on the part of their respective governments; they worked hand-in-hand with bourgeois nationalist rogues, and aroused in the minds of the workers the basest of chauvinist instincts. These persons for a period of many years, have been the henchmen of their respective governments. The latter have directed all their energy to mutual extermination of the people, whilst the former have now commenced to reconstitute the International Federation of Trades Unions, which had collapsed through their treachery. At Berne and Amsterdam, those trusted protagonists of the bourgeoisie, namely, Messrs. Legien, Oudegast, Jouhanx, Appleton, Gompers, etc., became reconciled; they re-established the International Federation of Trade Unions after long nationalist discussions and mutual recriminations of a chauvinist character. What are the principles of this Federation? What is its programme? What is the attitude of this International organization to the violent social conflicts of our times? How in their opinion, will they emerge from the blind alley into which Capitalist Imperialism has driven humanity? The answers to these questions are expressed by the fact that the directors and leaders of the International Federation of Trade Unions are at the same time the principals of the infamous International Labour Office of the rapacious League of Nations. This Labour Office is composed of representatives of the organized employers, the trade unions, and the neutral capitalist governments. The attitude of the Amsterdam International is a logical consequence of constituting the Federation by component national factions. It is an organization of Social Patriots, of traitors to the interests of the workers of all countries. It is an International Federation of Betrayal.

The newly formed general staff of revolutionary Trade Unionism representing eight million members calls upon the Trade Unions throughout the world to repudiate those leaders who voice the criminal policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie; moreover, to enlist themselves under the banner of class war to the bitter end for the emancipation of mankind. The International Council of Trade Unions proclaims war, not peace, on the bourgeoisie of all countries; that is the substance of our agitation. Our programme is to overthrow the bourgeoisie by force; the bringing into effect of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of irrepressible class struggle both nationally and internationally, and to form an immovable alliance with the Communist International. Be it known that we regard those leaders of trade unionism as our class enemies who are of opinion that negotiations and compromise will solve the social problem; who seriously think that capitalists will hand over the means of production on the achievement of working-class majority in Parliament; who think that Trade Unions can remain neutral at a time of collapse of the old social order, and at a time when the destiny of the world is being determined; and who preach social reconciliation at a time of rabid class warfare. We shall employ the most stubborn resistance in order to defeat them and their manoeuvres. The International Council of Trade Unions and the International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam stand on different sides of a barricade; on one, the side of social revolution; and on the other, of reaction. The choice will not be difficult for the workers and for the true revolutionary; Long live the proletarian world revolution; Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Document IV

LENIN'S TWENTY-ONE CONDITIONS

THIRD INTERNATIONAL ISSUES CONDITIONS FOR AFFILIATION

(The first Congress of the Communist International did not lay down exact conditions for acceptance into the Third International. Up to the time of calling the first Congress there existed in most countries merely Communist tendencies and groups. — New York *Call,* September 23, 1920.)

Now they often turn toward the Communist International parties and groups that only a short time ago belonged to the Second International, and that now wish to enter the Third International, although they have not in reality become Communistic.

The Second International is definitely smashed. The middle parties and the groups of the "center" that understand the entire hopelessness of the outlook for the Second International are attempting to lean upon the Communist International, which is steadily growing more powerful.

Nevertheless, they hope in so doing to retain such a degree of "autonomy" as will insure them the possibility of carrying out their former opportunistic, or "center" policy. To a certain degree the Communist International has become the style.

The desire by some of the leading groups of the "center" to enter the Third International is an indirect confirmation of the fact that the Communist International has won the sympathies of the great majority of the class conscious workers of the whole world and that it is daily becoming stronger.

The Communist International is menaced by the danger of being diluted by unsteady elements noted for their halfway methods and which have not yet definitely shed the ideology of the Second International.

Furthermore, there remains to this day in some of the great parties (those of Italy, Sweden, Norway, Jugoslavia, etc.) whose majorities have the standpoint of Communism, an important reformist and social-pacifist wing which is only waiting for the proper time to raise its head again, to begin the active sabotage of the proletarian revolution, and thus to help the bourgeoisie and the Second International.

No Communist must forget the lessons of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The amalgamation of the Hungarian Communists with the so-called left-wing Social Democrats cost the Hungarian proletariat dear.

Because of all this, the second congress of the Communist International regards it as necessary to lay down very exactly the conditions for the admission of the new parties and to direct the attention of those parties which have been admitted to the Communist International to the duties incumbent upon them.

The second congress of the Communist International adopts the following conditions for membership in the Communist International:

1. The entire propaganda and agitation must bear a genuinely Communistic character and agree with the program and the decision of the Third International. All the press organs of the party must be managed by responsible Communists, who have proved their devotion to the cause of the proletariat.

The dictatorship of the proletariat must not be talked about as if it were an ordinary formula learned by heart, but it must be propagated for in such a way as to make its necessity apparent to every plain worker, soldier and peasant through the facts of daily life, which must be systematically watched by our press and fully utilized from day to day.

The periodical and non-periodical press and all party publishing concerns must be under the complete control of the party management, regardless of the fact of the party as a whole being at that moment legal or illegal. It is inadmissible for the publishing concerns to abuse their autonomy and to follow a policy which does not entirely correspond to the party's policy.

In the columns of the press, at public meetings, in trade unions, in co-operatives, and all other places where the supporters of the Third International are admitted, it is necessary systematically and unmercifully to brand, not only the bourgoisie, but also its accomplices, the reformers of all types.

2. Every organization that wishes to affiliate with the Communist International must regularly and systematically remove the reformist and centrist elements from all the more

or less important posts in the labor movement (in party organizations, editorial offices, trade unions, parliamentary groups, co-operatives, and municipal administrations) and replace them with well-tried Communists, without taking offense at the fact that, especially in the beginning, the places of "experienced" opportunists will be filled by plain workers from the masses.

3. In nearly every country of Europe and America the class struggle is entering upon the phase of civil war. Under such circumstances the Communists can have no confidence in bourgeoise legality.

It is their duty to create everywhere a parallel illegal organization machine which at the decisive moment will be helpful to the party in fulfilling its duty to the revolution.

In all countries where the Communists, because of a state of siege and because of exceptional laws directed against them, are unable to carry on their whole work legally, it is absolutely necessary to combine legal with illegal activities.

4. The duty of spreading Communist ideas includes the special obligation to carry on a vigorous and systematic propaganda in the army. Where this agitation is forbidden by laws of exception it is to be carried on illegally. Renunciation of such activities would be the same as treason to revolutionary duty and would be incompatible with membership in the Third International.

5. It is necessary to carry on a systematic and well planned agitation in the country districts. The working class cannot triumph unless its policy will have insured it the support of the country proletariat and at least a part of the poorer farmers, and the neutrality of part of the rest of the village population. The Communistic work in the country is gaining greatly in importance at the present time.

It must principally be carried on with the help of the revolutionary Communist workers of the city and the country who have connections in the country. Renunciation of this work or its transfer to unreliable, semi-reformist hands is equal to renunciation of the proletarian revolution.

6. Every party that wishes to belong to the Third International is obligated to unmask not only open social patriotism, but also the dishonesty and hypocrisy of social pacifism, and systematically bring to the attention of the workers the

fact that, without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no kind of an international court of arbitration, no kind of an agreement regarding the limitation of armaments, no kind of a "democratic" renovation of the League of Nations will be able to prevent fresh imperialistic wars.

7. The parties wishing to belong to the Communist International are obligated to proclaim a clean break with the reformism, and with the policy of the "center" and to propagate this break throughout the ranks of the entire party membership. Without this a logical Communist policy is impossible.

The Communist International demands unconditionally and in the form of an ultimatum the execution of this break within a very brief period. The Communist International cannot reconcile itself to a condition that would allow notorious opportunists, such as are now represented by Turati, Kautsky, Hilferding, Hillquit, Longuet, MacDonald, Modigliani, et al., to have the right to be counted as members of the Third International. That could only lead to the Third International resembling to a high degree the dead Second International.

8. In the matter of colonies and oppressed nations a particularly clear-cut stand by the parties is necessary in those countries whose bourgeoisie is in possession of colonies and oppresses other nations.

Every party wishing to belong to the Communist International is obligated to unmask the tricks of "its" own imperialists in the colonies, to support every movement for freedom in the colonies, not only with words but with deeds, to demand the expulsion of its native imperialists from those colonies, to create in the hearts of the workers of its own country a genuine fraternal feeling for the working population of the colonies and for the oppressed nations and to carry on a systematic agitation among the troops of its own country against all oppression of the colonial peoples.

9. Every party wishing to belong to the Communist International must systematically and persistently develop a Communistic agitation within the trade unions, the workers' and shop-councils, the co-operatives of consumption and other mass organization of the workers.

Within these organizations it is necessary to organize Communist nuclei which, through continuous and persistent

work, are to win over the trade unions, etc., for the cause of Communism. These nuclei are obligated in their daily work everywhere to expose the treason of social patriots and the instability of the "center." The Communist nuclei must be completely under the control of the party as a whole.

10. Every party belonging to the Communist International is obligated to carry on a stubborn struggle against the Amsterdam "International" of the yellow trade unions. It must carry on a most emphatic propaganda among the workers organized in trade unions for a break with the yellow Amsterdam International. With all its means it must support the rising international association of the Red trade unions which affiliate with the Communist International.

11. Parties wishing to belong to the Third International are obligated to subject the personnel of the parliamentary groups to a revision, to cleanse these groups of all unreliable elements, and to make these groups subject to the party executives, not only in form but in fact, by demanding that each Communist member of Parliament subordinate his entire activities to the interests of genuinely revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

12. The parties belonging to the Communist International must be built upon the principle of democratic centralization. In the present epoch of acute civil war the Communist party will only be in a position to do its duty if it is organized along extremely centralized lines, if it is controlled by iron discipline, and if its party central body, supported by the confidence of the party membership, is fully equipped with power, authority and the most far-reaching faculties.

13. The Communist parties of those countries where the Communists carry on their work legally must from time to time institute cleansings (now registrations) of the personnel of their party organization in order to systematically rid the party of the petit bourgeois elements creeping into it.

14. Every party wishing to belong to the Communist International is obligated to offer unqualified support to every Soviet republic in its struggle against the counter-revolutionary forces. The Communist parties must carry on a clean cut propaganda for the hindering of the transportation of munitions of war to the enemies of the Soviet Republic; and furthermore, they must use all means, legal or illegal,

to carry propaganda, etc., among the troops sent to throttle the workers' republics.

15. Parties that have thus far still retained their old Social Democratic programs are now obligated to alter these programs within the shortest time possible and, in accordance with the particular conditions of their countries, work out a new Communist program in the sense of the decisions of the Communist International.

As a rule the program of every party belonging to the Communist International must be sanctioned by the regular Congress of the Communist International, or by its executive committee.

In case the program of any party is not sanctioned by the executive committee of the Communist International, the party concerned has the right to appeal to the Congress of the Communist International.

16. All decisions of the Congress, as of the Communist International, as well as the decisions of its executive committee, are binding upon all the parties belonging to the Communist International. The Communist International, which is working under conditions of the most acute civil war, must be constructed along much more centralized lines than was the case with the Second International.

In this connection, of course, the Communist International and its executive committee must, in their entire activities take into consideration the varied conditions under which the individual parties have to fight and labor, and only adopt decisions of general application regarding such questions as can be covered by such decisions.

17. In connection with this, all parties wishing to belong to the Communist International must change their names. Every party wishing to belong to the Communist International must bear the name: Communist party of such and such a country (section of the Third Communist International). The question of name is not only a formal matter, but is also to a high degree a political question of great importance.

The Communist International has declared war upon the whole bourgeois world and all yellow Social Democratic parties. It is necessary to make clear to every plain workingman the difference between the Communist parties and the

old official "Social Democratic" and "Socialist" parties that have betrayed the banner of the working class.

18. All the leading press organs of the parties of all countries are obligated to print all important official documents of the executive committee of the Communist International.

19. All parties that belong to the Communist International, or that have applied for admission to it, are obligated to call, as soon as possible, but at the latest not more than four months after the second congress of the Communist International, a special convention for the purpose of examining all these conditions.

In this connection the central bodies must see to it that all the local organizations are made acquainted with the decisions of the second congress of the Communist International.

20. Those parties that thus far wish to enter into the Third International but have not radically changed their former tactics must see to it that two-thirds of the members of their central committees and of all their important central bodies are Comrades who unambiguously and publicly declared in favor of their parties' entry into the Third International before the second congress of the Communist International.

Exceptions may be allowed with the approval of the executive committee of the Third International. The executive committee of the Communist International also has the right to make exceptions in the cases of the representatives of the center tendency named in paragraph 7.

21. Those party members who, on principle, reject the conditions and these laid down by the Communist International are to be expelled from the party.

The same thing applies especially to delegates to the special party convention.

Document V

BOLSHEVIST CONGRESS OF EASTERN PEOPLES AT BAKU

AN APPEAL TO ENSLAVED MASSES IN PERSIA, ARMENIA AND TURKEY

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International has convened *a congress of the workers and peasants of Persia, Armenia and Turkey,* to be held on August 15, 1920, at Baku.

"*What is the Communist International?* It is an organisation of the revolutionary working classes of Russia, Poland, Germany, France, Great Britain and Armenia, who incited by hunger, have risen for the purpose of no longer working for the rich, but for themselves, of no longer bearing arms against their own suffering and dispossessed brethren, but to use them for defending themselves against the predatory classes. These working masses have understood that their only strength lies in union and organisation, that this is their only guarantee of victory, and so last year they created a powerful organisation in the form of the Third International. Notwithstanding all the persecution of capitalistic governments, in eighteen months the Third International has become the very soul of all the revolutionary workmen and peasants of the whole world who are eager to be free.

"Why is it that the Communist International has convened a congress of Persian, Armenian and Turkish workmen and peasants; what is it offering them, what does it want of them? The workers and peasants of Europe and America who are struggling against capital appeal to you because, like them, you are groaning under the yoke of capitalism; like them, you are forced to fight the harpies of the world; because your joining the workers and peasants of Europe and America will accelerate the fall of world capitalism, and will ensure the liberation of the workmen and peasants of the whole world.

"*Peasants and workmen of Persia!* The Teheran Kadjar Government and its minions, the provincial Khans, have robbed and exploited you for centuries. The land was appropriated by the lackeys of the Teheran Government. They lord over the land, they levy rates and taxes on you at their

discretion, and, after having squeezed the country dry, and brought it to beggary and ruin, last year they sold Persia to the British capitalists for £2,000,000 on condition that the latter should raise an army in Persia which will oppress you still more than ever, and that this army should squeeze rates and taxes out of you for the benefit of the Khans and the Teheran Government. They have sold the rich oil fields of South Persia to Britain, thereby conducing to the plundering of your country.

"*Peasants of Mesopotamia!* The British have declared your country independent, but 80,000 British soldiers are occupying your country, are robbing and murdering you, and violating your wives.

"*Peasants of Anatolia!* The Governments of Great Britain, Italy and France, trained their guns on Constantinople, made the Sultan a prisoner, forced him to agree to the dismemberment of purely Turkish territory and to place the finances of Turkey at the disposal of foreign financiers, so as to make it easier to rob the Turkish people, already impoverished by the six years' war. They have occupied the Heraclean coal mines and your seaports, they are sending their troops to your country, trample over your fields, enforce their own laws, which are alien to the Turkish peasants, wishing to turn them into beasts of burden which they can load up to any extent. Some of your *beys* and *effendis* have sold themselves to foreign capitalists, others are calling you to arms and foreign invasion, but will not allow you to seize power in your own country or to use the land and fields given by the Sultan to various parasites and till them for your own benefit. And to-morrow, when the alien capitalists have come to an agreement with your oppressors concerning easier terms of peace, your present leaders will take advantage of that to lay new fetters on you, as is being done by the landowners and former Government officials in the territories so firmly occupied by foreign troops.

"*Peasants and Workmen of Armenia!* For years you have been victims of foreign capital, which spoke at great length about the massacres of the Armenians by the Kurds, and called upon you to rise against the Sultan, and then benefited by your struggle against him. During the war they not only promised you independence, but incited your teachers, priests and merchants to demand the land of the

Turkish peasants, so that there should be constant strife between the people of Turkey and Armenia, in order that they might always benefit by it, as, so long as there is discord between you, foreign capitalists will benefit by it, by frightening Turkey with the danger of an Armenian rebellion and the Armenians with Kurd pogroms.

"*Peasants of Syria and Arabia!* The British and the French promised to give you independence, yet now their troops have occupied your country, and you, after being freed from the Turkish Sultan and Government, have now become the slaves of the Government in Paris and London, which differ from that of the Sultan only in so far as they keep a tighter hand over you and rob you.

"You yourselves understand all this very well. The Persian peasants and workmen have risen against the traitorous Teheran Government. The peasants of Mesopotamia have risen against the British Army of occupation, and the British press reports the losses incurred by the British Army in the engagements with the insurgents near Bagdad.

"*Peasants of Anatolia!* You are persistently invited to rally round Kemal Pasha in order to repel foreign invasion, but at the same time we know that you are trying to form your own party, your own peasants' party, which will be able to continue the fight if the pashas conclude peace with the predatory Entente.

"Syria cannot be pacified, and you, Armenian peasants, whom the Entente, in spite of its promises, is starving in order to keep a tighter hold over you, it is more and more clear to you that there is no hope of salvation from the capitalists of the Entente. Even your bourgeois Government of the Dashnak-Tsutiun party, those flunkeys of the Entente, has been obliged to appeal to the peasants' and workers' Government of Russia to conclude peace and grant assistance. Now we see that you yourselves are beginning to understand your needs, and, therefore, profiting by our own accumulated experience, we appeal to you as members of the European proletariat, for the purpose of helping you to free yourselves. We say to you: The time has gone forever when the European and American capitalists could suppress you by force of arms all over Europe, all over America the workers are rising, and, arms in hand, are carrying on a bloody struggle against the capitalists.

"If we have not yet been able to defeat the capitalism of the world, at least the capitalists can no longer dispose of the lives of their fellow countrymen as they choose. For two and a half years has the Russian Revolution fought against the whole world. The French, British and American capitalists have tried every means — military force, starvation — to conquer the Russian workmen and peasants, to tighten the noose round their necks, to make them slaves. They have not succeeded in doing so. The Russian workmen and peasants sturdily defended their liberty, formed their own army, and utterly defeated the reactionary armies supported by the capitalists of the Entente.

"*Workmen and Peasants of the Near East!* If you will organise and create your own workmen's and peasants' Government, if you will arm yourselves and unite with the Russian workmen's and peasants' army, you will conquer the British, French and American capitalists, you will get rid of your oppressors, attain liberty.

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International, as the representative of the British, French, American, German and Italian workmen, will come to Baku to discuss with you the question of how to unite the efforts of the European proletariat with our own for the struggle against the common foe.

"Do not spare any effort, and let as many of you as possible come to Baku on September 1. Formerly you used to make pilgrimages across the desert to the Holy City; now cross mountains, rivers and deserts to meet one another.

"We appeal first of all to the workmen and peasants of the Near East, but we shall be glad to see among the delegates the representatives of more distant oppressed peoples — delegates from India — as also representatives of the Moslem nations which are freely developing in union with Soviet Russia.

"On September 2, in Baku, thousands of Turkish, Armenian and Persian workmen and peasants will unite to free the Near East.

"Let the Congress show your foes in Europe, America and in our own country that the time for slavery is over, that you have risen, and that you will conquer.

"Let your Congress tell the workers all the world over that you are defending your rights, that you have joined the

mighty revolutionary army which is now fighting against injustice and exploitation.

"Let your Congress give strength and faith to the enslaved millions all over the world; let it instill in them confidence in their own powers, let it bring the day of final triumph and liberty nearer.

"Executive Committee of the Communist International.

"*President:* Zinoviev. *Secretary:* K. Radek.

"Signed:

"For British Socialist Party: W. MacLean, Tom Quelch.

"For Factory and Works Committee of England: Jack Tanner, G. T. Murphy.

"For French Delegates to Congress of the Communist International: A. Rosmer, Delignet, J. Sadoul.

"For Italian Delegates to Congress of Communist International: Bacci, A. Graziadei.

"For American Communist Party: L. Fraina, A. Stoklitsky.

"For American Communist Labour Party: D. Bilan.

"For Spanish Federation of Labour: Angel Postan.

"For Petrograd Committee Russian Communist Party: N. Bukharin, V. Vorovsky, A. Balabanov, G. Klinger.

"For V. C. S. P. (?): S. A. Lozovsky.

"For Polish Communist Party: J. Markhlevsky (Karsky).

"For Communist Party of Bulgaria and the Balkan Communist Federation: N. Shablin.

"For Austrian Communist Party: Reissler.

"For Hungarian Communist Party: Rakoczy, Rudniansky.

"For Dutch Communist Party: D. Veikop.

"*Petrograd Pravda,* No. 147, July 6th, 1920."

Document VI

BUKARIN AT THIRD ALL RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS. "ECONOMIC LIFE," APRIL 7, 1920 (EXTRACT)

Everything should be subordinated to the single principle and central question of increasing the productive forces of the country.

At the present moment we are in such a state that the working class cannot receive anything from abroad in any large quantity; it also cannot exist on those accumulations which remained over from the former regime, because there are no longer any more of those accumulations. The working class at the present moment cannot support its welfare by expropriating another class, because this source also no longer exists. And, therefore, in order to increase even in a minimum degree our well-being, we must solve the economic problem of transportation and production. We must hit on this point all the time. Without any exaggeration I can say that at the present moment there opens before us a great epoch, because that period which we are about to enter is the real period of the social revolution.

Document VII

LABOR DECREES, MARCH 11, 1920

The Labour Army. The utilisation of military units for labour has both a practical (economic and social) and educational significance. The conditions under which the utilisation of military labour on a large scale would be commendable are as follows: work of a simple nature which can be accomplished by any Red Army soldier; adoption of the system of setting a clearly defined task, which when not accomplished leads to the reduction of the food ration; adoption of the premium system, the employment of a great number of communists in the same working district so that these may set the Red Army units a good example. The employment of large military units unavoidably leads to a greater percentage of Red Army soldiers, unemployed directly in productive labour. For this reason the utilisation of whole labour armies retaining the army system of organisation may only be justified from the point of view of keeping the army intact for military purposes. As soon as the necessity for this ceases to exist the necessity to retain large staffs and administrations will also cease to exist, and then these can be disbanded and the best elements of qualified workers utilised in the capacity of small shock-labour detachments at the most important industrial enterprises.

Labour desertion. Owing to the fact that the majority of workmen seeking for better conditions as regards procuring foodstuffs and often with a view to speculation arbitrarily leave their place of employment and proceed from place to place thus dealing blows to industry and undermining the position of the labouring class, the Congress considers it one of the most vital tasks of Soviet Authority and Trade Union organisations to carry on a systematic, severe and insistent struggle against labour desertion. This struggle should be carried on by means of the publication of lists of deserters, the formation of punitive detachments composed of deserters and finally by the detention of deserters in concentration camps.

Document VIII

"THE COLLAPSE OF THE LAST BOURGEOIS ILLUSION," BY KARL RADEK

MOSCOW "PRAVDA," APRIL 4, 1920 (EXTRACT)

The decisions of the Congress of the Russian Communist Party on economic questions represent in final analysis a plan for the organisation of labor. *They destroy the last bourgeois illusion, the illusion of freedom of labor.* And it is precisely because this is the last illusion that these decisions will arouse opposition on the part of all that is bourgeois in the workmen's world and will arouse bitter shouts from these elements who are interested in the existence of bourgeois illusions among the working class. But from the point of view of the working class, the organised overthrow of this last bourgeois illusion represents the most important step taken by Communist Russia since the overthrow of capitalism.

(2,000 words of analysis of this idea.)

The progressive section of the proletariat, personified in the Communist Party, has handled this last bourgeois illusion, exposing it with the same passion as it struggled with arms in hand against Yudenich and Kolchak. It will put the working masses on their feet to perform this heroic work, just as it led them to the heroism of war. Soviet Russia has lit up for the working masses of all Europe the road of civil war, as the condition of victory over capital. It will now point out to them the organisation of labor as the road to the victory of Communism.

Document IX

TWO RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE NINTH CONGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY RELATING TO LABOR MOBILIZATION

Moscow, *April* 10, 1920.

MOBILIZATION OF SKILLED WORKERS

Having approved the principles laid down by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party re the mobilization of the industrial proletariat, labor conscription, economic militarization and the utilization of troops for economic requirements, the Congress decided the following:

The organizations of the Party must assist in every way the Trade Unions and labour departments in registering skilled workers for the purpose of employing them in productive labour on the same *principles* and with the same *severity* as are adopted with regard to officers mobilized for the requirements of the army. Every skilled worker must return to his special work. Skilled workers may remain at other Soviet posts only with the permission of central and local authorities.

MASS MOBILIZATION IN CONNECTION WITH LABOUR CONSCRIPTION

Mass mobilization for labour conscription must from the very beginning be placed on a correct footing. In every case of mobilization the number of mobilized persons must be in accordance with the number of implements required, the amount of work to be done and the place of concentration. It is also of the utmost importance that labour detachments formed of mobilized persons should be provided with technically competent and politically reliable instructors. Also every labour detachment must be a nucleus of Communist workers, mobilized during the party mobilization. In other words, in forming these detachments we must adopt the same policy as when forming the Red Army.

Document X

RESOLUTION OF THE NINTH ALL RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY ON THE RELATION OF TRADE UNIONS TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Moscow, *April* 14, 1920.

The Communist party is the leading organisation of the working classes, which is at the head of the proletarian movement, and directs the struggle for a Communist regime.

The Communist party carries on its propaganda among the non-party workmen, through the communist sections in all workmen's organisations and trade-unions.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Socialist construction is ensured only if the *Trade-Unions,* although remaining officially non-party in reality will become communist and will adopt the policy of the Communist party. *Therefore a disciplined and organised Communist section should be attached to each trade-union.*

Each party section should form part of a local organisation which is subordinate to the party. The *section of the All Russian Central Soviet of Trade-Unions* is subordinate to the *Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party.* All decisions of the All Russian Central Soviet of Trade-Unions concerning the conditions and organisation of labour, are obligatory for all Trade-Unions and the members of the party who are employed in them, and can be cancelled only by the Central Committee of the Party. The local committees should guide the theoretical work of Trade-Unions, but by no means interfere with their everyday tasks. Relations between the local People's Commissariats and the sections of Trade-Unions are regulated by the corresponding paragraphs in the status of the Party.

NOTE: If in the last paragraph above we substitute for "the All Russian Central Soviet of Trade Unions" the American Federation of Labor and for "the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party" the Democratic or Republican National Committee we can form a picture of what Bolshevism in practice would mean in the United States.

Document XI

RUSSIAN TRADE UNIONS JOIN THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AND CONVENE AN INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION CONGRESS

Moscow, *April* 14, 1920.

After the report of Radek on the International Labour movement, *the Third All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions* passed the following resolution: "The Russian Trade Unions which took part together with the Communist party in the struggle against Capitalism in Russia cannot remain outside the Third International, and therefore the *Third Congress of Trade Unions* decides the following: *To join the Third Communist International,* calling upon all the revolutionary Trade Unions to follow the example of the Russian organised Proletariat. The Third Congress of Trade Unions has authorised the All-Russian Soviet of Trade Unions to establish co-operation in organisation with the Trade Unions of all countries which are engaged in the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of Capitalism. Co-operation should be also established with the revolutionary minorities of those Trade Unions which still maintain their old opinions. The Congress has authorised the All-Russian Soviet of Trade Unions to assist the working masses of all countries to profit by the experiment of the Russian proletariat in its economic struggle. The Congress authorises the presidential body of all Trade Unions to convene an *international Congress of Trade Unions when necessary, and in conjunction with the Executive Committee of the Third International* to issue a proclamation to the workmen of the whole world explaining the tasks confronting the Trade Unions during the epoch of a struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, following members have been elected by the Congress to the presidential body of the All-Russian Soviet of Trade Unions: Tomsky, Lozovsky, Andreeff, Rudsutak, Lutovinoff, Goltzman, *Bukharin,* Ivanoff, Schmidt, Tsiperovitch, Kassior.

Document XII

APPEAL OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL TO THE UNION LABOR OF THE WORLD

[We read in the N. Y. *Call* of July 19 the following document, with prefatory remarks.]

Revolutionary-minded union men are called upon to leave their old unions, in case they cannot capture them, and form new ones to line up in a new international which is to be a section of the Third (Communist) International, in an appeal recently sent out from Moscow by G. Zinoviev, president of the executive committee of the Communist International.

This appeal, which has just been printed in the New Yorker Volkszeitung, begins by pointing out the bankruptcy of the old labor international during, and even before the war, condemns its principal leaders, including Samuel Gompers and Carl Legien, declares that the labor unions should effect real control over industry by the workers, and continues:

> "The mighty strike movement that is stirring up the European continent, North America and the whole world of industry shows that the trade unions are not victims of decay, but will soon assume new forms.
>
> ### World Divides Into Red and White
>
> "The trade unions cannot remain indifferent toward these extremely important questions that at present are exciting the attention of the entire world and which are dividing the human race into two sections, the Reds and the Whites. It is the duty of every trade union to come to an understanding on the questions of mobilization, demobilization, the introduction of obligatory military service, direct or indirect taxation, the paying off of the war debts, government ownership and operation of railroads, mines and the more important branches of industry, etc.
>
> "The Communist International thinks the time has come for the unions that are freed from bourgeois influences and from social traitors to reconstruct their international organization, as well as that of the whole trade union movement and of the various trade and professional associations. We must oppose the Yellow Trade Union International, which is trying in Amsterdam, Washington and Paris to call together

the agents of the bourgeoisie, with the genuinely proletarian Red Trade Union International, which fights on the side of the Third, the Communist International.

"In many countries the trade unions are undergoing a decided transformation; the chaff is being separated from the wheat. In Germany, the cradle of the Yellows, i. e., the bourgeois trade union movement that was guided by a Legion and a Noske, many organizations are lining up on the side of the proletarian revolution. Already the old leaders, who had sold out the movement to the capitalists, are being cleaned out of the unions. In Italy nearly all the trade union associations stand for the rule of the Soviets. In the Scandinavian trade unions the proletarian revolutionary tendencies are becoming stronger from day to day. In France, England, America, the Netherlands and Spain the majority of the trade union members reject the former bourgeois tactics and demand revolutionary methods of fighting. In Russia 3,500,000 members of the trade unions voluntarily and unconditionally support the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the Balkans the majority of the trade unions are in close organizing relations with the Communist parties and fight under the latter's victorious banners.

Workers of All Kinds United

"The First International, led by Marx and Engels endeavored to gather within its folds working class organizations of all kinds, including the trade unions.

"The Second (now destroyed) International did, indeed, also invite the trade unions to its congresses, but was not connected with them by any firm organizing band.

"The Third, the Communist, International wishes to follow the lines of the First International in this matter also. The trade union associations themselves, after being freed from the errors mentioned above, will on their part seek to establish relations with the proletarian vanguard that is organized in the Third, the Communist, International.

Proletariat Must Unite Its Powers

"The intelligent opinion of the working class demands the unity of all the organized powers of the proletariat. Arms of all kinds are indispensable for the attack upon capitalism. The Communist International is obligated to serve in every way the international struggle of the proletariat, and conse-

quently it strives for close relations with those revolutionary organizations that have grasped the demands of the times.

"The Communist International wishes to unite, not only the political organizations of the proletariat, but also all other working-class organizations which recognizes in acts, and not merely in words, the revolutionary struggle and fight for the dictatorship of the working class. The executive committee of the Third International is of the opinion that not only the political parties, but also the trade unions that stand for the revolution, ought to take part in the congresses of the Communist International. These workers' organizations must unite upon a common general basis and form a section of the Third International.

"We address this appeal to the trade unions of the whole world. The same development and the same division is bound to take place in the labor movement as has already taken place in the political movement. Just as all the great labor parties have several connections with the Second Yellow International, so will the various trade unions be obliged to break with the Yellow Trade Union International in Amsterdam.

Call to Organized Labor

"We call upon the organized labor men and women of all countries to bring up our appeal for discussion in the trade union meetings, and we are fully convinced that all the class-conscious workers of the world will grasp the hand extended to them by the Communist International.

"Long live the new trade union movement, freed from the plague of opportunism!

"Long live the Red Trade Union International!"

Document XIII

EXTRACTS FROM PRINCIPLES LAID DOWN BY THE PEOPLE'S LABOR COMMISSARIAT TO BE ADOPTED FOR THE PROPAGANDA IN FAVOR OF THE LABOR FRONT.

Moscow, *April* 15, 1920.

(2) The necessity to defend the achievements of the revolution compelled us to concentrate our efforts on military tasks, to turn the entire country into a military camp and to develop first of all industries connected with the army.

(3) The country must continue to remain armed for many years to come. Until Socialist revolution triumphs throughout the world we must continue to be armed and prepared for eventualities.

(4) We cannot build up our future on exchange of goods with capitalist countries. We must find the means of economic reconstruction within Soviet Russia. . . .

(9) The above necessitates the introduction of general labour conscription, which means that every worker is obliged to do the work to which he is appointed by the state.

. . . (11) Mobilization must be carried out in accordance with a carefully thought out single economic plan. The great mass of toilers must be concentrated on certain branches of industry. These branches of industry were outlined by the 9th Congress of the *Russian Communist party*. They are as follows: (a) The improvement of transport and the collection of a sufficient quantity of raw material, fuel and foodstuffs; (b) The construction of machinery for the production of articles in common use. (c) Lastly, the production of articles in common use. Together with this the utilisation of electricity in industry must gradually be introduced.

(13) Trade unions in their turn must adopt military methods in their work and must do all in their power to co-operate with the introduction of *labor conscription, the militarisation of labor, the militarisation of administration*, must see that correct use is made of those workers who will be mobilized and wage war on all opponents (?) of the dictatorship (?) of labor. Trade unions must carry on propaganda among the masses for the purpose of arousing

their interest in the *construction* of Communism, and their enthusiasm for work.

(16) The refusal of qualified workers to work at their special trade must be combated. Qualified workers guilty of this offense will be held responsible to the Soviet Republic. . .

(17) At the present moment, when we see the dawn of a universal proletarian revolution, every one of our victories over economic disorganization and the disorganizing forces of capitalism is of great historical importance. Soviet Russia must become the economic base of the universal proletarian revolution.

(18) Those who evade labor conscription are deserters. . .

Note: By paragraph (11) the Russian Communist Party has been intrusted with the administration function of formulating the "single economic plan" for labor mobolization; and this plan is to be enforced by the official Commissariat of Labor of the Soviet government.

Document XIV

"THE FACTORY COMMITTEE," PETROGRAD "PRAVDA" DECEMBER 20, 1919. (EXTRACTS.)

The Petrograd Soviet of Trade Unions is beginning to discuss very seriously several important problems of trade union organization in order to summarize the results of its work since the Second All-Russian Congress of the Unions and in order to be ready for the Third All-Russian Congress which is to be held in February.

Among the questions which are being raised the one which attracts greatest attention is that concerned with the Factory Committee.

Judging by the newspaper articles which have appeared in the Moscow "Pravda" and "Trade Union Movement," there are two tendencies in Moscow now; one is for abolishing the factory committees and the other is for preserving them. . . .

Formerly the part that the factory committees played in the carrying out of the labor control consisted in auditing the finances of the enterprise, in looking after the supply of fuel and raw materials, in controlling the technical personnel which was so often apt to engage in sabotage, etc. In other words, the factory committee carried out the labor control. In most of the enterprises, however, the control had but preventive character. . . .

And it was out of these same factory committees as well as the trade unions that the new organs of state management and industry, the *Soviets of National Economy* grew and developed. At that time, the factory committees became merged with the trade unions and became the local organs of the trade unions instead of being councils of delegates as formerly.

All this time, too, there was a bitter struggle in the factories and the foundries over labor control between the capitalists and the workmen.

Many entrepreneurs were punished for their sabotage by being removed from the managements of their enterprises and the enterprises were nationalized. In such cases it was often necessary to place the management of these factories and foundries in the hands of the factory committees. There were

also cases of the seizure of enterprises by the factory committee, and this was inevitable, especially in the country districts. So it was until the summer of 1918 . . . And from that time on begins a new chapter in the history of the factory committees and of their relations with the government.

What forms do these relations take? And are the assertions of those who want the committees abolished correct?

In order to answer this question let us see first of all what is the nature of the whole apparatus of industrial management at the present time.

At the present time most of the enterprises are united in groups (kusts) and the management organ for each group is the Regional or Group Board. The organ of management in each factory is the factory management. A group management has a collegium of 5-7 persons at its head. This collegium is organized by the Soviet of National Economy. One-third of it represents the workmen, one-third the trade unions, and one-third the Soviet of National Economy. Of the whole number one-third must consist of specialists. Then we have actual working apparatus consisting of the engineers, the technicians, the bookkeepers and other specialists. The factory management is headed either by one director and his assistants, a workman, or by a collegium usually consisting of three persons. Then we also have the heads of departments, the foremen, the heads of supply divisions, the engineers, the technicians, the bookkeepers and others.

All this is a collossal administrative and technical apparatus. And has it, at least one-third of it, changed at all?

Has it accepted and assimilated the aims and purposes of the proletariat? And is it ready to make voluntary sacrifices for the realization of these things? Not at all. Only through necessity it submitted to Soviet authority and at the first suitable moment it will undoubtedly break away from it and will again engage in sabotage. All these engineers, technicians, heads of departments, foremen, are men of old bourgeois psychology. They do not strive for the same creative ideals as the working class. They are prone to indifference, to a lack of interest in their work, if the workmen themselves do not watch them very closely.

And under these conditions can a small group of workers in a management of three or four solve the problem of manage-

ment in an enterprise if there is no special organ which can help it by controlling production in the factory itself, in its different divisions and shops . . .

The proletariat cannot do without specialists in the factories and in the army. In the latter it has organized constant control over the specialists in the form of the institution of commissaries and of the communist collectives, while in the factories and foundries it realizes this control through the *factory committees* which, being organs of the trade unions, are of assistance to thhe management rather than in opposition to it.

And so the factory committees are necessary and there is much work for them.

V. Ivanof.

Note: The Bolsheviks have often asserted that bourgeois technical experts have very generally adopted the principles of Bolshevism and have gone over whole heartedly to the Communist Party. The picture of factory conditions presented in the above article signed by an ardent Communist would indicate quite the opposite.

Document XVI

THE SOVIET THEORY FROM LENIN'S REPORT TO IX CONGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

MOSCOW, "PRAVDA," MARCH 31, 1920

Comrades, allow me to introduce a little theory into this question of how a class governs and of how the rule of a class expresses itself. In this matter we are, of course, not novices, and we differ from former revolutions in that in our revolution there is nothing of a Utopian character. If a new class has come to replace the old, it is only in a desperate struggle against classes that it maintains itself. And it will win in the end only if it is able to bring about the destruction of the old class. The gigantic and complicated process of class struggle puts the matter thus squarely; otherwise you will become mired in the marsh of confusion.

How does the rule of a class express itself? How did the rule of the bourgeoisie over the feudals express itself? In the constitution it was written: "Liberty and equality." This was a lie. So long as there are toilers, property holders are able and even obliged, as such, to speculate. We say that there was no equality, that the well-fed was not equal to the hungry, and the speculator to the toiler. How does the rule of a class then express itself? The rule of the proletariat expresses itself in taking away landlord and capitalistic property. The very spirit and fundamental content of all former constitutions, including the most republican and democratic, amounted simply to property rights. Our constitution has won the right to historic existence because it is not simply on paper, that we *have written that private property is abolished. The triumphant proletariat abolished and completely destroyed private property, and here one has the essence of the rule of a class.* Thus, first of all, it is a question of property. When we had decided in a practical way the question of property, we had at the same time guaranteed the rule of a class. Then the constitution put down on paper what life had decided: "There is no capitalistic or landlord property." And the constitution added: "And the working class, according to the constitution, has more rights than the *peasantry*, while exploiters have no rights at all." Thus was written down the

manner in which was realized the rule of our class, and the manner in which we bound to ourselves the toilers of all strata, all small groups. The petty-bourgeois property owners have been divided into factions. Among them those that have more property are the enemies of those that have less, and the proletarians, when they abolish property, declare against them an open war.

There are still many unconscious and ignorant persons who will go in for any kind of free trade. But in the struggle, when they see the discipline and self-sacrifice in the victory over exploiters, they themselves cannot fight; they are not for us, but they are powerless to come out against us. The rule of a class has been defined solely with relation to property. The constitution also has been defined in the same respect. Our constitution has written down faithfully our attitude toward property, and our attitude toward the question of which class *should* get *on top.* Whoever goes into the questions of democratic centralism when discussing the problem of how the rule of a class expressed itself, a thing that we frequently note, is only introducing such confusion that no successful work can proceed on this ground. Clearness of propaganda and agitation is a fundamental condition of work.

If our opponents have recognized that we have accomplished miracles in the development of *agitation* and *propaganda,* one must not understand this in the external sense, namely that we have expended much paper and agitators, but one must understand it in the internal sense, that the truth which was in this agitation has gotten through into the heads of everyone. And one cannot get away from this truth. When classes replace one another they change their attitude toward property. When the bourgeoisie replaced feudalism, it changed its attitude toward property. The constitution of the bourgeoisie says: Who has property is not equal to the one who is poor. And this was the freedom of the bourgeois. This "equality" gave the rule in the State to the capitalistic class.

And what do you think? When the bourgeoisie replaced feudalism, did they confuse the State with government? No. They were not such fools. They said that in order to govern one must have people who know how to govern and, there-

fore, they took members of the feudal class and remade them. Was this a mistake? No, comrades. The ability to govern does not fall from the heavens and does not come to one as the holy ghost. The fact that the leading class is the leading class does not mean that it becomes immediately capable of governing. We see that in many examples. Until the bourgeoisie triumphed, it used for governing, members of the other, feudal class, because, comrades, there was no other place from which to take. One must look at matters soberly. The bourgeoisie took the preceding class, and we are now confronted by a similar task, of knowing how to take, subordinate and use the knowledge of the bourgeois the latter's preparation, and to take advantage of all of this for the victories of the working class.

We say that the triumphant class should be mature, but maturity is not certified by a signature or diploma, but only by experience and practice. The bourgeoisie triumphed without knowing how to govern, but they guaranteed victory because they declared a new constitution and recruited and collected their administrators from their own class, and began to learn, and took administrators from the former class and began to teach and prepare their own new administrators, using for this purpose the entire state apparatus, sequestering feudal institutions, admitting to the schools those who were rich. Thus after long years and decades the bourgeoisie prepared its administrators from its own class. And now in this State organized on the basis of a ruling class, one must do exactly what was done in all States. If certain elements want to take a purely Utopian point of view and use empty phrases, we must say that we must learn by the experience of former years, and must guarantee the constitution won by the revolution; but for administration and governmental construction we must have people who possess the technical knowledge of government, and who have governmental and economic experience. And such people we can take only from the former class.

Note: When Lenin says "the working class. . . . has more rights than the peasantry," he simply states a principle which is consistently followed in the Constitution which almost deprives the peasants of any voting power, and is followed also in the practical administration of the government.

Document XVI

SPEECH BY LENIN ON PEASANTS AND SURPLUS GRAIN, MARCH 7, 1920

Comrade Lenin has been elected to the Moscow Soviet of Deputies. In his opening speech he stated the following:

"In the war forced upon us by landowners and capitalists we have broken the enemy's resistance on every side. We are now confronted by a new task—that of internal construction. Our ruined country must be reorganized, our economic life reconstructed. This task cannot be accomplished without fighting on a bloodless front. We have now been joined by the *Siberian peasantry,* who are rich in everything and who, in spite of all, are in favor of free trade. We must take the most stringent measures to *prevent this free trade,* since peasants who possess a surplus of grain can thus exploit their brothers and become in this way enemies of the working class, against whom we shall be forced to fight. *Our first duty is to destroy all these minor Bourgeois Democrats.* It it unnecessary to say that only laboring peasants are our brothers; we have known that for a long time. But the peasants who possess surplus grain and speculate with it are our enemies and we shall fight against them with all *violence* and all the *ruthlessness* with which we waged the war that we have just ended, while we shall also fight on the bloodless labor front in order that those who are starving may obtain the surplus grain from those who possess it. We shall attain a definite position by means of the *military measures* which we have worked out during the past two years. We have done great work, we have brought many workmen and peasants to take part in this work and we have been able to take all that we needed. At a time when former Tsarist officers were fighting against us, many experts were induced by us to take part in the work and they helped us together with our Commissaries; they taught us how to work and in return gave us their technical knowledge. By their aid the Red Army was enabled to win the victories that it has won. We must now turn all this work in another direction. We must devote all our work to the Labor Front. We must direct the work of the former propertied classes, who were once our enemies."

Document XVII

PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNISTS (BOLSHEVIKS)

N. BOUKHARIN

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PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNISTS (BOLSHEVIKS)

I. THE REIGN OF CAPITAL, THE WORKING CLASS AND THE POORER ELEMENTS OF THE VILLAGE POPULATION.

In all countries, except in Russia, Capital is predominant. Whatever state one takes, whether semi-despotic Prussia, or republican France or so-called democratic America — everywhere power is wholly concentrated in the hands of big capital. A small group of people,— landowners, manufacturers and the richest bankers hold millions and hundreds of millions of town workers and rural poor in slavery and bondage; compelling them to toil, sweating them and throwing them on the street as soon as they become useless, and worn out and incapable of being a source of further profit to Lord Capital.

This terrible power of the bankers and manufacturers over millions of toilers is given to them by wealth. Why does a poor man, who is thrown on the street have to starve to death? Because he possesses nothing except a pair of hands which he can sell to the capitalist should the capitalist want them. How is it that a rich banker or business man can do nothing and yet lead an easy life free of care, getting a solid income and raking in profits daily, hourly and even by the minute? Because he possesses not only a pair of hands but also those means of production without which work is impossible nowadays; factories, land, machines, railroads, mines, ships and steamers and all kinds of apparatus and instruments. All over the world except in present day Russia this wealth accumulated by man belongs only to capitalists and landowners who have also become capitalists. And it is no wonder that in such a state of affairs a group of men, having in their hands all that is indispensable, the most necessary things, dominate the rest who possess nothing. Let us take the instance of a

poor man from the country coming to town to seek work. Whom does he go to? To the proprietor, the man who owns a factory or works. And this same proprietor becomes the complete master of the man's life. If his, the master's loyal servants, directors and bookkeepers have calculated that it is possible to squeeze more profits out of fresh workers than out of the old ones, then he "gives a job." If not he tells him to "pass along." At the factory the capitalist is monarch of all he surveys. He is obeyed by all, and his directions are implicitly carried out. The factory is extended or reduced at his will. At his command, through foremen and managers, workmen are employed, or dismissed. He decides how long they are to work and what pay they are to get. And all this happens because the factory is his factory, the works — his works; they belong to him, are his private property. It is this right of private property over the means of production that is the cause of the terrible power which is in the hands of capital.

The same thing holds good with regard to land. Take the freest and most democratic country, the United States. Thousands of workers cultivate land that does not belong to them, land owned by landowning capitalists. Here everything is organized on the plan of a large factory: there are tens and hundreds of electric plows, reaping machines, reaping and sheaf-binding machines, at which hired slaves toil from dawn till night. And just as at the factory they work not for themselves but for a master. That is because the land itself as well as the seeds and machines, in a word, everything except the working hands is the private property of the capitalist master. He is autocrat here. He commands and conducts the business in such a way as to convert the very sweat and blood into shining yellow metal. The workmen, grumbling sometimes, obey and go on making money for the master because he possesses everything. whilst the worker, the poor agricultural laborer, possesses nothing.

But sometimes it so happens, that the landowner does not hire laborers, but lets his land on lease. Here in Russia, for instance, the poor peasantry, holding small allotments hardly enough to pasture a hen, were obliged to rent land from the landowners. They cultivated it with their own horses, ploughs and harrows. But even here they were mercilessly fleeced. The greater the peasant's need for land, the greater was the rent charged by the landowners, thus holding the poor peasant in real bondage. What enabled him to do that? The fact that the

land was his, the landowner's land; the fact that the land constituted the private property of the landowning class.

Capitalist society is divided into two classes: those who work a great deal and feed scantily, and those who work little or not at all, but eat well and plentifully. That is not at all in accordance with the scriptures, where it says: "He that does not work, neither shall he eat." This circumstance, however, does not prevent the priests of all faiths and tongues from lauding the capitalist order; for these priests everywhere (except in the Soviet Republic) are maintained by increment derived from private or church property.

Another question now arises: How is it possible for a group of parasites to retain private ownership over the means of labour, so indispensable to all? How has it come about that private ownership by the idle classes is maintained to the present day? Where does the reason lie?

The reason lies in the perfect organisation of the enemies of the laboring class. Today there does not exist a single capitalist country where the capitalists act individually. On the contrary, each one of them is infallibly a member of some economic organisation. And it is these economic unions that hold everything in their hands, having tens of thousands of faithful agents to serve them, not out of fear, but as a matter of conscience. The entire economic life of every capitalist country is at the complete disposal of special economic organisations, syndicates, trusts and unions of many banking concerns. These combines own and direct everything.

The most important industrial and financial combine is the Bourgeois State. This combine holds in its hands the reins of government and power. Here, everything is weighed and measured, everything is premediated and arranged in such manner as to crush instantly any attempt at rebellion on the part of the working class against the domination of capital. The State has at its disposal forces (such as spies, police, judges, executioners and trained soldiers who have become soulless machines) as well as mental influences which gradually pervert the workers and poorer elements of society, imbuing them with fallacious ideas. For this purpose of bourgeois state utilises schools and the church, aided by the capitalist press. It is a known fact that pig-breeders can breed such stock as are incapable of moving owing to the vast accumulation of fat; but such pigs are extremely suitable for slaughter. They are bred artificially

on special fattening food. The bourgeoisie deals with the working class in exactly the same way, it is true it gives them little enough substantial food,— not enough to get fat on. But day by day it offers to the workers a specially prepared mental food which fattens their brains and makes them incapable of thought. The bourgeoisie wants to turn the working class into a herd of swine, docile and fit for slaughter, not capable of thinking and ever subservient. This is the reason why, with the help of schools and the church, the bourgeoisie tries to instil into the minds of children the idea that it is necessary to obey the authorities as they hold their power from heaven (and the bolsheviks, instead of prayers, have drawn on themselves the curses of the church, because they have refused to grant any state subsidies to these cassocked frauds). This is also the reason why the bourgeoisie is so anxious to circulate its lying press far and wide.

The powerful organisation of the bourgeois class enables them to retain private property. The rich are few in number, but they are surrounded by a large number of faithful, devoted and handsomely paid servants: ministers, directors of works, directors of banks and so on; these latter are again surrounded by a still greater number of retainers who get paid less, but who are entirely dependent on them and who are educated along the same lines. They are themselves on the lookout for such posts, should they be lucky enough to attain them. These again are followed by minor officials, agents of capital, etc., etc. It is just as the Russian nursery tale has it: "Grandad holds on to the turnip, Grandma on to Grandad, the grandchild on to Grandma," and so on,— in short, they follow one another in an interminable chain united by the general organisation of the bourgeois state and other industrial combines. These organisations cover all countries with a net out of which the working class struggles in vain to get free.

Every capitalist State is in reality one vast economic union. The workers toil,— the masters enjoy themselves. The workers carry out orders,— the masters lord it over them. The workers are deceived,— the masters deceive them. Such is the state of things called capitalistic, which the capitalists and their servants — the priests, intellectual classes, mensheviks, socialist revolutionaries and the rest of that fraternity, are inviting the workers and peasants to obey.

II. Plundering Wars. The Oppression of the Working Classes and the Beginning of the Fall of Capitalism

In every capitalist country small capital has practically vanished; of late it has been eaten up by the big sharks of capitalism. At first, a struggle went on between the individual capitalists for customers; at the present time when there are only a few of them left (as the small fry is absolutely ruined), and the remaining ones have united, organised and have it their own way in their country, just as in the olden times the barons had full power over his domain. A few American bankers own the whole of America, just as formerly a single capitalist owned his factory. A few French usurers have subjugated the whole French people. Five of the biggest banks hold the fate of the German people in their hands. The same thing happens in other capitalist countries. It may therefore be said that the present capitalist States, or as they are called, "fatherlands," have become huge factories owned by an industrial combine, just as formerly a single capitalist owned his particular factory.

It is not surprising that such combines,—unions of various capitalist countries are now carrying on among themselves the same sort of struggle which was formerly carried on between individual capitalists: the English capitalist state is fighting the German capitalist state, just as formerly in England or in Germany respectively, one individual manufacturer was struggling against another. Only now the stake is a thousand times bigger and the struggle for the increase of profits is being waged by means of human life and human blood.

In this struggle, which has spread over the whole globe, the first to perish were small weak countries. At the beginning it is always the small colonial peoples that perish. Weak, uncivilised tribes are dispossessed of their lands by the great plundering states. A struggle ensues for the division of the remaining "free" lands, i. e., lands not yet looted by the "civilised" states. Then begins a struggle for the re-division of that which has already been looted. It is quite evident that the struggle for the re-division of the world must be bloody and furious as no war before it. It is conducted by monstrous giants, by the biggest states in the world, armed with perfected death-dealing machines.

The world war which broke out in the summer of 1914 and is still continuing, is the first war for the final re-division of the world between the monsters of "civilised" robbery. It has

drawn into its whirlpool four of the chief rival giants: England, Germany, America and Japan. And the struggle is being carried on to decide which of these plundering unions will put the world under the domination of its bloody iron heel.

This war has everywhere vastly deteriorated the position of the working class, which was bad enough as it was. Terrible calamities have fallen on the workers; millions of the best men were simply mown down on the battlefields; starvation was the fate of others. Those who dare to protest are menaced with severest punishments. Prisons are all filled to overflowing; gendarmes with machine guns are held ready against the working classes. The rights of the workers have vanished even in the most "free" countries: the workers are even forbidden to strike; strikes are looked upon in the same light as treason. The Labor and Socialist Press is stifled. The best workers, the most loyal fighters for the revolution are compelled to hide and build up their organisations secretly, just as we used to do at the time of the Tzar, furtively hiding from crowds of spies and police. No wonder that all these consequences of the war have made the workers not only groan, but rise against their oppressors.

But now, the bourgeois states which are responsible for the great slaughter are in their turn beginning to decay at the root, and fall. The bourgeois states have "stuck" so to speak. They have stuck in the bloody swamp they have created in their hunt after profit and there is no way out. To go back, to return empty-handed is impossible after such great losses in money, goods and blood. To go on, encountering new terrible risks — is also practically impossible. The policy of the war has led them into a blind alley from which there is no exit. And that is why the war is still continuing without either coming to an end, or achieving any definite result. For the same reason the decaying capitalist order is beginning to totter and will sooner or later have to make way for a new order of things, under which the imbecility of a world war for the sake of gain, will have become impossible.

The longer the war lasts, the poorer the combatant countries are becoming. The flower of the working class has either perished, or is lying eaten alive by lice in the trenches, busily at work in the cause of destruction. Everything has been demolished in the course of war; even brass door handles have been con-

fiscated for war requirements. Objects of primary necessity are lacking because the war, like the insatiable locust, has devoured everything. There is no one to manufacture useful articles any longer; what there is, is being gradually used up. For nearly four years, factories that previously turned out useful things, are manufacturing shells and shrapnel instead. And now, without men, without producing what is indispensable, all the countries have reached a state of decline where people are beginning to howl like wolves with cold, hunger, poverty, want and oppression. In German villages, where formerly electricity was used, they now burn dried wood chips for lack of coal. Life is coming to a standstill with the general growth of poverty of the people. In such well-kept towns as Berlin and Vienna, the streets are not traversable at night because of the robberies that take place. The press is wailing over the insufficiency of police. They refuse to see that the growth of crime is the consequence of the growth of pauperism, despair and exasperation. Cripples returning from the front find sheer starvation at home; the number of hungry and homeless, notwithstanding the number of various relief organisations, is constantly growing, because there is nothing to eat and all the while the war proceeds, demanding new sacrifices.

The harder the position of the warring states, the more friction, quarrels and misunderstandings arise between the different sections of the bourgeoisie, who formerly went hand in hand for the sake of their mutual aims. In Austria-Hungary, Bohemians, Ukrainians, Germans, Poles and others are fighting each other. In Germany, with the conquest of new provinces, the same bourgeoisie (Esthonian, Lettish, Ukrainian, Polish) which welcomed the German troops, are now quarrelling furiously with their liberators. In England, the English bourgeoisie is in mortal conflict with the enslaved Irish bourgeoisie. And in the midst of this tumult and general disorganisation is heard the voice of the labouring class, before which history has laid the problem of putting an end to war and of overthrowing the yoke of capitalism.

Thus approaches the hour of the decay of capitalism, and the communist revolution of the working class.

The first stone was laid by the Russian October revolution. The reason why capitalism in Russia became disorganised before it did in any other country, was that the burden of the world was heaviest for the young capitalist state of our country. We

had not the monstrous organisation of the bourgeoisie which they have in England, Germany or America; and our bourgeoisie could not therefore cope with the demands made on it by the war. Nor could they withstand the mighty onset of the Russian labouring class and of the poor elements of the peasantry who, in the October days, knocked the bourgeoisie out of their seats and put at the head of the government the party of the working class — the communists-bolsheviks.

Sooner or later the same fate will overtake the bourgeoisie of Western Europe where the working class is joining more and more the ranks of the communists. Everywhere, organisations of native "bolsheviks" are growing; in Austria and in America, in Germany and in Norway, in France and in Italy. The programme of the Communist party is becoming the programme of the universal proletarian revolution.

III. General Sharing, or Cooperative Communist Production.

We already know that the root of the evil of all plundering wars, of oppression of the working classes and of all the atrocities of capitalism, is that the world has been enslaved by a few state-organized capitalist bands, who own all the wealth of the earth as their private property. The capitalist ownership of the means of production, this is the "reason of reasons" which explains the barbarity of the present order of things. To deprive the rich of their power by depriving them of their wealth, by force,— that is the paramount duty of the working class, of the labour party,—the party of communists.

Some think, that after depriving the rich of their possessions, these should be "religiously," justly and equally divided between everybody, and then all will be well. Every one, they say, would have just as much as every one else; all would be equal, and freed from inequality, oppression and exploitation. Thanks to this equal share-cut, general division and allotment of all the riches amongst the poor, everybody will look after himself, will own all things convenient for his use, and the domination of man over man will vanish.

But this is not the point of view of the Communist Party. The Communist Party considers that such equal sharing would lead to nothing good, and to no other result than confusion and a return to the old order.

Firstly, there are quite a number of things which are impossible to divide. How, for instance, would you divide the railways? If one man gets the rails, another the steel plate, a third one the screws and a fourth begins smashing up the carriages to light his stove; a fifth breaks a mirror, to have a piece of glass for shaving purposes and so on,— it is plain that this kind of division would not be fair at all and would only lead to an idiotic plundering and destruction of useful things. It is just as impossible to divide a machine. For, if one takes a pinion, another a lever and the rest other parts,— the machine will cease to be a machine and the whole thing will go to ruin. And the same thing holds good with regard to all complicated machinery, which is so important as a means of further production. We have only to think of telegraph and telephone apparatus and the apparatus at chemical works, etc. It is evident that only an unintelligent man or a direct enemy of the working class would advise this kind of sharing.

This, however, is not the only reason why such a sharing is harmful. Let us suppose that by some kind of miracle, a more or less equal division was attained of everything taken from the rich, even that would not lead to any desirable result in the end. What is the meaning of a division? It means that instead of a few large owners there would spring up a large number of small ones. It means not the abolition of private ownership, but its dispersion over a larger area. In the place of large ownership there would arise ownership on a small scale. But such a period we have already had in the past. We know very well that capitalism and large capitalists have developed out of the competition between one small owner and another. If we bred a number of small owners as a result of our division we should get the following result: part of them (and quite a considerable part) would, on the very next day get rid of their share on some market or other (say the Soucharev Market in Moscow) and their property would thus fall into the hands of wealthier owners; between the remaining ones a struggle would ensue for the buyers, and in this struggle, too, the wealthier ones would soon get the upper hand of the less well-to-do. The latter would soon be ruined and turn into proletarians and their lucky rivals would amass fortunes, employing men to work for them and thus be gradually transformed into first-rate capitalists. And so we should, in a very short time, return to the

same order which we have just destroyed and find ourselves once again before the old problem of capitalist exploitation.

Dividing up into small property holders is not the ideal of the worker or the agricultural labourer. It is rather the dream of the small shopkeeper oppressed by the big one, who wants to become a large shopkeeper himself. How to become a "boss," how to get hold of as much as possible and retain it in his greedy clutch,—that is what the shopkeeper is aiming at. To think of others and consider what this may result in is not his affair so long as he gets an extra sixpence clinking in his pocket. He is not to be frightened by a possible return to capitalism, for he is cherishing a faint hope that he himself, John Smith, may become a capitalist. And that would not be so bad, for him.

No, there is an entirely different road along which the working class should go and is going. The working class is interested in such a reconstruction of society as would make return to capitalism impossible. Sharing of wealth would mean driving capitalism out of the front door only to see it return by the back door. The only way out of this dilemma is a cooperative labour (communist) system.

In a communist order, all the wealth belongs not to individuals or classes, but to society as a whole, which becomes as it were, one great labor association; no one man is master over it. All are equal comrades. There are no classes, capitalists do not employ labour, nor do workers sell their labor to employers. The work is carried out jointly, according to a pre-arranged labour plan. A central bureau of statistics calculates how much it is required to manufacture in a year: such and such a number of boots, trousers, sausages, blacking, wheat, cloth, and so on; it will also calculate that for this purpose, such and such a number of men must work on the fields and in the sausage works respectively; and such and such a number in the large communal tailoring workshops, etc., and working hands will be distributed accordingly. The whole of production is conducted on a strictly calculated and adjusted plan, on the basis of an exact estimate of all the machines, apparatus, all raw material and all the labour power in the community. There is also an exact account kept of the annual requirements of the community. The manufactured product is stored in a communal warehouse from whence it is distributed amongst the workers. All work is carried out only in the largest works and

on the best machines, thereby saving labour. The management of production is conducted along the most economical lines: all unnecessary expenditure is avoided, owing to work being carried out on one general plan of production. We do not have here the kind of order that allows one kind of management in one place and another kind of management in another; or that one factory, for example, should not know how things are done at another factory. Here, on the contrary, the whole world is weighed and accounted for. Cotton is only grown where the soil is most suitable. The production of coal is concentrated in the richest mines; iron foundries are built in the neighborhood of coal and ore; in parts where the soil is fit for wheat, it will not be employed for building monstrous city edifices on, but will be used for sowing wheat. Everything, in short, is arranged in such a manner that each kind of production should be carried out in a place most suitable for it, where work could be done most successfully, where things could be obtained easiest, where human labour would be most productive. All this can be attained only by working to a single plan and by organizing the whole community into one vast labour commune.

People in this communistic order do not benefit at one another's expense. There are no rich here, no parvenues, no bosses and no bottom dogs; society is not divided into classes of which one rules over the other. And there being no classes means that there are no two sorts of people (poor and rich), gnashing their teeth against one another, the oppressors against the oppressed and vice-versa. For this same reason we have no such organization as the state, because there is no dominating class requiring a special organisation to keep their class opponents under their heel. There is no government to rule men and there is no power of one man over another. There is administration only of things, management of machines; there is the power of human society over nature. Mankind is not divided up into hostile camps; it is united by common labour and by a common struggle against the elements. The political barriers that divide nations are done away with. Separate fatherlands are abolished. The whole of humanity, without distinction of nationality is bound together in all its parts and organised into one united whole. All peoples form one great united labour association.

IV. An Anarchist or a Communist Order?

There are people who call themselves Anarchists, that is to say, adherents to an order of things where there is no government. They affirm that the bolshevik-communists are on the wrong path, because they wish to preserve power, and that any kind of power or authority and any kind of state, means oppression and violence. We have seen that such an opinion of communism is not right. A Communist order of life is an order in which there are neither workers nor capitalists, nor any kind of state. The difference between an anarchist and a communist order is not in the fact that there is a state in one and none in the other. No, there is no state in either of them. The real difference is in the following.

Anarchists think that human life will be better and freer when they subdivide all production into small labour-commune organisations. A group or association, say of ten men, is formed, who have united by their own free will. Very well. These ten men begging to work on their own account and at their own risk. In another place there has arisen a similar association; in a third another. In time, all these associations enter into negotiations and agreements with one another concerning the things which are lacking in each respective union. Gradually they come to an understanding and "free contracts" or agreements are drawn up.

And now all production is carried on in these small communes. Every man is free at any time to withdraw from the commune and each commune is free to withdraw from the voluntary union (federation) of these small communes (labour associations).

Do Anarchists reason rightly? Any worker acquainted with the present system of factory machine production will see that this is not right. Let us explain why.

The future order is meant to save the working class from two evils. In the first place from the subjection of man by man, from exploitation, from the will of one man oppressing another. This is attained by casting off the yoke of capital and depriving the capitalists of all their wealth. But there is yet another problem,— that of shaking off the yoke of Nature, of mastering Nature, or organising production in the best, most perfect way. Only then will it be possible for each man to spend but a little time in the manufacture of food products,

boots, clothes, houses, etc., and to spend the rest of his time for developing his mind, for studying science, for art, for all that which makes human life beautiful. Pre-historic man lived in groups in which all were equal. But they led a brutal existence, because they did not subject Nature to themselves, but allowed Nature entirely to subject them. Although with the capitalist production on a large scale humanity has learned to control Nature, the working class still live like beasts of burden, because the capitalist holds them in his clutches, owing to the existence of economic inequality. What follows? That economic equality should be united with production on a large scale. It is not enough to do away with capitalists. It is indispensable that production should be organised, as we have already said, on a large scale. All small inefficient enterprises must disappear. The whole work must be concentrated in the largest factories, works, estates. And not in such a way that Tom should not know what John is doing nor John know what Tom is doing; this kind of management is all wrong. What we want is a united plan of work. The more localities such a plan embraces, the better. The world must ultimately become one labour enterprise, where the whole of humanity, in accordance with a strictly worked-out, estimated and measured plan would work for its own needs, on the best machines, at the biggest works, without either employers or capitalists. In order to advance production we must on no account sub-divide the big production which capitalism has left us as a heritage. It should, on the contrary, be still more widened. The wider and larger the general plan, the bigger the scale on which production will be organised, the more will it be guided by the estimates and accounts of the statistical centres. In other words, the more centralised industry will be, the better: for them, the less labour will fall to the share of each individual, the freer will each man be, the greater the scope for mental development in human society.

But the future state of society, propagated by the anarchists, is just the opposite of this. Instead of enlarging, centralising or regulating production, it sub-divides it and consequently weakens the domination of Man over Nature. There is no general plan, no large organisation. Under an anarchist order it will be even impossible to utilise large machines to the fullest extent, to reconstruct railroads, according to a general plan; to undertake irrigation on a big scale. Let us give an example. A great

deal is being spoken of substituting steam plan by electricity and of utilising water-falls, etc., for obtaining electric motor power. In order to distribute correctly the electrical energy obtained, it is of course necessary to estimate, weigh and measure where and how much of this energy is to be directed, so as to derive the greatest possible advantage therefrom. What does that mean, and how is it to be made possible? It is only possible when production is organised on a large scale, when it is concentrated in one or two great centres of management and control. And, on the other hand it is impossible under an anarchist order of small, disseminated communes but loosely held together. In this way we can see that as a matter of fact production cannot be properly organised in an anarchist state. This in its turn results in a long working day, i. e. dependence to a great extent on Nature. An anarchist order would only serve as a bridle retarding the progress of humanity. That is why we, communists, are fighting against the teaching spread by the anarchists.

Now it is plain why anarchist propaganda leads to a sharing of wealth instead of a communist construction of society. A small anarchist commune — is not a vast collaboration of men, but a tiny group, which can even consist of as few as two or three men. At Petrograd there existed such a group — "The Union of Five Oppressed." According to the anarchist teachings it might have been "A Union of Two Oppressed." Imagine what would happen if every five men or every couple of men began independently to requisition, confiscate and then start work at their own risk. There are in Russia about a hundred million of the labouring population. If they were to form "unions of five oppressed" we should have in Russia twenty millions of such communes. Imagine what a Babel would ensue if these twenty million little communes began acting independently! What chaos and anarchy we should have! Nor would it be surprising that if such groups began, independently of each other, to usurp the wealth of the rich nothing but a sharing out would result. And sharing out leads, as we have seen above, to the reign of capital all over again, to violence and oppression of the labouring masses.

V. To Communism Through Proletarian Dictatorship!

How is the Communist order to be instituted? How is it to be attained? To this, the Communist party gives the following answer: through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Dictatorship — means a power of iron, a power that shows no mercy to its foes. The dictatorship of the working class means the governing power of the working class, which is to stifle the bourgeoisie and the landowners. Such a government of the workers can only arise out of a Socialist revolution of the working class, which destroys the bourgeois state and bourgeois power and builds up a new state on its ruins,— that of the proletariat itself and of the poorest elements supporting it.

This, in fact, is the reason why we stand for a workers' State, whilst the anarchists are against it. That means to say that we, communists, want a workers' government which we must have provisionally, until the working class has completely defeated its opponents, thoroughly drilled the whole of the bourgeoisie, knocked the conceit out of it, and deprived it of the last shred of hope ever to rise again to power.

"And so you, communists, are for violence," we may be asked? Certainly, we shall reply. But we are for revolutionary violence. First of all we think that by mere gentle persuasion the working class will never attain anything at all. The road of compromise, as preached by the mensheviks and the socialist revolutionaries will lead nowhere. The working class will achieve liberty in no other way except through a revolution, that is to say, through the overthrow of the power of capitalism, through the destruction of the bourgeois state. But every revolution is a form of violence against former rulers. The March revolution in Russia was violence against the oppressors, landlords and the Tzar. The October revolution was violence of the workers, peasants and soldiers against the bourgeoisie. And such violence, a violence against those who have oppressed millions of the toiling masses, is not wrong — it is sacred.

But the working class is compelled to use violence against the bourgeoisie even after the bourgeoisie has been overthrown in an open revolutionary fight. For, as a matter of fact, even after the working class had destroyed the government of the bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie does not cease to exist as a class. It does not vanish altogether. It continues to hope for a return to the old order and is therefore ready to form an alliance with anyone, against the victorious working class.

The experience of the Russian revolution of 1917 fully confirms this. In October the working class excluded the bour-

geoisie from the government. But, nevertheless, the bourgeoisie was not completely crushed; it acted against the workers, mobilizing all its forces, striving to crush the proletariat again and to achieve its own ends by hook or by crook. It organised sabotage,— that is, counter — revolutionary officials, clerks, and civil servants who did not wish to be subjected to workmen and peasants abandoned their posts en masse. It organised the armed forces of Dutoff, Kaledin, Korniloff; it is at present, whilst we are writing these lines, organising the bands of Esaul Semionoff for a campaign against the Siberian Soviets; and lastly it is calling to its aid the troops of the foreign bourgeoisie,— German, Japanese, etc. Thus the experience of the Russian October Revolution teaches us that the working class even after its victory is compelled to have to deal with the mightiest of external foes (the plundering capitalist states) who are on their way to aid the overthrown bourgeoisie of Russia.

If we seriously consider the whole world at the present minute, we shall see that it is only in Russia that the proletariat has succeeded in overthrowing the power of the bourgeois State. The remainder of the world still belongs to big-capital robbers. Soviet Russia with its worker and peasant government — is a small island in the midst of a tempestuous capital ocean. And even if the victory of the Russian workers is to be followed by a victory of the workers of Austria and Germany, there will still be left big vulture-like capitalistic states. If all capitalistic Europe breaks up and falls under the blows of the working class there will still be left the capitalistic world of Asia, with Japan like a beast of prey, at its head; then we have the capital of America at the head of which stands the monstrous plundering union of capitalists called the United States of America. All these capitalist states will not give up their position without a fight. They will fight with all their might to prevent the proletariat from getting possession of the whole world. The mightier the onslaught of the proletariat, the more dangerous the position of the bourgeoisie,—the more necessary it becomes for the bourgeoisie to concentrate all its forces in the struggle against the proletariat. The proletariat, having conquered in one, two or three countries will inevitably come into collision with the rest of the bourgeois world that will attempt to break by blood and iron the efforts of the class that is fighting for its freedom.

What follows? It follows that prior to the establishment of the communist order and after the abolition of the capitalist order, in the interval between capitalism and communism even after Socialistic revolutions in several countries, the working class will have to endure a furious struggle with its inner and external foes. And for such a struggle a strong, wide, well constructed organisation is required, having at its disposal all the means of fighting. An organisation of this kind is the proletarian state, the power of the workers. The proletarian state, similar to other states, is an organization of the dominating class (the dominating class here is the working class) and an organisation of violence over the bourgeoisie as a means of getting rid of the bourgeoisie and of putting an end to it.

He who is afraid of this kind of violence is not a revolutionist. The question of violence should not be regarded from the point of view that every kind of violence is pernicious. The violence practised by the rich against the poor, by capitalists towards workers,— such violence acts against the working masses and aims at supporting and strengthening capitalistic plunder. But the violence of workers against the bourgeoisie aims at freeing millions of workingmen from slavery; it means redemption from the rod of Capital, from plundering wars, from savage looting and destruction of all that mankind has been building up and accumulating for ages and ages. That is why, in the making of revolution and the forming of a communist order, the iron rule of a proletarian dictatorship is indispensable.

It should be clear to everyone that during the transition period, the working class will have to (and must do so now) strain all its energy in order to emerge victorious in the battle with its numerous enemies, and that no other organisation can defeat the enemies of the working class except one that embraces the working class and the poorer peasantry of the whole country. How is it possible to ward off foreign imperialists unless one holds in one's hands government, power and an army? How is it possible to fight against counter-revolution unless one holds in one's hands arms (a means of coercion), prisons for confining counter-revolutionaries and marauders (a means of coercion) and other means of violence and subjection? How is it possible to make capitalists conform to the workers' control, requisitions, etc., if the working class possesses no means for compelling others to obey? Of course some may say, that a couple of "Unions of Five Oppressed" would be sufficient,— that is nonsense.

The peculiarities of a transition period call for the necessity of a Workers' State. For even when the bourgeoisie will be defeated all over the world, accustomed as it is to idleness, and imbued with feelings of hostility towards the workers, it will do its best to avoid work, to try and injure the proletariat in every way. The bourgeoisie must be made to serve the people. Only an authorised government and compulsory measures can do that.

In backward countries like Russia there shall exist a multitude of small and medium property holders, sweaters, usurers and land-grabbers. All these are against the poorest elements of the rural population and still more against the town labourers. They follow in the wake of big capital and of the ex-state owners. It is needless to say that the workers and the poorest of the peasants must crush them should they rise against the revolution. The workers have got to think how to organise a new plan of work, systematise the work of production taken out of the hands of the manufacturers, help the peasants to organise rural economy and a fair distribution of bread, manufactured goods, iron products and so on. But the sweater-land-grabber, grown fat on the war, is stubborn; he does not intend to act in the common interests; "I am my own master," he says. The workers and the poor elements of the peasantry must compel him to obey, just in the same way as they are compelling the big capitalists to obey, the ex-landowners and ex-generals and officers.

The more precarious the position of the workers' revolution is and the more enemies it is surrounded by, the more ruthless should be the workers' government, the heavier should be the hand of the revolutionary workers and of the poorest elements of the peasantry, and the more energetic should be the dictatorship. State government in the hands of the working class — is an axe held in readiness against the bourgeoisie. In a Communist order, when the bourgeoisie has ceased to exist and with it class divisions and every kind of external as well as internal danger, then the axe will be needed no longer. But in the transition period, when the enemy is still showing his fangs, and is ready to drown the whole working class in a sea of blood (let us recall to mind the shooting of the Finnish workmen, the executions of Kiev, executions of workmen and peasants all over the Ukraine and in Lithuania) and we will agree that to go unarmed, to act without this axe of state government, would be an act of folly.

Two parties are clamouring against the dictatorship of the work-

ing class. On the one side are the Anarchists; these, you see, being against every kind of government are therefore against the government of the workers and peasants. To these we can say: "If you are against the workers using means of violence against the bourgeoisie, then get you to a convent!"

On the other side, against the dictatorship of the workers, we have the mensheviks and the right socialist revolutionaries (though they were themselves formerly in favour of it). These, you see, are against encroaching upon the liberty . . . of the bourgeoisie. They are backing up the purse-proud bourgeois to get for him that which he once possessed and enable him peacefully to saunter along the Nevsky Prospect in Petrograd or the Tverskaya at Moscow, etc. They maintain that the working class is "not yet ripe" for a dictatorship. To them we can say: "You, sirs, defenders of the bourgeoisie, go to the bourgeoisie whom you love so much, but do leave the working class and the poor peasantry alone."

Just because the Communist party is an adherent of the most rigid iron dictatorship of the workers over capitalists, small sweaters, late landowners and all other similar delightful relics of the old bourgeois order, it is for that very reason, the extremest and most revolutionary of all existing groups and parties. "Through a mercilessly firm government of the workers, through a proletarian dictatorship — to Communism." This is the war-cry of our Party. And the programme of our party is the programme of proletarian dictatorship.

VI. A Soviet Government or a Bourgeois Republic?

Our attitude towards the necessity of dictatorship, leads us, as an inevitable result, both to our struggle against an antiquated form of a parliamentary bourgeois republic (sometimes called "democratic"), and to our attempts at setting up instead a new form of State administration — a government of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies.

The mensheviks and the right wing of the Socialist revolutionaries are staunch supporters of the Constituent Assembly and a parliamentary republic. They loudly abuse the government of the Soviets. And why? First, because they are afraid of the power of the workers, and desire to retain all power in the hands of the bourgeoisie. But the Communists who are striving to realise the

Communist (socialist) order must inevitably fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie. That is where the difference lies. And for this very reason the parties of mensheviks and socialist revolutionaries are at one with the party of the bourgeoisie.

What is the essential difference between a parliamentary republic and a republic of Soviets? It is, that in a Soviet republic the non-working elements are deprived of the franchise and take no part in administrative affairs. The country is governed by Soviets, which are elected by the toilers in the places where they work, as factories, works, workshops, mines and in villages and hamlets. The bourgeoisie, ex-landowners, bankers, speculating traders, merchants, shopkeepers, usurers, the Korniloff intellectuals, priests and bishops,—in short, the whole of the black host have no right to vote, no fundamental political rights. The foundation of a parliamentary republic is formed by the Constituent Assembly, whilst the supreme organ of the Soviet Republic is the Cenvention of Soviets. What is the principal difference between the Convention of Soviets and the Constituent Assembly? Anybody with the least intelligence can easily answer this question. Although the mensheviks and the right wing of the socialist revolutionaries do, as a matter of fact try to muddle things by inventing various pompous names such as, for instance: "master of the Russian land," still, truth will out. The Constituent Assembly differs from the Covention of Soviets inasmuch as into the former are elected not only the labourers, but also the bourgeoisie and all the bourgeois hangers-on. It consequently differs from the Convention of Soviets in the fact that in the Constituent Assembly may sit not only workers and peasants, but also bankers, landowners and capitalists; not only the Labour party (the Communists), not only the left wing of the socialist revolutionaries and even not only the socialist traitors such as the right wing of the socialist revolutionaries, but also the constitutional democrats (the party of traitors to the people), the Black-Hundred and the Octobrists. This is the Crowd for whom these honorable compromisers are demanding enfranchisement. When they clamour for the necessity of a "popular, all-national" Constituent Assembly, they do not consider the Soviets as all-national, because the Russian bourgeoisie is lacking to complete the full representation of the Russian people. To supplement working

class representation with this crowd of parasites, to give these enemies of the people all rights, to give them seats next to themselves in parliament, to transform the class government of workers and peasants into a class government of the bourgeoisie under the pretext of admitting all nationalities,— this is the task of the right wing of the socialist revolutionaries, of the mensheviks, of the constitutional democrats, in a word, of big capital and its petty-bourgeois agents.

The experience of all countries shows that where the bourgeoisie enjoys all the rights, it invariably deceives the working class and the poorest peasantry.

By holding the press, newspapers and magazines firmly in its grasp, possessing as it does vast riches, bribing officials, exploiting the services of hundreds of thousands of their agents, threatening and intimidating the more downtrodden of their slaves, the bourgeoisie succeeds in preventing power from slipping from its hands. At first sight it appears as if the whole nation were voting but in reality this screen is used by domineering financial capital which arranges matters to suit itself and even boasts of "allowing the people to vote," and of preserving all kinds of "democratic liberties." This is the reason why, in all countries where there is a bourgeois republic (take for instance France, Switzerland and the United States of America), notwithstanding universal suffrage, the power is completely concentrated in the hands of the leading bankers. And so we see why the right wing of the socialist revolutionaries and the mensheviks are striving to overthrow the power of the Soviets and to summon the "Constituent Assembly." In granting votes to the bourgeoisie they intend to prepare for a transition to a similar order of things as exists in France and America. They consider that the Russian workers are not "ripe" to hold the government in their own hands. But the party of the communist-bolsheviks, on the contrary, holds that dictatorship of the workers is essential at the present moment and that there can be no talk whatever of any transfer of government. The bourgeoisie must be deprived of every possibility of deceiving the people. The bourgeoisie must be set aside and firmly prevented from taking any part in the government of the country, because the present is a time of acute struggle. We must strengthen and widen the dictatorship of the workers and poorest elements of the peasantry. That is why the state government

of Soviets is indispensable. Here we have no bourgeoisie whatever, and no landowners. Here the state is governed by the organisations of workers and peasants, which have grown up together with the revolution and have borne the whole burden of the great struggle on their own shoulders.

But this is not enough. An ordinary republic does not only represent the power of the bourgeoisie. A republic of this kind can never, by reason of its composition, become inspired with the spirit of the workers' party. In a parliamentary republic every citizen hands in his vote once in every four or five years,— and there his part in the matter ends. All the rest is left to deputies, ministers and presidents, who manage everything. There is no connection whatever with the masses. The masses of the labouring people are only tools exploited by the officials of the bourgeoisie, taking no real part in the government.

Quite a different matter is a Soviet republic, corresponding to a dictatorship of the workers. Here the whole administration is based on an entirely different principle. A Soviet government is not an organisation of officials independent of the masses and dependent on the bourgeoisie. The Soviet Government and its organs are supported by general organisations of the working class and the peasantry. Trade unions, works and factories committees, local soviets of workmen and peasants, soldiers' and sailors' organisations,— all these support the central Soviet Government. From the Central Soviet Government thousands and millions of threads spread in all directions; first these threads go to district and provincial Soviets, then to the town Soviets, from these to the town-parish Soviets, from these again to the factories and works, uniting hundreds of thousands of workers. All the higher institutions of the Soviet Government are organised on the same lines. Take for instance, the Supreme Council for Public Economy. It is composed of representatives of central committees and other organisations. Trade unions in their turn unite whole branches of production, they have branches in various towns and are supported by the organised masses at factories and works. Today, at every factory there is a factory and works committee which is elected by the workers of that factory; these factory and works' committees being again united. And these, too, send their representatives to the Supreme Council for Public Economy which draws up economic plans and directs production. Thus here, too, the central organ of control of industry is composed of representatives of workers

and is supported by mass organisations of the working class and of the poorest elements of the peasantry. This then is an entirely different plan to that of a bourgeois republic. The bourgeoisie is not only deprived of rights, and there is not only a question of the country being governed by representatives of workers and peasants. The great thing is that the Soviets govern the country, keeping in constant touch with the large unions of the workers and peasants and thus the wide masses are all the time taking part in the administration of the Workers' and Peasants' Government. In this way each organised workman exercises his influence. He takes part in the government of the state not only by electing trusted representatives once a month or two. No. The trade unions, say, work out a plan for organising production; these plans are then considered by the Soviets or by the Council for Public Economy and then, if they are practicable they obtain the full force of law, after being approved by the Central Executive Committee of Soviets. Any given trade union, any works' and factories' committee can in this way take a part in the general work of creating a new order of life.

In a bourgeois republic the more indifferent the masses are, the happier is the Government, because the interests of the masses are opposed to those of the capitalist state. If, for instance, the masses of the North American Republic should take matters into their own hands,—that would mean the end of the supremacy of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeois state is based on the supremacy of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeois state is based on the deception of the masses, keeping them half-awake, by the method of depriving them of any active part in the every-day work of the state, by summoning them once every few years "to vote" and by deceiving them with their own vote. It is an entirely different thing in a Soviet republic. The Soviet Republic, embodying the dictatorship of the masses cannot even for a minute tear itself away from these masses. Such a republic is the stronger in proportion to the greater activity and energy manifested by the masses and the more work accomplished at works and factories, in the towns and in the provinces. It is not a matter of mere chance, therefore, that the Soviet Government in issuing its decrees addresses the masses with the demand that the workers and poorest peasants themselves should carry these decrees into execution. That is why the significance of various workers' and peasants' organisations entirely changed after the

October revolution. At first they were weapons of class struggle against the governing capitalists and landowners. Take for example, the professional unions and some small peasants' Soviets. At first they were compelled to carry on a struggle for higher pay and a shorter working day in the towns, and for depriving the landowners of the land in the rural districts. At the present time, when the Government is in the hands of the workers and the peasants, these organisations are becoming wheels in the machine of state government. At present, the trade unions are not only fighting with the capitalists, but are taking an active part in the organisation of production, as organs of a labour government, as part of the Soviet State, in the administration of industry; and in the same way the village sharks or sweaters, with the capitalists and landowners, but are also working to establish a new land system; that is to say, they have the administration of the land in their hands as organs of a workers' and peasants' government; they are as screws and nuts in the huge machine of state administration, where the power is in the hands of the workmen and peasants.

In this way, through the workers' and peasants' organisations the widest sections of the labouring masses have been gradually called in the work of government. There is nothing like this in any other country. Nowhere but in Russia has the victory of the working class and the establishment of a workers' government yet been achieved; no other country has yet a proletarian dictatorship, nor a Soviet republic, nor a Soviet state.

It is very clearly understood that the Soviet Government corresponding to the proletarian dictatorship, does not suit those groups of the population that are interested in a return to capitalist slavery, instead of going ahead to a communist order. It is also clear that they cannot possibly say frankly and openly: "We want the whip and the stick for the workers." Here, too, a certain amount of deceit is required. Such deceit is the specialty of the right wing of the socialist revolutionaries and of the mensheviks who are shouting about a "struggle for a democratic republic," about the Constituent Assembly which they declare will save us all from all evils, and so on. But as a matter of fact the real question here is to transfer the government to the bourgeoisie. And in this fundamental question no agreement can possibly be arrived at between us, communists, and the various mensheviks, right wing socialist revolutionaries, the followers of the "Novaya Zhisn" and the rest of that fraternity. They stand

for capitalism whilst we stand for a movement towards Communism. They, for a government of the bourgeoisie, we, for a dictatorship of the workers; they, for a parliamentary bourgeois republic where capital will reign, we, for a soviet socialist republic where all the power belongs to the workers and the poorest elements of the peasantry.

Until the present time, prior to the Russian revolution of 1917, the dictatorship of the proletariat was only written about. But no one seemed to have quite a clear idea as to how this dictatorship was to be realised. The Russian revolution evolved the actual form of the dictatorship,— that of the Soviet Republic. And therefore, at the present moment, the best sections of the international proletariat are inscribing on their banners the motto of a soviet republic and of a soviet government. And therefore, too, our task now consists in strengthening the Soviet Government by all the means in our power and in clearing it of various undesirable elements, in attracting to the task of reconstruction a greater number of capable comrades, elected by the working and peasant masses. Only such a government, a government of the Soviets, the government of the workers and peasants, is what the workers and peasants can and should defend.

Should our workers and peasants suffer defeat, should the Constituent Assembly be really summoned, should the place of the Government of the Soviets be taken by an ordinary bourgeois republic after the manner of the French and American republic,— then the worker should not only not be under any obligation to defend it, but should make it the task of his life to overthrow such a republic. For it is his duty to defend the government of the workers and not the government of the bourgeoisie. With regard to the government of the bourgeoisie, he has but one obligation, and that is — to overthrow it.

VII. Freedom for the Working Class and the Poorest Elements of the Peasantry; Restrictions for the Bourgeoisie.

(Freedom of speech, press, unions, meetings, etc., in the Soviet Republic.)

Since we have a dictatorship of workers and peasants whose aim is to crush the bourgeoisie completely and to put down any attempt of reviving the bourgeois government, it is plain that

there can be no question of freedom, in the wide sense of the word for the bourgeoisie, just as there can be no question of allowing the bourgeoisie the right of franchise, nor of transforming the Soviet Government into a republican bourgeois parliament.

The party of the Communists (bolsheviks) are overwhelmed on all sides by shouts of indignation and at times even by threats: "You stop newspapers, you make arrests, you prohibit meetings, you suppress the freedom of speech and of press, you revive despotism, you are violators and murderers,"—and much more to the same effect. It is this question of "freedom" in the Soviet Republic that should be thoroughly discussed in detail.

First of all let us take an example. When the revolution broke out in March of last year (1917), Tzarist ministers were arrested (Sturmer, Protoppopoff and others); did anyone protest? No! And yet, these arrests, just as any other arrests, were an infringement of personal freedom. Why was this infringement universally approved of? And why do we still say at the present moment: "Yes, that was the right thing to do!" simply because it was the arrest of dangerous counter-revolutionaries. And in a revolution, more than at any other time, we should remember the eleventh Commandment: "Be on the look-out!" If you are not, if you set all the enemies of the people free, if you do not keep them under control, there will be nothing left to remember the revolution by!

Another example. When Sturmer and Goriemikin were being arrested, the Black-Hundred press was closed. This was a deliberate infringement of the freedom of the press. Was it justifiable? Most certainly! And no reasonable being will dispute that this was just what should have been done. And why? Again, because at a time of revolution, when there is a life and death struggle going on, the enemy should be deprived of his weapons. And the press is such a weapon.

Prior to the October revolution, several Black-Hundred societies ("The Two-Headed Eagle" and a few others) were closed down at Kiev. This was an infringement of the freedom of association. But it was the right thing to do, because the revolution cannot permit the free organisation of unions against the revolution.

When Korniloff was advancing on Petrograd, a number of generals struck, refusing to obey the orders of the Provisional Government. They declared they would support Korniloff to the

last. Was it possible to sanction such freedom of generals' strikes? Surely, for such strikes these black hundred generals should have been subjected to the severest punishment.

What does all this mean? We see now that infringement of freedom is necessary with regard to the opponents to the revolution. At a time of revolution we cannot allow freedom for the enemies of the people and of the revolution,—that is a surely clear, irrefutable conclusion.

After March and before October neither the mensheviks nor the right socialist revolutionaries, nor the bourgeoisie once raised their voices against the usurpation of power by violence in March, or against the suppression of freedom (of the black hundred press), or speech (black hundred), etc. They never once raised their voices against all this, because it was carried out by the bourgeoisie, Goutchkoff, Miliukoff, Rodzianko, and Tereschenko and their loyal servants Kerensky and Tzeretelli, who has usurped power in March.

By October things had changed. In October the workers rose against the bourgeoisie who had trodden upon their necks in March. In October the peasants supported the workers. It clearly follows that the bourgeoisie grew to hate the workers' revolution and in its mad hatred behaved no better than the landowners. All the large property holders united against the working class and the poorest peasantry. They gathered around the so-called party of the peoples' freedom (in reality, the party of the people's treason) against the people. And it is easy enough to understand that when the people succeed in getting the upper hand over their enemies the latter in their impotent fury cry: "Usurpers, violators," and so on.

The following is now clear to the workers and peasants. The party of the Communists not only allows no freedom (such as liberty of the press, speech, meetings, unions, etc.) for the bourgeois enemies of the people, but goes still further, and demands of the government to be always ready to close the bourgeois press, to break up gatherings of the enemies of the people, to forbid their lying and libelling, and sowing panic; the party must mercilessly suppress all attempts of the bourgeoisie to return to power. And this is what is meant by a dictatorship of the proletariat.

When there is a question of the press, we first ask which press — the bourgeois of the workers' press; when there is a question of

gatherings, we ask what gatherings — workers' or counter-revolutionary; when a question arises of strikes, the first question for us is whether it is a strike of the workers against the capitalists or a sabotage instigated by the bourgeoisie or the bourgeois intellectuals against the proletariat. He who makes no distinction between these two things is groping in the dark. The press, meetings, unions, etc., are weapons of class struggle, and in a revolutionary epoch they are the weapons of civil war, together with munition stores, machine guns, powder and bombs. The great question is, which class is using them as a weapon against the other. The workers' revolution cannot possibly grant freedom for the organisation of such risings as those of Korniloff, Dutoff or Miliukoff against the working masses. Neither can it allow full freedom of organisation, of speech, press and of meetings of the counter-revolutionary bands who are stubbornly carrying on their own policy and only lying in wait for a chance of throwing themselves upon the workers and peasants.

As we have already seen, the right wing socialist revolutionaries and mensheviks, in declaring their motto to be "the Constituent Assembly," are only anxious for votes for the bourgeoisie. And just in the same way when they violently abuse destruction of freedom, they are anxious for the freedom of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeois press, bourgeois leaders, the counter-revolutionary bourgeois organisations are not to be touched,— this is the real position of these gentlemen.

But, they will say, you yourselves used to close both menshevik and socialist revolutionary newspapers; the party of the Communists has more than once encroached on the liberty of worthy individuals, who in their time (in the reign of the Tzar) suffered imprisonment. How can we justify that? This question may be answered by another: when Gotz, the right wing socialist revolutionary, organised a rising of junkers and officers against the soldiers and the workers — what were we to do? Pat him on the head for it? When Roudneff, the right wing socialist revolutionary, together with Colonel Riabtzeff, the right wing socialist revolutionary, in October armed the Moscow white guards, consisting of the sons of the bourgeoisie, houseowners and other gentry,— the guilded youth, and in union with the officers and junkers tried to suppress by machine guns and drown in blood the October rising of workers and soldiers,— what could we do? decorate them with medals for their feats? When the menshevik

organ "Forward" (which ought really to be named "Backward") and the socialist revolutionist "Labour" lied to the Moscow workers at the critical moment of the struggle, that Kerensky had taken Petrograd (which they did to break up the unanimity of the workers), were we expected to praise them for these provocatory tricks?

What follows from all this? It follows that when the socialist traitors and socialist-traitors' organs begin to serve the bourgeoisie too fervently, or when they cease to differ in their line of action from the black hundred cadet organisers of pogroms — then they should and must be treated in the same way as their beloved teachers and benefactors. At the present moment there are many such, who, although having fought against the Tzar and landowners, now cry at the top of their voices when the workers seize the wealth of the bourgeoisie. For what they have done in the past — we render them our thanks. But if at the present moment they do not in any way differ from the black hundred horse, then they can hardly expect us to encourage them.

But whilst the bourgeoisie and all the other enemies of the proletariat and poorest peasantry require a bridle to restrain them, the proletariat and peasantry, on the other hand need complete freedom of speech, of association and of the press, etc., not only in word, but in fact. Never, under any government, was there such a number of workers' and peasants' organisations as there are now in the Soviet Government. Never did any government support such a vast number of workers' and peasants' organisations as does the Soviet Government. This is because the Soviet Government is the government of workers and peasants themselves, and it is no wonder therefore that such a government supports all other working class organisations as far as it lies in its power. We repeat, the Communists carry all this freedom into effect instead of merely proclaiming it before the world. Here is a little example: the freedom of the workers' press. Under the pressure of the working class even the bourgeoisie might agree to a greater or smaller amount of freedom for the workers' press. But the workers have no means; all the printing works are in the hands of the capitalists. Paper is in the hands of the capitalists who have bought up everything. The workers have the right to a free press but they are unable to make use of it. We, Communists, on the other hand, approach the owners of printing works and of paper works and we say to them: "the proletarian government is about to confiscate your works and declare them to be the prop-

erty of the workers' and peasants' government, and to place them at the disposal of the workers; let them now put their right to a free press into execution. Of course, the capitalists will set up a howl at such proceeding, but it is the only way to attain real freedom of the workers' press.

Another question may be put to us: why did the bolsheviks never before speak of the complete destruction of the freedom of the bourgeois press? Why were they formerly on the side of a bourgeois democratic republic? Why did they themselves side with the Constituent Assembly without ever expressing themselves in favour of depriving the bourgeoisie of the franchise? In a word, why have they changed their attitude now in connection with this question?

The reason is very simple. The working class at that time was not yet powerful enough to storm the bourgeois fortress. It needed time to prepare, to gather strength, to enlighten the masses, to organise.

It lacked, for instance a press of its own uninfluenced by the capitalist class. But it could not come to the capitalists and their government and demand: "close your newspapers, Messrs. Capitalists, and start newspapers for us workers." They would be laughed at; it would be ridiculous to put such demands to capitalists. It would be equivalent to expecting the latter to cut their hands off with their own knife. Such demands are only made when a position is being taken by storm. Previously there was no such time. And that is why the working class (and our party) said: "long live freedom of the press (the whole press, the bourgeois press included)!" Or take another instance. It is evident that employers' associations, such as throw workers on the street, keep blacklists, etc., are very harmful to the working class. But the working class could not demand the suppression of employers' associations and full liberty for labour union. To do this it was necessary first to destroy the capitalist government, and the workers were not strong enough to do that. That is why, at that time, our party demanded the freedom of association (not only workmens') but unions in general.

Now times have changed. There is no question now of a lengthy preparation for the battle; we are now living in the period after the storm, in the period after the first great victory over the bourgeoisie. Now there is one other problem before the working class: to finally and irretrievably break up the resistance of the bourgeoisie.

That is why the working class, acting in the name of the liberation of the whole of humanity from the atrocities and terrors of capitalism, must carry out this task to a definite end and with unswerving firmness. No indulgence for the bourgeoisie and no leniency — but complete liberty and the possibility of realizing this liberty, to the working class and poorest peasants.

VIII. Banks, the Common Property of the Workers

(Nationalisation of Banks.)

We have seen above that the cause of all evils in a capitalist society lies in the fact that all the means of production belongs to the landowners and capitalists.

We have also seen that the only way out of this is to take the means of production out of the hands of the capitalist class (whether they be individual capitalists, or trusts, or a bourgeois state) and to transfer the means of production into the hands of the working classes.

This can be done and is being done, now that the workers and peasants possess such a strong weapon as is their Workers' Soviet Government.

It is perfectly understood that the first thing to be done in this direction is to deprive capital of its most essential and most important means of control: to take the principal economic fortresses of capital. The second is to begin with that which is not only easier to take, but easier also to organise and have control and account over and which can be arranged in the smoothest way. We already know that the task of the working class and the poor peasantry does not consist in depriving the rich of their wealth, distributing this wealth among themselves, robbing and sharing the spoils; no, it consists in constructing society on the basis of labour, working according to a definite plan and organising production and the distribution of products. Hence it follows that the working class must first of all take possession of these organisations which have up till now existed only for the profits of capitalists, and divert them to their own uses, putting them on a different footing, thus making them serve not capitalists and landowners, not speculators and sharks, but the labouring mass.

That is why our party has put forward the demand (since carried into execution) for the nationalisation of banks, that is to say, for the transfer of banks into the hands of the Workers' and Peasants' Government.

It is generally believed that the chief significance of banks lies in the fact that their vaults are packed with piles of gold and heaps of paper money and valuables for which reason the Communists are so eager to get the banks. But in reality this is not the case.

Modern banks are not only filled with money-bags. Banks, as a matter of fact, represent the pinnacle of capitalist organisation which rules industry. The industrial capitalists make profits uninterruptedly and capital flows to them in a continuous stream. What does the capitalist do with the profit acquired? A part of it is spent on eating, drinking and dissipation. Another part, considerably larger, is saved for extending his business at any given moment; he can only do so when a large enough "balance" has accumulated, a sum big enough, let us say, to build a new factory or set up a new plant. Until that happens he deposits his money into the bank so as not to have "dead" capital on his hands. He deposits it and gets a definite interest on it.

The question now is does this capital remain in the bank; increasing there of itself? Certainly not. The bank transacts business with this money. It either establishes enterprises, or shares solid profits, or purchases shares of existing enterprises, or shares of enterprises just being formed. The dividend it obtains on its shares are considerably higher than the sums it pays to its clients.

The difference goes to form the profits of the bank. This difference accumulates, is again involved in transactions and in this way the capital of the bank increases.

Gradually the banks become the real heads of industrial enterprises; some enterprises are entirely owned by them, others, only partly. Experience has shown that it is enough to own 30—40% of the total shares to become practically the controller of the whole enterprise. And that is what really happens. For instance, two banks manage and direct the entire industry of America. In Germany four banks hold in their hands the whole economic life of the country. The same thing to a certain extent held good for Russia. The great majority of big enterprises in Russia were limited companies.

Russian banks, too, were the owners of a large number of shares of these enterprises, so that the limited companies were in the closest union and in complete dependence on the bankers,— were, in fact, under their heel. Seeing that one bank rules over many

industrial enterprises, it is evident that a number of the largest banks are in reality the main directors of industry, the centre, as it were, in which the threads of various enterprises meet. That is why confiscating the banks, depriving private persons of control over banks, and transferring them into the hands of the workers' and peasants' government, in a word, the nationalisation of banks, should become a question of paramount importance to the working class. In response to this, the bourgeoisie, together with its press and the rest of its suite, have of course, raised a cry of alarm: "The bolsheviks are robbers! The bolsheviks are thieves! Do not allow them to plunder the national wealth and the national savings!" But the reason for all this clamour is self-evident: the bourgeoisie felt that the nationalisation of banks was a transfer to the working classes of the main fortress of capitalistic society — and therefore the first decisive step towards the destruction of their gain and exploitation. Once the proletariat has laid its hand on the banks, that means, that it has already taken into its hands, to a great extent, the reins of industry.

On the other hand, it is not hard to see that without the nationalisation of banks it would have been impossible to weaken the power of the capitalist in works and factories. The modern factory depends on the bank; either the bank simply owns the whole factory, or a part of its shares. In some cases it allows the factory credit in one form or another. Let us now suppose that the workmen of a certain factory have taken everything under their own control. If the bank of that factory is a private concern belonging to the bourgeoisie, the whole factory must stop work: it will simply be informed by the bank that there will be no further credit. And that is equivalent to cutting off a fortress from supplies. Under such conditions the workers would inevitably have to surrender and bow the knee to the master. That means, that in nationalising the banks, the Soviet Government simultaneously acquires the power of directing and managing finance, and various bonds and certificates which serve as substitutes for money; and thereby the bank, instead of hindering the transfer of industry into the hands of the working class, on the contrary, lends its assistance in such transfer. The power that in the hands of the bankers was directed against the workers, now under these new circumstances becomes a power helping the working class, and directed against the capitalists.

The next task consists in uniting the different and formerly private banks into one national bank, to unite the work of the

banks or, as it is called, to centralise the banking business. In that case the transfer of industry into the hands of the working class would convert the national bank into the principal counting-house, an institution effecting mutual "payments" between different enterprises and separate branches of production. Let us suppose that the coal, steel and iron industries depended on the central bank. Each one of these has to utilize the products of the others; the steel foundries must receive their coal from the coal mines, the steel works must get their steel from the foundries and so on. It is evident that since all these enterprises depend entirely upon the bank, all kinds of "payments" can be settled by the mere transfer of accounts; banks become simply counting houses for central bookkeeping, where the relations between the various sections of industry are made clear. In accordance with these relationships the banks support ("finances") industry, supporting it with financial supplies.

Ultimately, should we be successful in duly organising the whole business (and this is what our party and the Soviet Government at the head of which our party stands, is striving for) it would result in the following state of things; all branches of production would belong to the workers' state; they are united by means of central national banks, at which the threads of the separate enterprises meet, grouped according to their respective specialties. The bank keeps an exact account of these enterprises and of all the transactions effected between them which mutually counter-balance as one branch of production supplies products for another. In the bank, the bookkeeping department of communal production, the general position of production and the correlation between the various branches of production the general position of production is in this manner reflected. The centralised and nationalised banking business (that is to say, the united banking business that is in the hands of the workers' and peasants' State) is converted into a communal bookkeeping department of the socialistic cooperative production.

IX. Industry — to Belong to the Working Class.

(Nationalisation of Industry.)

Although the most important steps towards obtaining the means of production from the hands of exploiters is, as we have seen above, the proletarian nationalisation of banks, nevertheless, if in industry, in factories and works, the power of capitalists will

still be maintained, no very desirable results would have been achieved. These enterprises would draw such sums as they required from the banks, and the capitalists would calmly go on exploiting their workers, and would even manage to beg for state subsidies to be spent on all kinds of things, all sorts of what. And therefore, a transition to a communist order, which is unattainable without the nationalisation of banks, is just as unattainable without the proletarian nationalisation of all large industrial enterprises.

In this direction too, the working class, and our party are taking such steps to enable us not only to break with the old, taking the reins of production out of the hands of capitalists, but to create a new standard of relations. That is why the nationalisation of industry must begin with large enterprises, namely, in the first place, with the so-called syndicates.

What is syndicated industry (industries united in syndicates)? Syndicates are huge industrial combines. When capitalist owners of various enterprises, see that it is not worth their while to compete for each other's clients, and that it is far more profitable to form a close union for the purpose of jointly fleecing the public, they organise syndicates or still closer combines of manufacturers, namely — trusts. When promoters are not united in such unions each one tries to bring down the prices of his rival: each one wishes to win over his competitor's client and this can only be done if he sells goods cheaper, thus ultimately ruining his rival who is unable to withstand the competition. This sort of struggle between the rich manufacturers invariably leads to the ruin of the smaller man: the big sharks of capitalism and the richest manufacturers come out victorious. Let us now suppose that in some one branch of industry (say the metallurgic) three or four big firms remain. If one of them is stronger it carries on the struggle until the rest are ruined. But supposing that their powers are approximately the same, then it is evident that a mutual struggle is fruitless: it will result in the exhaustion of all the rivals to an equal extent. In such cases we generally see an attempt to come to an understanding; they organise a union of these enterprises and make an agreement not to sell their goods below a fixed price; they distribute the orders amongst themselves or appoint one firm to do business in one part of the country and another firm in another; in a word, they amicably divide the market between themselves. As the firms united into a syndicate usually supply much more than half of the products required for a given

area, that means that the syndicate dominates over the market and that the directors of the syndicates can fix very high prices and fleece their buyers like sheep. But once they join a union it is natural that they are compelled to form a joint board of management for the formerly separate enterprises and to keep a strict account of all the goods produced, to organise the distribution of orders, in a word, they are compelled to organise production. Not for the people, not for the sake of the buyers' advantage. Oh, no! Only for their own profits and gains, and for the sake of overcharging the worker and fleecing the buyer; that is the real purpose for which capitalists form their unions.

It has now been made clear why the working class must first of all proceed to nationalise those branches of production which are syndicated. It is because such branches have already been organised by the capitalists, and such production, even when organised by capitalists, is easiest to deal with. It is of course, necessary somewhat to modify the capitalist organisations, ridding them of the most obdurate enemies of the working class; we must strengthen the position of the workers in such a way that everything should be subjected to the workers; and in the process, abolish certain things altogether. Even a child can understand why such companies are easiest to conquer. Here the same thing is repeated as in the case of government railroads; being organised by the bourgeois government, their management was, for that very reason, worked on a principle of centralisation and it was easier for the Workers' Government to take them into its own hands.

In Western Europe (especially in Germany) and in the United States of America, practically the whole of production during the time of the war, has fallen into the hands of the plundering bourgeois government. The bourgeoisie decided that it would never attain a victory unless the war was concluded in accordance with the latest dictates of Science. And modern warfare demands not only expenditure of money but necessitates all production to be organised for the purpose of the war, a strict account being registered of everything so that there be no waste and all things be correctly distributed. All this is possible only where there is a central united management. It is needless to say that production is not organised for the benefit of the working classes, but only for the purpose of conducting the war and of affording the bourgeoisie still more chances of enriching themselves. No wonder

then, that at the head of this system of penal servitude there stand generals, bankers, and the greatest exploiters. Nor is it surprising that the working classes in those countries are oppressed and turned into white slaves or serfs. But on the other hand, if the workers there succeed in shattering the machinery of the bourgeois state, it will be quite easy for them to take possession of the means of production and arrange it on a new plan; they will have to drive the generals and bankers out, and put their own men everywhere; but they will be able to use that apparatus for checking and control that has been created for them by the vultures of capitalism. That is why it is infinitely harder for the Western European workers to begin destroying the most powerful of bourgeois states, but it will be also much easier to conclude this task, having at their disposal the means of production organised by the bourgeoisie.

The Russian bourgeoisie seeing that its powers was not very secure, and that the proletariat was near a victory, was afraid to start decisively along the road traced by the west European bourgeoisie. It understood, that together with the government power, organised production would fall into the hands of the working class. And therefore the Russian bourgeoisie not only did not care to improve its organisation, but, on the contrary strove to disorganise, and, at the time of Kerensky, had recourse to sabotage as a means of ruining production.

However, it is to be noted, that even prior to the war, in Russia, partly owing to foreign capital, the most important spheres of industry were already syndicated. This especially applies to the so-called heavy branches of industry (coal-mining, metallurgic industry, etc.). It is this heavy industry that must be nationalised first (and this is already being done; production in the Ural district, for instance, being practically entirely nationalised). After that, the whole of big production should be nationalised. Together with the transfer of big industry into the hands of the workers' government the less important industries will also become independent on the government, because very many lesser industries depended to a great extent on the greater ones even before any nationalisation took place. Sometimes these smaller firms are no more than branches of larger concerns, depending on them for orders. In other cases they supply their produce to the larger concerns; in others, they depend on them for supplies of raw material; sometimes they depend on the banks, and so on. Together with the nationalisation of banks and of large industry,

they immediately become dependent in some way or other upon nationalised production. Of course, there will still remain a number of small owners and proprietors of small home industries, etc. There are a great number of such in Russia. But nevertheless the basis of our industry are not the above named workshops, but the large-scale industry, and the nationalisation by the Workers' Government of this kind of production deals capitalism an irreparable blow. The banks and large-scale industry — are the two main fortresses of capitalism. Their expropriation, that is to say, their seizure by the working class and the Workers' Government marks the end of capitalism, and the beginning of socialism. The means of production, that principal basis of human existence, is thereby taken out of the hands of a small number of exploiters and transferred into the hands of the working class and the Worker and Peasant Government.

The mensheviks and the right wing socialist revolutionaries, who do not wish to deviate one step from capitalism and who are going hand in hand with the bourgeoisie, are opposed to any kind of nationalisation by the Soviet Government. That is because they are fully aware, as well as are the bourgeoisie, that, by nationalisation a severe blow is dealt into the very heart of the capitalist order, so dear to them. They deliberately deceive the workers with tales of our "immaturity" for socialism, of our industry being in a backward state, of it being quite impossible to organise and so on. We have already seen that this is not the case at all. The backwardness of Russia is not in the small number of large enterprises — on the contrary, we have quite a number of such. Its backwardness consists in the fact that the whole of our industry occupies too little place in comparison with the vast areas of our rural districts. But in spite of this we must not belittle the importance of our industry, for it is a significant fact that the working class is carrying all the vital elements of the revolution along with it.

There is another curious circumstance to be noted. All the time, when the government was in the hands of the bourgeoisie, mensheviks and right wing socialist revolutionaries, these latter drew up a programme of government regulation of industry. They did not then lament over the backwardness of our country. At that time they considered it possible to organize industry. What is the reason for such a change in opinion? It is simple enough. The mensheviks and right socialist revolutionaries hold it necessary for the bourgeois state to organise production (in

Western Europe this would be agreed to by Wilhelm, George and President Wilson); the party of the Communists, on the contrary, wants production to be organised by a proletarian government. The thing is indeed simplicity itself. It is the same story all over again. The mensheviks and the socialist revolutionaries want to revert to capitalism; the communists are going ahead towards socialism and communism, and the most important step on the road towards communism they consider, to be the nationalisation of banks, and the nationalisation of large-scale production.

X. Communal Cultivation of Public Land.

The October Revolution accomplished that for which the Russian Peasants had been striving during many centuries. It deprived the landowners of the land and transferred it into the hands of the peasants. The question now is how to allot this land. And here too we communists must take up the same position as we did regarding the question of arranging industrial production. Unlike a factory, land can of course be divided. But what would be the result of dividing up land into private allotments amongst individual peasants? The result would be, that the man who had managed to save up a little money, being stronger and richer, would soon become a "personality" and turn into a shark, a land-grabber or a usurer; then he would aim still higher and begin buying up the land of those who were getting poorer. Before long the village would be again divided into big landowners and poor peasants, the latter having no alternative but to go to town in search of work or hire himself out to the rich landowner. These new landowners would not, it is true, belong to the gentry, being only rich peasants, but the difference, is after all a small one. The exploiting peasant-landowner — is a real vampire; he will sweat the poor worker even harder than the representative of the degenerating, impoverished and thoroughly incapable nobility.

That shows us that the plan of dividing or sharing the land offers us no way out of the dilemma. The only solution is in a communal national holding of land; in land being declared the common property of the labourers. The Soviet Government has made a law of socialisation of land; the land has in fact been taken from the land-owners and it has become the common property of the toiling people.

But that is not enough. We must aim at such an arrangement as would ensure the land being not only owned in common, but also be cultivated in common. If that is not done, then no matter what you proclaim or whatever laws you publish, the result will be most unsatisfactory. One man will fuss about on his allotment, another on his, and if they continue to live apart without mutual aid and common work, they will gradually come to look upon the land as their private property, and no laws from above would be of any use. Common cultivation of the soil — is what should be aimed at.

In agriculture just as in industry, it is easiest to carry on production on a large scale. With large scale production it is possible to use good agricultural machines effecting a saving of all kinds of material, to arrange the work according to one single plan, to put every workman to the most suitable job, and to keep a strict account of everything, thus preventing undue waste of either materials or labour power. Our task therefore does not at all consist in making every peasant a manager of his own small allotment, but in making the poorer peasants join a common scheme of work on the largest possible scale.

How is this to be done? This can and must be done in two ways: first, by cooperative cultivation of what were formerly big estates; and secondly, by organising agricultural labour communes.

In the estates of former landowners where the land was not leased to the peasants as a whole, and where there existed the private direction of the landlord, the estate was of course ever so much better managed than the peasants'. The evil was that the entire profits fell into the hands of the landowners who oppressed the peasants. And here again there is one thing clear to the communists: just as there is no sense whatever in the factory workers plundering the factory plant, to share them between themselves, in ruining the factory, so would it be equally senseless for the peasants to act in the same manner on the land. On the big private estates there is often much that is valuable: horses, cattle, different kinds of implements, stocks of seeds, reaping and other kinds of agricultural machines, and so on. In other estates again there are dairies, cheese churns, quite large works in fact. And it would be senseless to plunder all that and drag away to the different cottages. The village exploiters would be interested in that, knowing that sooner or later all these things would fall into their hands again, as they would buy up the poor men's shares. The exploiting country

shark clearly understands that such a sharing will in the end be to his "benefits." But the interests of the poorest peasantry, of the proletariat, and of all those who eked out a poor living independently by selling their labour, lie in quite another direction. For the poorest peasants it is far more profitable to deal with "the large estates in just the same way as the workers are dealing with the factories, that is,— to take them under their control and management, to cultivate the former landowner's estates in common and not plundering and carrying off the machines and plant, but using jointly such machines and plant that formerly belonged to the landowners and have now become the property of the labourers. They could call to their aid agricultural experts, competent men, to help them cultivate the land not in a casual way, but properly, so that it should yield not less than when it belonged to the landlord, but much more. It is not difficult to seize the land; neither did it prove difficult to seize private estates. It had to be done. In spite of all that the socialist revolutionaries and mensheviks did to dissuade the peasants (pointing out the lawlessness of such an action and saying that the whole thing would be useless and result only in bloodshed and so on, and so on), the peasants, in spite of everything, took the land, and the Soviet Government helped them to do it. It is a far harder task for the workers to retain the land, defending it from the exploiting village sharks whose eyes are already lighting up with greed at the prospect of seizing it. At this point the poorest peasants should remember that they must carefully guard the safety of communal property. For now the wealth that was formerly the landowner's — has become the property of the whole community. It should be improved for the benefit of all the workers. Things should be organised in such a manner that the delegated of the poorest peasantry and of the labourers and those of the regional Soviets and their land departments, should have charge of everything so as not to allow any waste, and should lend their assistance in the joint cultivation of the land. The more ordered the joint production in such estates will be, the better it will be for the workers. All this means that the land will yield better crops, the village exploiters will be foiled, and the peasant will be trained in cooperative production, the latter a most important principle of Communism.

But it is not enough to preserve the estates of the former landowners and cultivate them on new principles. We must

strive to organise large joint agricultural labour communes, by uniting separate allotments. For now the government is in the hands of the workers and peasants. That means that this government will, as far as it lies within its power, assist the peasant in any useful undertaking. It is only necessary for the poorest peasants and semi-proletariat, as well as the late farm hands to manifest greater activity, more personal initiative. The weak poverty-stricken peasants, working each one by himself can achieve nothing; they will hardly be able to exist. But they will attain a great deal once they begin to unite their allotments, jointly purchasing machinery with the aid of the town workers, and in this manner cultivating the land in common, on a basis of common interests. The town Soviets and economic organisations of the workers will assist such labour agricultural communes, supplying them with iron and manufactured goods, and they will help them by recommending land experts and competent men. And thus gradually the once poor peasant who has never seen anything beyond his native town will begin to be transformed into a comrade, who, hand in hand with others, will march along the road of communal labour.

It has now been made clear, that to organise matters in this direction we must have a solid organisation of the poorest elements of the peasantry. This organisation must accomplish two principal tasks; the first is the struggle with the country sharks, usurers, former innkeepers, in a word, with the former bourgeoisie; the second is the organisation of agricultural production and the control over the distribution of land, the organisation of labour communes and the management of the estates of former landowners with a view to their best possible utilisation; in other words, they must set before themselves the great task of a new reconstruction of land. The poorest peasantry should form such organisations in the shape of regional Soviets, and should introduce into them special departments such as, for instance, a food supply department, a land department and others. The land departments of the peasants' Soviets should form the chief support of the poorest elements of the peasantry in connection with the land question. To arrange matters on a firmer basis it would be best to construct these Soviet organisations in such a way that the local and neighbouring factory workers should also have their representatives. Workmen are a more experienced set of people than the peasants, they are

used to joint business organisations and are also more experienced in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. The factory workers will always help the village poor against the rich, and therefore the former will ever find in them their staunchest allies.

The village poor should not allow themselves to be duped. They have fought and struggled for the land, and they have finally won it from the landlords. They must see that they do not lose it again! They must see that they do not let it slip through their fingers! The danger is there if they are going to work in the direction of sub-dividing the land and sharing it out into private lots. The danger will vanish if the rural poor, together with the working class, goes along the road of joint production on as large a scale as possible. Then we shall all proceed at full speed towards Communism.

XI. Workers' Management of Production.

Just as in connection with the land, the leading part in the management in the various localities is gradually transferred to the organisations of the poorest peasantry and the different peasant Soviets and their departments, so is industrial management gradually being transferred (which is exactly what our party expects) into the hands of the workers' organisations and the different organs of the Workers' and Peasants' Government.

Prior to the October revolution and in the period immediately following upon it, the working class and our party put forward the demand for a workers' control, that is to say for workers' supervision over factories and works to prevent the capitalists from making secret reserves of fuel and raw materials, to see that they did not cheat or speculate, damage goods or dismiss workers unjustly. A workers' supervision was instituted over production, as well as over the sale and purchase of products, raw materials, their storage and the financing of enterprises. However, a mere supervision proved insufficient. Especially did this prove insufficient when the nationalisation of production took place and the various privileges of the capitalists were destroyed, and when enterprises and whole branches of industry were transferred into the hands of the Workers' and Peasants' Government. It is easy to see that a mere supervision is quite insufficient, and that what is required is not only a workers' control, but workers' management of industry; workers' organ-

isations, works' and factories' committees, trade unions, economic branches of the Soviets of workers' deputies, and finally organs of the Workers' and Peasants' Government (such as special committees, Soviets of public economy, and so on),—these are the organisations that should not only supervise but should also manage. There is another thing that attention should be drawn to here.

Some of the workers who are not sufficiently imbued with class-spirit, argue as follows: we are here to take our factory into our own hands and there is an end to the matter. Before, the factory was the property of, say, Mr. Smith; now it is the property of the workers. Such a point of view is of course wrong and closely resembles dividing. Indeed, if a state of affairs came about in which every factory belongs to the workers of only that particular factory, the result would be a competition between factories; one cloth factory would strive to gain more than another, they would strive to win over each others' customers; the workers of one factory would be ruined whilst those of another would prosper; these latter would employ the workers of the ruined factory, and, in a word, we have again the old familiar picture; just as in the case of the sharing out capitalism would soon revive.

How are we to fight against it? It is evident that we must build up such an order of workers' management of enterprises which would train the workers in the idea that every factory is the property not only of the workers of that particular factory, but of the whole working people. This can be attained in the following way. Every factory and works should have a board of management composed of workers, in such a way that the majority of members should belong not to that factory in question, but should consist of workers delegated by trade unions of the special branch of industry, by the Soviet of Workers' Deputies and finally by the local Soviet of Public Economy. If the board is composed of workers and of employees (the workers must be in the majority as they are more reliable adherents to communism) and if the majority of workers should belong to other factories, then the factory will be managed in the manner required for furthering the interests of all workers as a class.

Every worker understands, that works and factories cannot do without bookkeepers, mechanics, engineers, etc. Therefore another task of the working class lies in enlisting these into their service. So far, the working class could not produce such

specialists from their own midst (but they will be able to do so when plans of general education will have become accessible to everybody),— until that time, of course, we shall have willy — nilly to pay high wages to ordinary specialists. Let them now serve the working class just as they formerly did the bourgeoisie. Formerly they were under the control and supervision of the bourgeoisie; now they will have to be under the supervision and control of the workers and employees.

To insure a smooth running of the wheels of industry it is indispensable, as we have already explained, to have one general plan. It is not enough for every large factory to have its own board of management consisting of workers. There are many factories and many branches of production; they are all bound to one another, all interdependent: if the coal mine yields little coal the result will be that factories and railroads will be brought to a standstill; if there is no petrol, navigation is impeded; if no cotton, there will be no work to do for the textile factories. It is consequently necessary to form such an organisation which should embrace all production, should be based on a general plan and be united with workers' boards of management of other works and factories, should keep an exact account of all requirements and reserves not only of one town or of one factory, but for the whole country. The necessity for such a general plan is especially evident in the case of railroads. Any child can understand that the disorganisation in the working of railroads causes incredible calamities; in Siberia, for instance, there is a super-abundance of bread, whilst Petrograd is on the verge of famine. Why is this? Because the bread is beyond the reach of the inhabitants of Petrograd, as it is impossible to transport it. To insure regular traffic it is necessary that everything be strictly registered and correctly distributed. And this is only possible under one uniform plan. Let us imagine that one mile of the railroad is under one management, another under a different one, and a third under a third, and so on, all working independently of each other. An indescribable muddle would be the result. Such a muddle could be avoided only by conducting the railway through a single centralised management. Hence the necessity arises for such workers' organs and labour organisations as would unite entire branches of production to each other, forming one complete whole, and which would also unite the work done in different parts of the country, as for

instance Siberia and the Ural districts, the northern provinces, the centre and so on. Such organs are in the course of construction: they are the district and regional Soviets of Public Economy, special committees uniting whole branches of production or commerce (as for instance, Centro-textile, Centro-sugar and so on) and over all the rest we have, as a central organisation, the Supreme Council (Soviet) of Public Economy. All these organisations are connected with the Soviets of the workers' deputies and work in unison with the Soviet Government. Their staff is mainly composed of representatives of workers' organisations and they are supported by trade unions, works' and factories' committees, unions of employees, and so on.

In this way, gradually a workers' management of industry is being formed from the top of the ladder to the bottom. In the respective localities we have works' and factories' committees and the workers' board of management, and above those the region and district committees, and Soviets of public economy, and at the head of all these organisations we have the Supreme Council of Public Economy. The task of the working class now lies in enlarging and strengthening by all possible means the workers' management of industry, educating the vast masses of the people in this direction. The proletariat taking production into his own hands not as the property of separate individuals of groups, but as the property of the whole working class, should concern itself with supporting the central and district workers' organisations by thousands of branches, by workers' boards of management in the localities of production and at the various works and factories. If the higher organs of management are not supported by the local ones, they will hover, as it were, in mid air and become transformed into bureaucratic institutions devoid of any live revolutionary spirit. But, on the other hand, they will be enabled to cope with the terrible existing disorganisation if they are supported on all sides by the vital forces of the workers in every locality, and every command of the workers' central organisation will be responded to and executed not as a matter of form, but as a matter of duty by the workers' organisations and by the working masses in their respective localities. The more the masses discuss matters for themselves, the more keener their interest in the election of their boards, the more work carried on at the works and factories, the greater the part they take in the business of doing away with all kinds of disorder and dishonesty,—the sooner will the working class possess

itself not only in words but in deed, of the whole industrial production, thus realising not merely a political, but even an economic dictatorship of the working class, that is to say, the working class will become the actual master not only of the army, the courts of justice, schools and other departments, but it will also be at the head of the management of production. Only then will the might of capital be completely rooted out, and the possibility for capital ever again to crush the working class under its heel be completely destroyed.

XII. Bread — Only for the Workers.

(Compulsory labour service for the rich.)

A transition to the communal order means a transition to an order, where there will be no class difference between people, and where all will be communal workers and never hired labourers. It is necessary to pass immediately on to the organisation of such on order. And one of the first steps in this direction on a parallel with the proletarian nationalisation of banks and of industry, is the introduction of labour service for the rich.

There are at present many people who do nothing, create nothing, but consume that which others have made. And more than that, there are people who not only do no work, but whose whole activity is directed at hindering and interfering with the work of the Soviet Government and the working class. The workers saw with their own eyes the instance of the sabotage attempted by the Russian intellectuals — teachers, engineers, doctors and others of the "learned professions." It would be superfluous to mention the bigger game, such as directors of factories and banks, the late high officials, etc. They all made efforts to disorganise and destroy at the root the work of the proletariat and the Soviet Government. The task of the proletariat consists in compelling these bourgeois, former landowners, and numerous intellectuals of the well-to-do classes to work for the common good. How is this to be done? By means of introducing labour record books and labour service. Everyone of the above named class should receive a special book in which an account is kept of his work, that is to say, of his compulsory service. Fixed entries in his book entitle him to buy or receive certain food products, bread in the first place. Any one who refuses to work, supposing he sabotages (an ex-official, a former

manufacturer or landowner who cannot possibly accustom himself to the idea of the loss of land on which he has lived for years and has become a frenzied enemy of the workers),— if such an individual refuses to work there is no corresponding entry in his book. He goes to the store, but is told: "there is nothing for you, please to show an entry confirming your work."

Under such a system the mass of idlers who fill the Nevsky Prospect in Petrograd and the main streets of other big towns, will have to set to work against their will. It is perfectly understood that the carrying into execution of this kind of labour service will be hindered by many obstacles. The upper and upper middleclasses will, on the one hand, make every endeavour to evade this compulsory service, and on the other hand, try by every means within their power to hinder such an order. To arrange matters so that certain food products should be obtained only on producing a corresponding entry in the labour book and that such products should not be distributed in any other way — is not an easy matter. The rich who possess money (and money means merely counters for obtaining products) have also a thousand possibilities of deceiving the Soviet Government and duping the workers and poorest peasantry. These possibilities must be destroyed by a well-regulated organisation for supplying products.

Labour service for the rich might be introduced, let us say, on the following plan: every person who receives an income of 500 or 600 roubles a month, every person who employes workers and every family employing a domestic servant, etc., is to receive a workers' provision book. It is approximately along such lines that labour service for the rich should be introduced.

Of course, labour service for the rich should only be a transitory stage towards general labor service. The latter is necessary not only because the productiveness of our trade and agriculture can be increased by enlisting the service of all members of society fit for work, but also because a strict account of labour power and a proper distribution of such over the various branches of production and the different undertakings is necessary. Just as in war time it is necessary, on the one hand, to mobilise all the forces, and on the other to keep account of and properly organise them — so in the war with economic disorganisation, it is necessary to draw all the useful sections of the population into the work, register and organise them into one

great army of labour with a labour discipline and a proper understanding of its duties.

At the present moment in Russia, in consequence of the economic disorganisation and shortage of raw material which has been intensified by the occupation of South Russia and Ukraine by the forces of German Imperialism, there is a considerable amount of unemployment. As a result we are faced with the following situation: we know that we can only win through by the aid of human labour power, from the fact that only labour can increase the productivity of our industry and agriculture; and of this human labour power we have plenty. But in spite of that, there is no opportunity to apply this labour power. There is already a large amount of unemployment as a result of the shortage of fuel and raw materials. Where then shall we place those people whom the Workers' and Peasants' Government intends to compel to work? It is true that one of the most important questions is the organisation of public works and construction of such things of supreme social importance as railways, grain elevators, and the opening of new mines. But it is evident that this work could not at once absorb the large surplus of labour that exists.

Thus it will be necessary from the very first to limit ourselves to registering the working hands, noting their respective professions or special branches of knowledge, and to introduce compulsory service only at the request of the Soviet Government, or working class bodies superintending the management of production. Let us illustrate this by an example. Supposing that for surveying new mines in Siberia engineering specialists are required. The metallurgic department of the Soviet of Public Economy puts forward a demand for such. The Department for registering labour examines its lists and finds the people who correspond to the kind required, and these are then obliged to go where the above mentioned departments choose to send them.

Naturally, as the organisation of production becomes more ordered, and the demand for labour increases, so will compulsory labour service gradually be carried into effect that is to say, all persons capable of work will be compelled to do their share of work.

Compulsory labour service in itself is not a new idea. At the present moment, in practically all the warring countries, the imperialist governments have introduced labour service for their

population (in the first instance of course for the oppressed classes). But the labour service introduced in Western Europe is as far removed from that which ought to be introduced by us, as is heaven from earth. In the imperialist states, such service means the complete subjugation of the working class, its complete enslavement to financial capital, and the plundering government. And why is that? Simply because the workers do not govern themselves but are governed by generals, bankers and big syndicalists and bourgeois politicians. The worker there is a mere pawn in their hands. He is a serf whom his master can dispose of as he pleases. No wonder that compulsory service in the West at the present time means a new contribution, a new feudal levy, the institution of a new system of military hard labour. It is introduced there for the purpose of enabling the capitalists, whose pockets are being filled by the labour of the workers, to carry on an interminable plundering war.

Our workers themselves must through their own organisations, introduce and carry out compulsory labour service on the basis of self-government by the workers. There is no bourgeoisie over them here. On the contrary, the workers are now placed above the bourgeoisie. Controlling, accounting, and distributing labour power is now the concern of workers' organisations, and as compulsory labour service will affect the rural districts — it will become the concern of the peasant Soviets which will stand over the village bourgeoisie, subjugating it to their rule. All the organs dealing with labour will be purely workers' organs. This is quite natural: if the administration of industry is to become a workers' administration — the management of labour must also be in the hands of the workers, for that is only a part of the management or administration of production.

The working class, which wishes to take the lead in the economic life of the country (and which will do so in spite of any obstacles), the class that is becoming master of all the wealth — is confronted with this main question,— the organisation of production. The organisation production demands in its turn the solution of two principal problems: the organisation of the means of production (accounting, controlling and correct distribution of fuel, raw material, machinery, instruments, seeds, etc.), and the organisation of labour (accounting, controlling and correct distribution of labour power). In order to utilise thoroughly all the forces of

society, compulsory labour service, which will sooner or later be introduced by the working class, is indispensable. Idlers must vanish; only useful social workers will remain.

XIII. A Systematic Distribution of Products. The Abolition of Trade, Profits, and Speculation: Co-operative Communes.

It is impossible to take possession of production properly without taking control of the distribution of products. When products are wrongly distributed there can be no proper production. Supposing that the largest branches of industry are nationalised. As we have seen above one branch of production works for another. To make production systematic it is necessary that each branch should be supplied with as much material as it requires; one enterprise getting more, another less. That means that each product should be distributed regularly, according to plan, in correspondence with the demands of the branch in question. The various organs of supply, that is to say, such working organisations as deal with the distribution of products, must be in direct communication with the organs dealing with its production. Only then can the work of production as a whole run smoothly.

But there are some products which are directly used by the consumer. Such as bread for instance, many food products, the greater part of clothing materials, many India rubber products (no factory buys goloshes, which enter into the direct use of the consumer), and so on. Here an equally strict account, and a just distribution of these products among the population is necessary. And such a just distribution is absolutely impossible without a definite plan being carried into execution. First, the quantity of the products must be registered, then the demand for them, and after that, the products must be distributed according to these calculations. The best instance of the necessity of an organised plan is the food question, the question of bread. At present, the bourgeoisie, the village sweaters, the right socialist revolutionaries, the mensheviks, the well-to-do land-grabbing peasants have all raised a hue and cry about the necessity of repealing the bread monopoly and that speculators big and small, the wholesale dealers and myeshochnik * should be allowed to

* The term "myeshochnik" comes from a Russian word which means a sack, and is applied to the petty food speculators who carry flour, bread, etc., (from the country) into the towns, in sacks.

carry on their trade as they like. It is easy to understand why the tradesmen are interested in the repeal of the bread monopoly; in some way or another this monopoly hinders them from fleecing the consumer. On the other hand, it is quite clear that the present state of things is absurd; the rich calmly go on eating white bread, buying it in smuggler fashion; that they have black bread in plenty,— there is no question. They just pay considerably more and get everything they want. Who helps them in this? The speculators, of course. What they are anxious about is not to feed the population, but to grab a little more money, to stuff a little more into their pockets and it is of course the rich not the poor that can give that more. That is why the speculators bring bread not to those localities where it is most needed, but to those where they get paid most. And so far it has not been possible to put a stop to all this. Hence it is clear that to organise a systematic distribution of bread, the bread monopoly should be left intact, as well as the food committees and the boards of food, and further, this monopoly must be carried out in the strictest manner, speculators must be dealt with without mercy, private traders must be made to understand that they dare not make money out of a national calamity, disturbing the general plan. The trouble at the present time is not in the fact of there being a monopoly and of private trading being prohibited, but in the fact that the bread monopoly is imperfectly carried out, whilst contraband and private trading is thriving. And that, at a time when there is so little bread, when the Germans have occupied the richest provinces; at a time when in many places grain stored for seeds has been eaten up when the fields remain uncultivated and people are starving! Every piece of bread is precious, every pound of flour and grain is priceless. And just for this very reason everything must be strictly registered, so that not a crumb be wasted and that all the bread be distributed evenly and that the rich should not be privileged in any way. This, we repeat, can be done and will be attained if the workers only set to work promptly, if they aid the working organisations in their task, if they help to catch speculators and cheats.

Unfortunately, there are quite a number of people not filled with class spirit, who make purchases at their own risk independently of the working organisations, thereby also increasing the disorganisation of the general plan. Each one thinks to himself: "No matter what you say, I can mind my own business

best,"— and off he goes to buy bread. Later on, conflicts are apt to arise on the way, on account of this very bread and then he complains: "they don't give you a chance to look after yourself." As a matter of fact the whole affair looks somewhat like this: let us imagine a train going, packed full; some passengers are standing in the corridors, others lying on the floor, — in a word there is not enough room to drop a pin. Then all of a sudden one man smells something burning, raises a cry of "fire" and dashes like mad towards the door, pushing people aside. The people, panic-striken, try to break open the door; a wild scuffle ensues; they bite and hit each other, break one another's ribs, trample children under foot. The result is,— dozens of killed, wounded, maimed. Is that right? It might all have been quite different. If reasonable people had been found to reassure the crowd, to calm it,— every one would have walked out in order without a scratch! Why did everything happen in the way it did? Because each one thought: he will act for himself, the others are "no concern of mine." But in the end it is he who gets his neck broken first.

The very same thing takes place with those who buy bread independently, infringing the regulations of the workers' food organisation. Each one thinks that he will make things easier for himself. But what is the result? Every such purchase upsets the systematic registering of the stock in hand; owing to these purchases the regular delivery becomes impossible. One locality, for instance, where there is absolute starvation, must have bread delivered at the expense of another, where things are comparatively better. But instead, some people from the latter locality buy up all the bread and take it with them. The former locality is thus left to starve to death. What follows? As the organised public purchases have become disorganised there appears on the scene the marauding speculator. He at once begins to try his hand at private purchases. In his manner the unintelligent poor, lacking in class consciousness, not understanding things themselves, aid and abet the vampire speculator, whose real place is on the gallows. Now we can understand why these speculating gentry exploit the natural dissatisfaction of the hungry against the Soviet Government and why the greatest scoundrels and sweaters often stand at the head of risings against the Soviets in small provincial towns. Workers should understand once and for all that salvation is not to be attained by a

return to the old order, but by ways which lead forward towards the destruction of speculation, towards the annihilation of private trade, towards the social distribution of products by the workers' organisations.

The same holds good concerning a whole series of other products. The working class ought not to suffer in order that the rich may get everything for extra prices but on the contrary, must put an end to the profiteering speculators who, like the hungry ravens come flocking from all directions. A just, regulated distribution of products, on the basis of registering the demands and reserves — is one of the fundamental tasks confronting the working class. What does this mean? It means the nationalisation of trading, that is, in other words, the abolition of trading, for the transition to social distribution can not exist side by side with dealers and agents who live like parasites and completely upset the work of supply. Not back to "free private trading," that is to say, to "free" robbery but toward to an exact, regulated distribution of products by workers' organisations — this should be the watchword of the intelligent workers.

In order to carry this plan into execution more successfully, a compulsory union of the whole population into cooperative communes must be aimed at. Only then can products be justly distributed, when the population that is to get them is united and organised into large groups, whose demands can be exactly estimated. If the population, instead of being united and organised, is scattered, it becomes extremely difficult to carry out this distribution in a more or less orderly way: it is difficult to calculate how much of each article is needed, what and how much is to be delivered, how, that is, through what agency the distribution is to be effected. Let us imagine that the population is united into cooperative communes according to their parishes. Every town or parish, say, is united into one cooperation which is in its turn united with the house committees. Then a given product is first distributed to such communes, and these, having calculated beforehand what product and of what quality they require, they distribute it through their agents, amongst the different consumers.

In uniting the population into such cooperative communes the already existing cooperative societies will be of great importance. The wider the sphere of work of the cooperatives, the wider

the circle of the population included,— the more organised will the distribution of products become and the more frequently will these cooperatives be changed into organs of supply for the whole population. Compulsory communes around already existing cooperatives — such, in all probability will be the most convenient form of the organisation of distribution, by the aid of which it will be ultimately possible to supplant trade and do away once and for ever with trading profit.

To make the task of a regular distribution of products still easier we must aim at changing our private system of domestic economy into a social one. At present, every family has its own kitchen: every family independently of others, buys provisions, dooming Woman to slavery, turning her into an eternal cook who sees nothing from dawn till night except kitchen utensils, brushes, dusters and all kinds of refuse. An immense amount of labour is absolutely wasted. If we united and organised housekeeping, beginning with the supply and preparation of food (by means of joint purchase of provisions, joint cooking, construction of large model restaurants, etc.) — it would be much easier to keep an account of the demands of various households and besides the saving of money thus effected, the regular general distribution would be greatly assisted.

One of the most vital questions for the consumer, and a very painful one for the town labourers is the housing question. The poor are here mercilessly exploited. And on the other hand landlords used to make heaps of money on the business. The expropriation of this kind of property, a transfer of houses and of various kinds of residential premises, their registering and the regular distribution of flats and rooms,— the transfer of this work into the hands of the local workers' committee and of the organs of the Soviet Government is a difficult but grateful task. We have had enough of the lording of the better classes! The worker, the poor toiler, has also a right to a warm room and to a living as befits a human being.

In this way must economic life gradually be organized. The working class must organise production. The working class must organise distribution. The working class to organise consumption; food, clothes, and housing,— there is an account kept of everything, everything is distributed in the most reasonable way. There are no masters,— there is the self administration of the working class.

XIV. Labor Discipline of the Working Class and of the Poorest Elements of the Peasantry.

To organise production so that life should be possible without masters, to organise it on a fraternal basis — is a very good thing. But it is easier said than done. We meet with numberless difficulties: in the first place we are now standing face to face with the heritage of the unfortunate war,— a ruined country. The working class is now obliged to clear up the mess made by Nicholas Romanoff and his servants — Sturmer, Sukhamhnoff, Protoppopoff,— a mess which was later increased by Gutchkoff and Rodzianko with their servants — Kerensky, Tzeretelli, Dan and the rest of the treacherous company. Secondly, the working class are now compelled to organise production whilst repelling the blows of their greatest enemies; on the one hand, those who are attacking them with savage hatred from without, as well as those who are attempting to destroy the Workers' Government from within. In order to emerge victorious under such conditions, to conquer once and for ever, the workers must struggle against their own inertia. Whilst organising labour army it is at the same time imperative to create a revolutionary labour discipline in this army. The fact of the matter is that there are still such individuals among the workers who do not yet believe that they have now become masters of the situation. We want them to understand that at the present time the state exchequer belongs to the workers and the peasants: the factories are national factories, the land is the land of the people, forests, machinery, mines, factory plant, houses, everything has been transferred into the hands of the working class. The administration over all this is a workers' administration. The attitude of the workers and peasants towards all this wealth cannot now be the same as it was before; before it belonged to the masters, now all this wealth belongs to the people. The masters used to sweat the workers to the utmost. The landowner who lived like a lord fleeced the poor peasant and farm labourer as bare as he could. Both the worker and the farm labourer were therefore right when they did not consider themselves bound to do their best under the master's whip, for the sake of strengthening the might and power of their tormentors. This is why there can be no question whatever of a labour discipline when the whip of the capitalist is brandished over the workman's head and the whip of the landowner over that of the peasant and farm labourer. Things are quite different now. These whips have been

destroyed. The working class is now working for itself, it is now not making money for the capitalists, but working in the people's cause, in the cause of the toiling masses which were previously held in bondage.

But nevertheless, we repeat, there still are workers lacking class spirit who do not seem to see all this. Why is that? Because they have been slaves too long. Slavish servile thoughts ever crowd in their brain. Perhaps they think, at the bottom of their hearts that they cannot possibly exist without God and a master. And consequently they utilise the revolution to their own ends, trying to fill their pockets, to grasp where they can and what they can, never stopping to think of their labour duties, nor of the fact that slovenliness and cheating at work at present is a crime against the working class. For Labour does not now serve to enrich a master; labour now supports the workers — the poverty stricken classes who are now at the helm of state The indifferent workman now does not injure directors or bankers, but members of workers' administrations, workers' unions and the Government of the workers and peasants. To handle machinery carelessly, to break tools, to try to get little work done in the ordinary working houses for the purpose of working overtime and receiving double pay,— by all this it is not the master who is cheated, it is not the capitalist who is harmed, but the working class as a whole. The same thing applies to the land. He who steals farming implements which have been registered by the formal labourers and peasants, robs society and not the landowner who has been driven out a long time ago. The man who cuts down timber despite the prohibition of the peasants' organisations is thereby robbing the poor. Any man, who instead of cultivating the land taken from the landowner, is engaged in bread speculation or secret distilling, is a cheat and a criminal against the workers and peasants.

Now it is quite evident to everyone, that for setting in order and organising production, it is necessary for the workers to organise themselves and create their own labour discipline. At the factories and works the workers must themselves see to it that every comrade should turn out as much as is required. Professional workers' unions and the Soviets of the workers are in direct supervision of production. They may, when possible, shorten the working day, and we mean to aim at such excellent organisation of production as to make it possible for each set of workmen to work only six instead of eight hours. But these

very same workers' organisations as well as the workers' Government and the working class as a whole, may and should expect of their members the most careful handling of national wealth and the most conscientious devotion to their work. The workers' organisations, especially labour unions, should themselves fix the average output, that is to say, the amount of work that must be performed by every workman during one working day; he who does not execute the required quantity, (allowance of course being made for sickness and weakness), is sabotaging, undermining the work of constructing a new social order and hinders the working class in its progress towards perfect Communism.

Production is a vast machine, every part of which must be in perfect harmony with the other, all working equally well. An imperfect tool in the hands of a good workman — is worthless, and so is a good tool in the hands of an inefficient one. What we want is a good tool and good workman.

Therefore we should strain our powers to the utmost to organise the supply of fuel and raw material, to organise transport and to distribute this fuel and raw material properly, at the same time taking measures for self-discipline and a proper training of the working masses to conscientious labour.

It is more difficult to do this in Russia than in any other country. The working class (and this applies in a still greater degree to the peasantry) have not gone through a long stage of organised training as the Western European and American workers have. We have among our number many workers who are only just becoming workers, who are only just getting accustomed to collective social work, who are only now learning that to say "other people's business is no concern of mine" is not the proper sentiment for a workman to express. This kind of workman will always tend to disturb the harmony of social labour. The more we have of the kind who still nurse the idea of becoming their own masters, of saving a little money and starting a shop,— the harder will be our task of carrying through real labour discipline. But for this very reason must those in the vanguard of the revolution, pioneers, and labour organisations, — grow more and more determined to establish, and strengthen such discipline. If this is a success it will become possible to organise everything else and for the working class to emerge victorious out of the difficulties created by the war, by disorganisation and sabotage and all the barbarity and atrocities of the capitalist order.

XV. The End of the Power of Money.

("State finances" and financial economy in the Soviet Republic).

Money at the present time represents the means for obtaining goods. Thus, those who have much money can buy many things; they are rich. However low the rate of money falls, it is always easier to live for the man who has much of it. The rich classes who even now have an abundance of money can live at their ease. In towns, traders, merchants capitalists and speculators; in the country, the "kulaks," (rich peasants) the sharks and sweaters who have fattened on the war to an incredible degree, having saved hundreds of thousands of roubles. Things have reached such a pitch that some buried their money in the ground in boxes or glass jars.

The workers' and peasants' State on the other hand is in need of money. Additional issues of paper money depreciates its value: the more paper money is printed the cheaper it gets. And yet the works and factories must be maintained by these paper tokens; workers must be paid, the administration must be kept going, the employees must get their wages. Where is the money to come from? To get the money, it is necessary first of all to tax the rich. An income and property tax, that is to say, a tax on big profits and on large property, must be the principle tax; a tax on the rich, a tax on those who receive a surplus income.

But at the present time, when everybody is living through a revolutionary fever, when it is difficult to arrange for the regular imposition of taxes, any means of obtaining money is reasonable and admissible. For instance, the following is quite an excellent measure. The Government declares that up to a certain date all money must be exchanged for new and that the old money has lost its value. That means, that everybody must empty his boxes and jars and cupboards and bring his hoard to the bank to be exchanged. And here, the following system should be carried out; the savings of poor people must be untouched, a new rouble being paid for every old one; but beginning with a certain sum a part must be deducted for the benefit of the State. And the larger the amount of money saved up, the greater will be the sum retained. Let us propose the following scheme; up to 5,000 the exchange is to be a rouble for a rouble; of the following 5,000 a tenth part is deducted; from the third 5,000 a seventh part, from the fourth a fourth part, from the

fifth a half, from the sixth three-quarters, and beginning with a definite sum, the whole is confiscated.

Thus the power of the rich would be considerably undermined, additional means for the needs of the Workers' State would be obtained and everybody would be more or less equalised with regard to income.

In a time of revolution the imposition of contributions on the bourgeoisie is justifiable. It is certainly not at all advisable for one local Soviet to tax the bourgeoisie according to one system, whilst the other does so in accordance with another system, and a third according to a third. This would be as bad as if there were varying forms of levying taxes in a given locality.

We must strive towards a uniform system of taxation, suitable for the whole Soviet Republic. But if in the meantime we have not been able to build up such machinery, contributions are admissible. There is a Russian proverb which says: "When you can't get fish, a lobster will do." We must bear in mind that the duty of the party and of the Soviets as well as that of the working class and the poorest peasantry consists in uniting and centralising, on one definite plan, the collection of taxes, thereby systematically driving the bourgeoisie out of their economic stronghold.

We must, however, note that the more successful the organisation of production on new labor principles is, the more will the importance of money decrease. Formerly, when private enterprises were the dominating institution, these private enterprises sold their goods to one another. The tendency now is for various branches of industry to unite and become different departments of general social production. Products may be exchanged between the different departments simply by a process of bookkeeping without the need for using money at all. This method is actually in process between the different branches of capitalist trusts or combines.

Combined enterprises are those which embrace several varying branches of production. In America, for instance, there are enterprises which own metal works, coal mines, iron mines and steamship companies. One branch of the enterprise supplies the other with raw materials or transports its manufactured products. But all these separate branches represent but parts of one enterprise. It is of course understood that one part does not sell its products to another branch of the enterprise, but distributes it according to the orders of the central head office of the various

departments. Or let us take another example: The works of one department transfer the half finished product to another, yet within the works no kind of purchase — and sale transaction takes place. The same sort of thing will be established in the general plan of production. The main branches of production will be organised into huge social enterprises under the management of the workers. A systematic distribution of the necessary means of production will take place between the different branches; this will include fuel, raw materials, half-finished products, auxiliary materials and so on. And that will mean that money will lose its importance. Money is important only when production is unorganised; the more organised it becomes the smaller becomes the part played by money, and the need for it gradually decreases.

What about the workers' pay, we shall be asked? The same thing will hold good here. The better production is organised by the working class the less will social workmen be paid in money and the more will they be paid in kind, that is to say, in products. We have already spoken of cooperative communes and of labor registers. Products required by workers will be issued without any money whatever, simply upon the evidence that such and such a man has worked and is working; they will be given out by the cooperative stores in accordance with such entries in the labor registers. This of course cannot be organised all at once. It will be long before we are able to organise this into proper working order. It is a new plan that has never been worked before and therefore exceptionally difficult to carry out. But one thing is clear in proportion as the workers come into possession of production and distribution, the need for money will become less and less and subsequently will gradually die out altogether.

An "exchange" of goods must then begin between town and country, without the agency of money; municipal industrial organisations send out textile, iron and other goods into the country, whilst the village district organisations send bread to the towns in exchange. Here, too, the importance of money will be lessened in proportion as the town and country labor organisations of the workers and peasants become more closely united.

But at present, at this very moment the Workers' Government needs money and needs it badly That is because the organisa-

tion of production and distribution is only just getting into working order and money still plays a most important part. Finances, including income and expenditure of State money, are at present of the utmost importance. And that is why the question of taxes is so acute at the present time; they must be exacted by every means. The confiscation of surplus incomes of the town and country bourgeoisie is inevitable, as is also periodical taxation.

But in the future, taxation will also become obsolete. To the extent that production becomes nationalised, so capitalists' profits cease; as there are no more landowners the so-called land tax is abolished. Property holders are deprived of their houses and thus another source of taxation is gone. Superfluous wealth is confiscated, the rich are losing their main support and the whole population is gradually becoming employed by the proletarian state organisations. (Later on, with complete Communism, when there is no state, people, as we have seen, will become equal comrades, and the very memory of the division of society into bourgeoisie and laborers, will vanish.)

When such a state of things exist it will be much simpler to deduct the necessary taxes immediately from salaries than to deduct considerable sums in the way of taxes or dues. It is not worth while spending both time and money on the senseless transaction of giving with one hand and taking away with the other.

We have seen, on the other hand, that when production and distribution are thoroughly organised, money will play no part whatever, and as a matter, of course, no kind of money dues will be demanded from anyone. Money will have generally become unnecessary. Finance will become extinct.

We repeat, that that time is a long way off yet. There can be no talk of it in the near future. For the present we must find means for public finance. But we are already taking steps leading to the abolition of the money system. Society is being transformed into one huge labor organisation or company to produce and distribute what is already produced without the agency of gold coinage or paper money. The end of the power of money is imminent.

XVI. No Trade Communication Between the Russian Bourgeoisie and Foreign Imperialists.

(Nationalisation of foreign trade.)

At the present time every country is surrounded by other countries on which it depends to a considerable extent. It is very difficult for a country to manage without foreign trade, because one country produces more of one product than another, and vice versa. Blockaded Germany is now experiencing how hard it is to do without a supply from other countries. And should England, for instance, be surrounded by as close ring as is Germany, it would have perished long ago. The Russian industry, nationalised by the working class, cannot possibly dispense with certain goods from abroad and on the other hand, foreign countries, especially Germany, are badly in need of raw material. We must not forget even for a minute that we live in the midst of rapacious capitalist states. Naturally enough these plundering states will try to obtain everything that they require to further their aims of plunder. And the Russian bourgeoisie that has been so hedged in and persecuted in Russia will be very glad to enter into direct contact with foreign imperialists. There is no doubt whatever that the foreign bourgeoisie could pay the Russian speculators even more than does our own home made true-Russian patriotic bourgeoisie. A speculator, as we know, sells to him who pays the most. And so we have only to give our bourgeoisie the chance of exporting goods abroad, and foreign plunderers the possibility of arranging their little business affairs here, and the Socialist Soviet Republic would have little cause to rejoice at the results.

Formerly, when the question of foreign trade arose, the discussion confined itself to two points: whether high import duties on foreign goods were necessary or whether they should be abolished altogether; that is to say Protection or Free Trade. During the last years of the reign of capital, capitalists were very active in carrying out the policy of protection. Thanks to this the syndicalists received additional profit. Having no competitors or rivals within the country they were the monopolists of the home market, the high wall of import duties protected them from foreign competitors. In this way, by the aid of high duties, the syndicalists, that is the biggest sharks of capital, could fleece their countrymen shamelessly. Making use of this double extortion of their countrymen, the syndicalists began to export goods

abroad at extremely cheap prices in order to displace or remove their rival syndicalists of other countries from their path. Naturally, these cheap prices were only temporary. As soon as they had removed their rivals they immediately raised the prices in the newly-conquered markets. It was in order to carry out this policy that they required high customs tariffs. In raising a cry about the defence of industry the syndicalists were really clamouring for a means of attack, for means of economic conquest of foreign markets. And as always happens in such cases these professional impostors on the people were disguising their plunder by a pretense of guarding the national interests.

A few Socialists seeing this, put forward the demand for free trade between the different countries. That would have meant everything being left to the chances of a free economic struggle between individual bourgeoisie. But this war cry was left to hover in mid air; it was simply of no use to anybody. For what syndicalist would reject a proposition of additional profit? And since he received this additional profit only owing to his being immune from foreign competition thanks to the high customs tariff, how do you expect this syndicalist to reject such high duties? First of all it is imperative to overthrow the syndicalists. Our first object is a Socialist revolution. This is how the question was answered by true Socialists — by Communists Bolsheviks, as we now call them. And a Socialist revolution means the institution of such an order where everything is in the hands of an organised state of the working class. We have seen what harm private trade causes within the country; the harm done by this kind of trade between different countries is not less. In other words, abolishing free trade within the country whilst establishing it abroad,— is sheer nonsense. Equally absurd from the point of view of the working class is the system of taxation of foreign capitalists. A third way out is wanted, and this consists in the nationalisation of foreign trade by the proletarian state.

What does that mean? It means that no one who lives upon Russian soil has a right to make business agreements with foreign capitalists. If any one is caught at it he should be fined or imprisoned. The whole of the foreign trade is carried on by the Workers' and Peasants' Government. The latter carries out all transactions whenever occasion arises. Supposing American machines are being offered in exchange for certain goods or for a

certain amount of money or gold, whilst some Germans offer the same machines at a different price and on different terms. The workers' organisations (Government Soviet organisations) consider whether it is necessary to make the purchase and of whom it should be more advantageous to buy. In accordance with their decision the machines are bought in the place and upon terms which are the most profitable. Products bought in this manner are distributed to the population without any profits being made out of them because the transaction is carried out not by capitalists to make money out of the workers, but by the workers themselves. In this manner the domination of capital would be abolished in this department as well. The workers must take the business of foreign trade (as they have done and are doing) into their own hands and organise it so that not a single swindler nor speculator or shopkeeper should be able to evade the workers' watchfulness.

It is clearly understood that capitalist smugglers should be dealt with mercilessly. They should be made to forget all their tricks. The management of economic life is at present the business of the working class. It is only by the aid of a further strengthening of this order that the working class can attain its final liberation from the remnants of the accursed capitalists' order.

XVII Spiritual Liberation — The Next Step to Economic Liberation.

(The Church and the School in the Soviet Republic.)

The working class and its party, the party of Communists Bolsheviks are struggling not only for economic freedom but also for spiritual liberation of the toiling masses. Economic liberation itself will be the more easier attained the sooner the workmen and the farm laborer get their brains cleared of all the rubbish with which the landowners and the manufacturing bourgeoisie have stuffed them. We have already noticed how cleverly the dominating classes have hitherto bound the workers with their newspapers, jounrnals, pamphlets, priests, and even the school which they cleverly converted from an organ of enlightment into an institution for dulling the minds of the people.

One of the agencies in achieving this object was the belief in God and the devil, spirits good and evil (angels and saints),— in short, in religion. A great number of people have grown accus-

tomed to believe in all this, whilst if we analyse these ideas and try to understand the origin of religion and why it is so strongly supported by the bourgeoisie, it will become clear that the real significance of religion is that it is a poison which is still being instilled into the people. It will also become clear why the party of the Communists is a strong *antagonist* of religion.

Modern science has proved that the original form of religion was the worship of the souls of dead ancestors. This worship began at a time when the so-called elders,— that is to say, the richer, more experienced and wise old men of the tribe who already had some power over the rest, had attained great importance, in the early stages of human history, when men were still living in herds, like semi-apes, and people were indeed equal. It was only later on that elders or heads of tribes began to have command over the whole tribe; they were the first to be worshipped. The worship of the spirits of the dead rich,— this is the basis of religion: and these "sacred" idols were later on changed into a terrible God who punishes and forgives, judges and governs. Let us analyse why people have come to accept such an explanation of everything that takes place around them. The reason is that people judge of things that are little known to them by comparing them with things with which they are familiar; they weigh and measure things on a scale that is concrete and comprehensible. A well-known scholar quotes the following instance; a little girl brought up on a private estate where there was a poultry farm, constantly had to do with eggs: eggs were ever present before her eyes. Once, when she saw the sky strewn with stars she told a story of how the heavens were sprinkled with a vast number of eggs. Such instances may be quoted endlessly. The same thing holds true as regards religion. People saw that there are those who obey and those who are obeyed. They constantly witnessed the following picture; the elder (and later on the prince) surrounded by his followers, more experienced, wiser, stronger and richer than the others, orders others and reigns over them; the others act according to his wish; he is obeyed by all. This kind of thing witnessed daily and hourly appeared to explain all that takes place in the world. There is on the earth, they said, one commander and those who obey him. Consequently, they reasoned, the whole world is built up on the same scheme. There is a master of the world, a great, strong, terrible master upon whom everything is dependent and who punishes his servants severely for disobedience. This master

over the world is God. And so the idea of a god in the heavens arises only in those cases when people are accustomed to the power of the elders over the tribe.

It is an interesting fact that all the names given to God confirm the same origin of religion. The Russian words for God and for rich are of the same origin: thus "Bog" (God) and "bogat" (rich) are derived from the same root. God is great, powerful, and rich. God is called Lord or Master. What does "Lord" signify, but the contrary to servant or slave? In prayers we have: "We are thy servants." God is further called the "Heavenly King." All the other titles point in the same direction: "Sovereign," "ruler," and so on. And so, what does "God" really mean? It means, as we are told, a rich, strong master, a slave owner, a "heavenly king," a judge,—in short an exact copy, a reproduction of the earthly power of the elders, and later on, of the princes. When the Jews were governed by their princes, who punished and tortured them, there arose the teaching of a cruel and terrible God. Such is the God of the Old Testament. He is a vicious old man, who chastises his subjects severely. Let us now consider the God of the Greek Orthodox Church. The teachings concerning this god arose in Byzantium, in the country which served as a model of despotism, At the head stood a despotic monarch surrounded by his ministers; these, in their turn, were surrounded by high officials: next followed a whole host of avaricious officials. The Greek orthodox religion is an exact reproduction, an exact model, of this system. The "Heavenly King" sits above. Around him are gathered the most important saints (for instance, Saint Nicholas, the Holy Virgin — something after the style of an empress,— the wife of the Holy Ghost), —these are ministers; next comes a hierarchy of angels and saints in the order of officials in a despotic government. These are the so-called "ranks of angels and archangels,"— cherubs, seraphs, heralds and various other "ranks" or "offices." The word "rank" itself shows that we have to do here with officials ("rank" and "official" are words which have the same root in the Russian language). These "ranks" are represented on images in such a way as to show that he who stands higher in rank is better dressed, has more laurels, that is to say, he has more "orders," just the same as on our sinful earth. In a despotic state the official invariably demands "a bribe,"— else he will do nothing for you; and just in the same way it is necessary to light a candle before the image of the saint

or he will get angry and not deliver your message to the highest official,— to God. In a despotic state there are special officials whose express mission is to act as intercessors — for a bribe of course. Here, in the orthodox religion there are also special saints,— "intercessors," or intermediaries, especially women. For instance, the Holy Virgin is, to speak, a professional female "intercessor." Of course, she does not perform her services free of charge; she expects to have more churches built in her name than anyone else and a great number of surplices have to be bought for her images, ornamented with precious stones, and so on.

In short, we see that the belief in God — is a reflection of the commonest every-day relations; it is the belief in slavery, which people are made to believe exists not only on the earth, but in the whole universe. We understand, of course, that in reality there is nothing of the kind; and it is clear to everybody that such legends hinder the development of humanity. The progress of Man is possible only when he finds natural explanations for all phenomena. But when, instead of a logical reason, people invent a god or saints or demons or devils, then, of course, we can expect nothing sensible. Here are a few more instances. Some religious people believe that thunder is caused by the Prophet Elijah taking a ride in his chariot; and, therefore, when they hear thunder they take off their hats and make the sign of the cross. In reality this electricity which causes thunder is perfectly well known to science and by this same power we run trams, and carry on them many things that we desire. A logical line of reasoning shows us that we can convey manure with the aid of the "prophet Elijah" and that he makes a good carman. Let us suppose that we believed in the prophet Elijah version. In that case we should never have invented tram cars. That means, that owing to religion, we should forever have remained in a state of barbarism. Another instance; war breaks out, people perish in millions, oceans of blood are shed. A reason explaining this must be found. Those who do not believe in God, think, reason and analyse; they see that the war was started by tzars and presidents, by the rich bourgeoisie and landowners; they see that war is conducted for plundering purposes and for filthy aims; and, therefore, they say to the workers of all countries: "To arms against your oppressors! Down with capital!" We see quite a different attitude in the case of a religious man. Sighing like an old woman

he reasons as follows: "God is punishing us for our sins: Oh, Lord, our Heavenly Father! Thou art chastising us justly for our transgressions." And if he is very pious, and Greek Orthodox into the bargain, he makes it a point to use one particular kind of food on definite days (this is called fsting*), to beat his forehead against stone floors (this is called "penance") and to perform a thousand other idiotic things. Equally foolish things are done by the religious Jew, the moslem Turk, the Buddhist, Chinese, in a word, by everyone who believes in God. Hence it follows that really religious people are incapable of fighting. Religion, as we have shown, not only leaves people in a state of barbarism, but helps to leave them in a state of slavery. A religious man is more inclined to suffer anything that happens resignedly (for everything, as they believe, "comes from God," "from on high"); he considers himself bound to submit to the authorities and to suffer, for which he will "be repaid a hundred fold in the life to come." Little wonder, then, that the dominant classes in capitalist states look upon religion as a very useful tool for deceiving and stupifying the people.

At the beginning of the chapter we saw that the power of the bourgeoisie is sustained not only by bayonets, but also by dulling the brains of its slaves. We saw also that the bourgeoisie poisons the minds of its subjects by an organised plan. For this purpose there is a special organisation, namely the Church organised by the state. In nearly all capitalist countries the Church is just as much a state institution as is the police; and the priest is as much a state official as is the executioner, the gendarme, the detective. He receives a government salary for administering his poison to the masses. This is the most dangerous part of the whole affair. Were it not for this monstrously firm and strong organisation of the plundering capitalist state, there would be no room for a single priest. Their bankruptcy would be swift enough. But the trouble is that the bourgeoisie states support the whole church institution, which in return staunchly supports the bourgeois government. At the time of the Tzar the Russian priests not only deceived the masses, but even made use of the confession to find out what ideas or intentions their victims entertained towards the government; they acted as spies whilst discharging their "sacred duties." The government not only supported them, but even persecuted by imprisonment and exile and all other means, all so-called "blasphemers" of the Greek Orthodox Church.

* So in original.

All these considerations explain the programme of the Communists with regard to their attitude to religion and to the church. Religion should be fought if not by violence, at all events by argument, the church must be separated from the state. That means that the priests may remain, but should be maintained by those who wish to accept their poison from them or by those who are interested in their existence. There is a poison called opium; when that is smoked, sweet visions appear; you feel as if you were in paradise. But its action tells on the health of the smoker. His health is gradually ruined, and little by little he becomes a meek idiot. The same applies to religion. There are people who wish to smoke opium; but it would be absurd if the state maintained at its expense, that is to say, at the expense of the people, opium dens and special men to serve them. For this reason the church must be (and already is) treated in the same way; priests, bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, abbots and the rest of the lot must be refused state maintenance. Let the believers, if they wish it, feed the holy fathers at their own expense on the fat of the land, a thing which they, the priests, greatly appreciate.

On the other hand, freedom of thought must be guaranteed. Hence the axiom that religion is a private affair. This does not mean that we should not struggle against it by freedom of argument. It means that the state should support no church organisation. As regards this question the programme of the Bolshevik Communists has been carried out all over Russia. Priests of all creeds have been deprived of state subsidy. And that is the reason why they have become so furious and have twice anathematised the present government, *i. e.*, the government of the workers, by excommunicating all workers from the church. We must note this. At the time of the Tzar they knew well enough the text in the Scriptures which says: "There is no power, but from the God" and "The powers that be are to be obeyed." They willingly sprinkled executioners with holy water. But why have they forgotten these texts at a time when the workers are at the head of the government? Is it possible that the will of God does not hold good when there is a Communist Government? What can the reason be? The thing is very simple. The Soviet Government is the first government in Russia to attack the pockets of the clergy. And this, by the way, is a priest's most sensitive spot. The clergy now are in the camp of the "oppressed bourgeoisie." They are working secretly and openly against the

working class. But times have changed and the masses of the laboring class are not so prone to become the easy prey to deceit they were before. Such is the great educational significance of the revolution: revolution liberates us from economic slavery; but it also frees us from spiritual bondage.

There is another vital question concerning the mental education of the masses. It is the question of the school.

At the time of the domination of the bourgeoisie the school served more as an organ of educating the masses in spirit of submission to the bourgeoisie, than as a medium of real education. All primers and other appurtenances of study were permeated with the spirit of slavery. Especially was this the case with history books: these did nothing but lie, describing the feats of the Tzars and other crowned scoundrels. Next to these, an important part in schools was played by the clergy. Everything aimed at one object: to mould the child so that it should emerge not a citizen, but a subject, a slave, capable, if the occasion requires, to kill his fellow-men should they rise against the capitalist government. Schools were divided into grades; there were schools for the common people and others for the better classes. For the latter there were colleges and universities, where the sons of the bourgeoisie were taught various sciences with the final object of teaching them how to manage and subjugate the rabble; for the rabble, there was the lower school. In these, more than in the others was the influence of the clergy predominant. The object of this school that gave very little knowledge but taught the children a great deal of religious lies, was to prepare people to suffer, obey and be resignedly submissive to the better classes. The common people had no access whatever to the higher schools, that is, to the universities, the special higher technical schools and various other institutions. And thus an educational monopoly was created. Only the rich, or those who were supported by the rich could enjoy a more or less decent education. For these reasons the intellectuals utilised their position in a very clever manner. And of course, at the time of the October revolution they were against the workers; they scented danger of their privileges and rights vanishing if everybody had the right of study and if the "rabble" were given the possibility of acquiring knowledge.

It is, therefore, necessary in the very first place to make education general and compulsory. In order to construct life on

new principles it is necessary that a man should be accustomed from childhood to honest toil. For this purpose school children should be taught all kinds of manual labor in the schools. The doors of the high schools should be open to all. The priests should be turned out of the schools: let them, if they wish to fool the children anywhere they like but not in a government institution: schools should be secular and not religious. The organs of the local government of the workers have control over the schools and should not be parsimonious where public instruction and the supply of all the requisites for successful teaching for girls and boys is concerned.

At present in some of the villages and provincial towns, some idiotic schoolmasters aided by the "kulaks" (or rather the "kulkas" aided by these idiots) are carrying on a propaganda, saying that the Bolsheviks are aiming at destroying science, abolishing education and so on. This is of course a most despicable lie. The Communist Bolsheviks have quite different intentions; they wish to liberate science from the yoke of capitalism and to make all science accessible to the laboring masses. They wish to destroy the monopoly (exclusive right) of the rich to education. This is the true foundation of the matter; and it is no wonder that the rich are afraid of losing one of their chief supports. If every workman acquires the qualifications of an engineer, then the position of the capitalist and of the rich engineer is not worth a brass farthing. They will have nothing more to boast of, for there will be many such as they. No undermining of the workers' cause, no amount of sabotage by the old servants of capital will be of any avail. And that is what the right honorable bourgeoisie is afraid of.

Culture for the bourgeoisie, spiritual subjection for the poor,— these are the capitalistic war cries. Culture for all, liberation of the mind from the yoke of capital,— this is the watch-word of the party of the working class, the party of the Communists.

XVIII. The People Armed to Defend Their Gains.

(Army of the Soviet Republic.)

"The best guarantee, the best security for freedom,— is a bayonet in the hands of the worker," these were the words of one of the creators of scientific communism, Frederick Engels. Now we can actually see how true this saying is: it has been completely confirmed by the experience of the great Revolution of 1917.

Quite a short time ago even some of our more radical comrades raised the cry of "disarmament." This is what they said; the bourgeoisie is everywhere building a monstrous, colossal fleet, — submarine, marine and aerial; huge armies are growing. Fortresses are being built, colossal cannon and such organs of destruction as armored cars and tanks. All this terrible system of violence must be destroyed. We must demand general disarmament.

But the Bolsheviks argued otherwise. We said; our war cry is — disarmament of the bourgeoisie and unconditional and universal arming of the working class. And indeed, it would be ridiculous to attempt to persuade the bourgeoisie to surrender its most powerful weapon — its armed forces (composed by the way, of deceived workmen and poor peasants). This violent death-dealing machine can only be destroyed by means of violence. Arms are surrendered only by the compulsion of the superior armed force of the other side: and in this act lies the significance of the armed resistance against the bourgeoisie. For the bourgeoisie, the army is a weapon in the struggle for the division of the world on the one hand, and a weapon for the struggle against the working class on the other. The Tzar and Kerensky dreamed of conquering Constantinople as well as the Dardanelles, Galicia and many another spicy bit by the aid of their army. At the same time both the Tzar and Kerensky (and that means the landowners and the capitalists) were oppressing the working class and the poorest peasantry as much as they could, in the hands of large property owners the army served as a weapon for the division of the world and for the subjection of the poor elements of the population. That is what the army used to be in former times.

How was it possible for the bourgeoisie to make of the workers and peasants (of whom the army is largely composed) a weapon against these very workers and peasants? What enabled the Tzar and Kerensky to do so? Why is it still being done by Wilhelm and Hindenburg and by the German bourgeoisie who are turning their workers into executioners of the Russian, Finnish, Ukrainian and German revolutions? Why were German sailors who revolted against their oppressors — shot down by the hand of other German sailors? How is it that English bourgeoisie is suppressing by means of English soldiers (who are also mostly workers) the revolution in Ireland, a country oppressed and trodden underfoot by cruel English bankers?

To this question the same answer should be given as to that of how the bourgeoisie manages to retain its power in general. We have seen that this is achieved by means of the perfect organisation of the bourgeoisie. In the army the power of the bourgeoisie rests on two principles; firstly on the officer corps, consisting of nobles and bourgeois; and secondly on the special training and spiritual murder, *i. e.*, on a bourgeois moulding of the minds of the soldiers. The officers corps on the whole is a purely class institution. An officer is ideally trained for the work of militarism, to inflict brutal corporal punishment on the soldiers and to cruelly mishandle them. Just glance at one of these brave officers of the guards or at a Prussian dandy with the face of a prize bull-dog. You can see at a glance that like a circus trainer he has been long and persistently learning how to ill-treat and bully and keep the human herd in a state of mortal fear and blind obedience.

You can see that since such gentlemen are picked and chosen from among the bourgeoisie and nobility and sons of landowners and capitalists, it is quite evident that they will lead the army in quite a definite direction.

And now, look at the soldiers; they enter the army as common men, with no common bonds, from different provinces, unable to show any united resistance, with minds already tainted by the clergy and the school. They are instantly put up at barracks and their training begun. Intimidation and teaching of the most anti-democratic notions, a constant system of fear and punishment, corruption by rewards for crime (for instance, for the execution of strikers),— all this makes idiots of the men, dummies who blindly obey their own mortal enemies.

It is evident that with the revolution, the army entirely resting on the old Tzarist basis, the army driven to slaughter for the purpose of conquering Constantinople, even by Kerensky, must inevitably have become disorganised. Do you ask why? Because the soldiers saw that they were being organised, trained and thrown into battle for the sake of the criminal cupidity of the bourgeoisie. They saw that for nearly three years they sat in the trenches, perished, hungered, suffered, and died and killed others all for the sake of somebody's money bags. It is natural enough that when the revolution had displaced the old discipline and a new one had not yet had time to be formed, the collapse, ruin and death of the old army took place.

This disease was inevitable. The Menshevik and Socialist revolutionary fools accuse the Bolsheviks of this disaster; "see what you have done; corrupted the army of the Tzar!" They fail to see that the revolution could not have been victorious if the army had remained loyal to the Tzar and to the generals in February and to the bourgeoisie in October. The soldiers' rising against the Tzar was already the result of the disorganisation of the Tzarist army. Every revolution destroys what is old and rotten; a certain period (a very difficult one to live through) must pass until the new life is formed, until the building of a new beautiful edifice is begun upon the ruins of the old pig-sty.

Let us give you another example from a different sphere. As the older workers know, in bygone times, when the peasants were only beginning to turn to factory work, the first thing that happened when they came to town was to become desperate hooligans, "rowdies," "roughs." The words "factory hand" or "worker" were practically words of abuse; and indeed our workers were great hands at ruffianism, obscenity and swearing. Basing their arguments on this state of affairs all reactionaries, fearing any kind of innovation, used to propagate a return to serfdom.

What they said was this; as town life depraves workers and as its tendency is to "ruin their characters," what they want is the country and especially the paternal rod of the landowners. Under these conditions virtue will be sure to thrive. And they sneered ill-naturedly at those who looked upon the working class as the salt of the earth. They used to say to us Marxists, desciples of the Great Communist Karl Marx: "Do you see what your workers are? They are swine, not men; they are blackguards! And you say that they are the salt of the earth!— a good whip and a stick — that is what they want, that will teach them to behave themselves."

Many were "convinced" by such arguments; but the truth of the matter is this; when the peasants went to town and "broke" with the country, the old village ties and traditions were forgotten. In the country they lived according to old traditions, looking up to the old men as if these were oracles, obeying them, although they had grown childish with age: they would stay peacefully within the limits of their cabbage patch, never setting foot outside their native town and would of course, be afraid of anything new. This is an example of rustic wisdom.

Bad as it was, it served as a bridle, and helped to preserve village order. This simplicity vanished rapidly in the towns where everything was new; new people, new outlooks and a multitude of new temptations in store. No wonder that the old village morality vanished into thin air; and some time elapsed before a new was formed. It was this interval between two periods that became to be a period of depravity.

But during the course of events a new consciousness arose in the new sphere of life; the consciousness of the solidarity of the proletariat. The factory united the workers, the oppression of the capitalist taught them to struggle jointly; in the place of the weak, inspid grandfatherly wisdom, there arose a new proletarian outlook, infinitely higher than the old. It is this new outlook that is changing the proletariat into the most advanced, most revolutionary, most creative of all classes. We Communists, of course, and not the feudalist landowners, proved to be right.

At the present time the Mensheviks and Socialist revolutionaries have taken up the attitude of the feudalists with regard to the army. They are loudly bewailing the disorganisation of the army, whilst laying the blame on the Bolsheviks. And just as the Feudalists used to call the workers back into the country under the protective wing of the landowner and his whip, just so do the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries now appeal for a return to the old army discipline, to serve under a Constituent Assembly on a basis of a return to capitalism and all its "attractions." But we Communists look ahead. We know that the past is dead, having become rotten as was inevitable and, that failing this, the workers and poor peasants could never take the government into their hands; we know that in the place of the old army a new, more enlightened one, the red army of Socialism has arisen.

As long as the bourgeoisie stand at the head of government and one country is a fatherland of bankers, traders, speculators, police, kings and presidents,— so long will the working class have no personal interests in guarding this filthy profit-producing apparatus. A proletarian's duty is to rise against this institution. Only miserable lackeys and hangers-on to money bags can say that we must not strike and revolt against the plundering imperialist government at a time of war. Of course, such revolts stand in the way of the plundering war business. It is quite clear that agitation within the country and more especially, agi-

tation in the army, aids disorganisation. But how is the domination of Wilhelm, for instance, to be broken without disorganising the Wilhelm discipline? Impossible. The German martyr sailors, murdered by Wilhelm's executioners, certainly aided the disorganisation of the army organised after the highway robbery system. But if the robbers' army is inwardly strong that would mean death to the revolution. If the revolution is strong — that means death to the robbers' army. The followers of Scheidemann, the German social-betrayers, are persecuting Leibknecht as a disorganiser of the army. They are persecuting all the German revolutionists, the German bolsheviks, as people who are "dealing the valorous army a dastardly blow in the back," in other words, a blow to the cause of plunder. Let the Scheidemanns fraternise with our Mensheviks and such individuals — they are all of a kidney.

Russia has passed through this period. The revolution of the workers is victorious. The period of decay has passed into the realm of memory. The period of construction of a new order of things is upon us. A red army is being built now not for plunder, but for the defence of Socialism; not to guard the fatherland of profit, where everything was in the hands of capital and the landowners, but to protect the socialist fatherland, where everything has been transferred to the hands of workers; not for the sake of mutilating and ravaging foreign countries, but for the purpose of aiding the international Communist Revolution.

It is needless to say that this army must be built on different principles to the old one. The Red army, we have said, must represent an armed people alongside a disarmed bourgeoisie. It must be a class army of the proletariat and the poorest peasantry. It is essentially directed against the bourgeoisie of the whole world, including its own. This is the reason why it cannot include armed representatives of the bourgeoisie. To admit the bourgeoisie into the army,—would be equal to arming it: it would mean creating a white guard within the red army which might easily disorganise the whole concern, becoming a centre of treason and revolt, and go over into the camp of the imperialist troops of the enemy. Our object is not to arm the bourgeoisie, but to disarm it, depriving it of its last browning.

Our second, and not less important, task is to prepare a proletarian officer corps. The working class has to defend itself against enemies who are attacking it from all sides. War has

been imposed on it by the imperialist rascals; and modern warfare required well-trained specialists. The Tzar and Kerensky had such men at their disposal, but the working class and the peasantry have not. Specialists have to be trained. For this purpose we must utilise the knowledge of the old ones: they must be compelled to instruct the proletariat. Then the Socialist Soviet fatherland will have its own officers and its own officer corps. And just as in the revolution, the more experienced and active working class leads after it the poor peasantry,— so in the war against the imperialist robbers, the worker-officers will lead the whole mass of the red peasant army.

The red army must be created on the basis of universal training of the workers and the poorest elements of the peasantry.

This is most urgent and important: Not a minute, not a second should be lost.

Every workman and every peasant must be trained and must be taught how to use arms. Only fools can argue that "they are a long way off yet,— until they come we shall have time to get ready." Russian sluggards often reason like that. All the world knows that the favorite Russian saying is "avos," "perhaps" or "may be;" "avos we shall manage." But before you have time to wink the class foe called landowners and capitalists, arrives on the spot and takes the workman by the collar; and, may be, when some brave Prussian subaltern (or an English one — who knows?) places our workman against the wall to be shot, the good-natured fellow will scratch his head, saying, "what a fool I have been."

We must look sharp. Don't let Peter wait for Bill, nor Bill for Peter. Let no one be idle, but all set earnestly to work. Universal military training, is the most urgent and the most important problem of the day.

The old army was based on the retreat of the soldiers. This happened because the capitalists and landowners commanded over millions of soldiers — peasants and workmen, whose interests were contrary to their own. The capitalist government was thus obliged to turn the soldier into a brainless tool, acting against his own interests. But the red army of the workers and peasants, on the contrary, is defending its own cause. It must, therefore, be based only on the enlightenment and conscientiousness of all comrades who enter its ranks. Hence the need for special courses, reading rooms, lectures, meetings and conferences. In their leis-

ure hours the soldiers of the red army must take an active part together with the workmen in the political life of the country, attending meetings and sharing the life of the working class.

This is one of the most important conditions for creating a firm revolutionary discipline: not the former discipline of the rod, but the new discipline of the class-conscious revolutionary. If the bond between the army and the working class is broken, then the army rapidly degenerates and can easily turn into a band, willing to serve the master who pays most. Then it begins to fall asunder and nothing can save it. And, on the contrary, if the soldiers of the red army keeps close contact with and takes an interest in the lives — then they will be exactly what they are meant to be,— the armed organ of the revolutionary masses.

One of the best ways of keeping in contact with the masses besides the above-mentioned lectures, political meetings and so on, is the utilisation of the soldiers for continuously training the workers in shooting, handling rifles, machine guns, etc. Instead of idling, card-playing and other "recreations," instead of senselessly sauntering about the barracks,— they can turn to creative work, which is in uniting the proletariat into one friendly family. In this way an armed people is created, as well as an armed peasantry, to keep watch over the great revolution of the workers.

XIX. The Liberation of Nations.

(The National question and International diplomacy.)

The programme of the Communist Party is a scheme not only for the liberation of the proletariat of one country, but for the emancipation of the proletariat of the whole world; for it is a programme of international revolution. But it is, at the same time, a programme of the liberation of all small oppressed countries and nations. The plundering "great empires" (England, Germany, Japan, America) have, by dint of robbery, acquired ascendancy over untold expanses of land and vast numbers of peoples. They have divided our whole planet between them; and no wonder that in these conquered countries the working class and the laboring masses are groaning under a double yoke,- that of their own bourgeoisie and the additional one cast upon them by their conquerors. Tzarist Russia had also gained by plunder a great deal of territory and many peoples. The present size of "our" empire is only to be explained in this way. It is quite natural that among many "aliens," including even some sections of the proletariat who did not belong to the "great

Russian" nationality, there was a general lack of confidence toward the "Moscal," as the natives of Muscovy were formerly called. The nationalist persecution evoked nationalist sentiments: the oppressed part of the proletariat had no confidence in the oppressing nationality as a whole, without distinction of class; the oppressing part of the proletariat did not sufficiently understand the position of the alien proletariat subjected to by a double burden of persecution. And yet, in order to attain the victory of the workers' revolution along the whole fronts, complete and perfect confidence of the various parts of proletariat toward each other is imperative. The proletariat of alien nations should be made to feel by deed and word that it has a loyal ally in the person of the proletariat of the nation that formerly was the oppressor. Here, in Russia, the dominating nation used to be the "Great Russian" which conquered in succession the Finns and the Tartars, the Ukrainians and the Armenians, the Georgians and the Poles, the Sivashes and Mordvians, the Kirghizes and Bashkirs and dozens of others tribes. It naturally follows that some proletarians of these peoples foster mistaken notions concerning everything Russian. He has been accustomed to being ordered about and abused by the Tzar's officials and he thinks that all Russians and the Russian proletariat as well, are like the former were.

It is for the purpose of instilling brotherly confidence in the various sections of the proletariat that the programme of the Communists proclaims the right of the laboring class of every nation to complete independence. That means to say that the Russian worker who is now at the head of the government must say to the workers of other nationalities living in Russia: "Comrades! If you do not wish to form a part of the Soviet Republic; if you wish to organise your own Soviets and form an independent Soviet Republic, you can do so. We fully acknowledge your right to do so and we do not wish to detain you by force even for a single moment."

It is self evident that only by such tactics can the confidence of the proletariat as a whole be won. Let us imagine what would happen if the workers' Soviets of Great Russia were to attempt by force of arms to coerce the working class of other nations into submission. The latter would, of course, defend themselves with arms. That would mean the complete collapse of the whole all-proletarian movement and the fall of the revolution. That is not the right way to act, for, we repeat, victory is possible only on condition of a fraternal union of the workers.

Let us bear this in mind. The question is not of the right of the nation (*i. e.*, of the workers and the bourgeoisie together) to independence, but of the right of the laboring classes. That means that the so-called "will of the nation" is not in the least sacred to us. If we meant the will of the nation, we should convene a Constituent Assembly of that nation. We consider sacred only the will of the proletariat and the semi-proletarian masses. That is why we speak not of the rights of nations to independence, but of the right of the laboring classes of every nation to separation if it so desires. During a proletarian dictatorship it is not the Constituent Assemblies (all-national embracing all the people of the given territory), but the Soviets of workers that decide questions. And if in any out-of-the-way corner of Russia there would be simultaneously convened two conferences — the "Constituent Assembly" of the given nation and the Convention of Soviets; and if it so happened that the "Constituent Assembly" expressed itself in favor of separation and the proletariat convention voted against it,— even then we should support the decision of the proletariat against that of the "Constituent Assembly" by every means, including force of arms.

This is how the proletarian party decides questions relating to the proletarians of the various nations living within the boundaries of the country. But our party is confronted with a still more difficult question; that of its international programme. Here our way is clear. We must pursue the tactics of universal support of the international revolution, by means of revolutionary propaganda, strikes and revolts in imperialist countries and by propagating revolts and insurrections in the colonies of these countries.

In imperialist countries (and such are all countries except Russia, where the workers have blown out the brains of capital)— one of the main obstacles to a revolution is the social-patriotic party. Even at the present moment it is proclaiming the defence of the (plundering) fatherland, thereby deceiving the masses of the people. They are deploring the decay of the (plundering) army. They are persecuting our friends the German, Austrian and English Bolsheviks who alone persist in refusing with contempt and indignation to defend the bourgeois fatherland. The position of the Soviet Republic is an exclusive one. It is the only proletarian state organisation in the world, in a midst of organised plundering bourgeois states. For that reason alone

this Soviet State has a right to be defended; and more than that — it must be looked upon as a weapon of the universal proletariat against the universal bourgeoisie. The war-cry of this struggle is self evident — the universal war-cry of this struggle is the motto of the International Soviet Republic.

The overthrow of imperialist government by means of armed insurrections and the organisation of international soviet republics,— such is the way to an international dictatorship of the working class.

The most efficient means of supporting the international revolution is the organisation of armed forces of the revolution. The workers of all countries who are not blinded by social-patriots, the local socialist revolutionaries and mensheviks (of whom there are many in every country) — recognise in the Russian Workers' revolution and in the Soviet Government facts that concern them intimately. Why? Because they understand that the Government of the Soviets means the government of the workers themselves. It would be quite different if the bourgeoisie aided by the mensheviks and socialist revolutionaries had overthrown the Soviet Government, convened the Constituent Assembly and by its means had organised the government of the bourgeoisie, approximately on the same plan as that which existed before the October coup d'etat. In that case the working class would have lost its country, its fatherland, for it would have lost its power. Then the banks would inevitably have returned to the bankers, the factories — to the manufacturers, the land to the landowners. The fatherland of profits would have revived and the workers would not have been in the least interested in defending such a fatherland. On the other hand, the West European workers would also have ceased to regard bourgeoisie Russia as the bright beacon showing them their way in the difficult struggle. The development of international revolution would have been retarded. On the contrary, the organisation of the armed forces of the worker and peasants, the organisation of resistance against international robbers who are fighting against Soviet Russia as its class enemies, as landowners and capitalists, in a word, as a band of executioners of the workers' revolution the organisation of the red army — these are the factors combining to strengthen the revolutionary movement in all European countries.

The better we are organised, the better we arm the battalions of workers and peasants,— the stronger will be the proletarian dictatorship in Russia and the quicker will the cause of international revolution advance.

The revolution is inevitable, however, its progress is hindered by German, Austrian, French and English mensheviks. The Russian working masses have broken with the compromisers. The workers of Western Europe will also break with them (they are, as a matter of fact, doing so already). The maxim of overthrowing the bourgeois fatherlands, of shattering the plundering governments and of establishing workers' dictatorships is steadily gaining ground. Sooner or later we shall have an International Republic of Soviets.

The International Republic of Soviets will free hundreds of millions of nations of their yoke. The "civilised" plundering empires have cruelly tortured the inhabitants of their colonies by their blood-and-iron regime. European civilisation was maintained by the blood of small peoples mercilessly exploited and robbed in the far off countries beyond the seas. They will be freed by the dictatorship of the proletariat — and by that alone. Just as the Russian Soviet Government has announced its refusal to participate in a colonial policy and has proved its decision by its attitude with regard to Persia,— just so will the European working class, after overthrowing the domination of bankers, give complete freedom to the oppressed and exploited classes. That is the reason why the programme of our party, which is that of the international revolution, is at the same time a scheme for the complete liberation of all the weak and oppressed. The great class — the working class — has set before itself great problems: and it has not only set them,— but is proceeding to solve them in a bloody, painful, heroic struggle.

Conclusion.

(Why we are Communists).

Up to the time of the last Convention, our party called itself the party of the social democracy. The party of the working class bore the same name all over the world. But the war has been responsible for an unprecedented schism in the social-democratic parties, here, three main tendencies have come to the fore: the extreme right, the centre and the extreme left wing.

The right social-democrats have proved to be thorough-going traitors to the working class. They prostrated themselves in the

dust and are still doing so, before generals whose hands were covered with the blood of workers. They support the vilest projects, and greatest crimes of their governments. We have only to remember that the German social democrat Scheidemann is supporting the Ukrainian policy of the German generals. They are the real executioners of the workers revolution.

When the German workers have won their cause they will hang Scheidemann on the same gallows as Wilhelm. There are a great number of this same kind of persons in France and England, as well as in other countries. It is they who deceive the workers by empty words about the defence of the fatherland (the bourgeois. Wilhelm fatherland), and crush the workers' revolution at home and execute it in Russia with the aid of the bayonets of their governments.

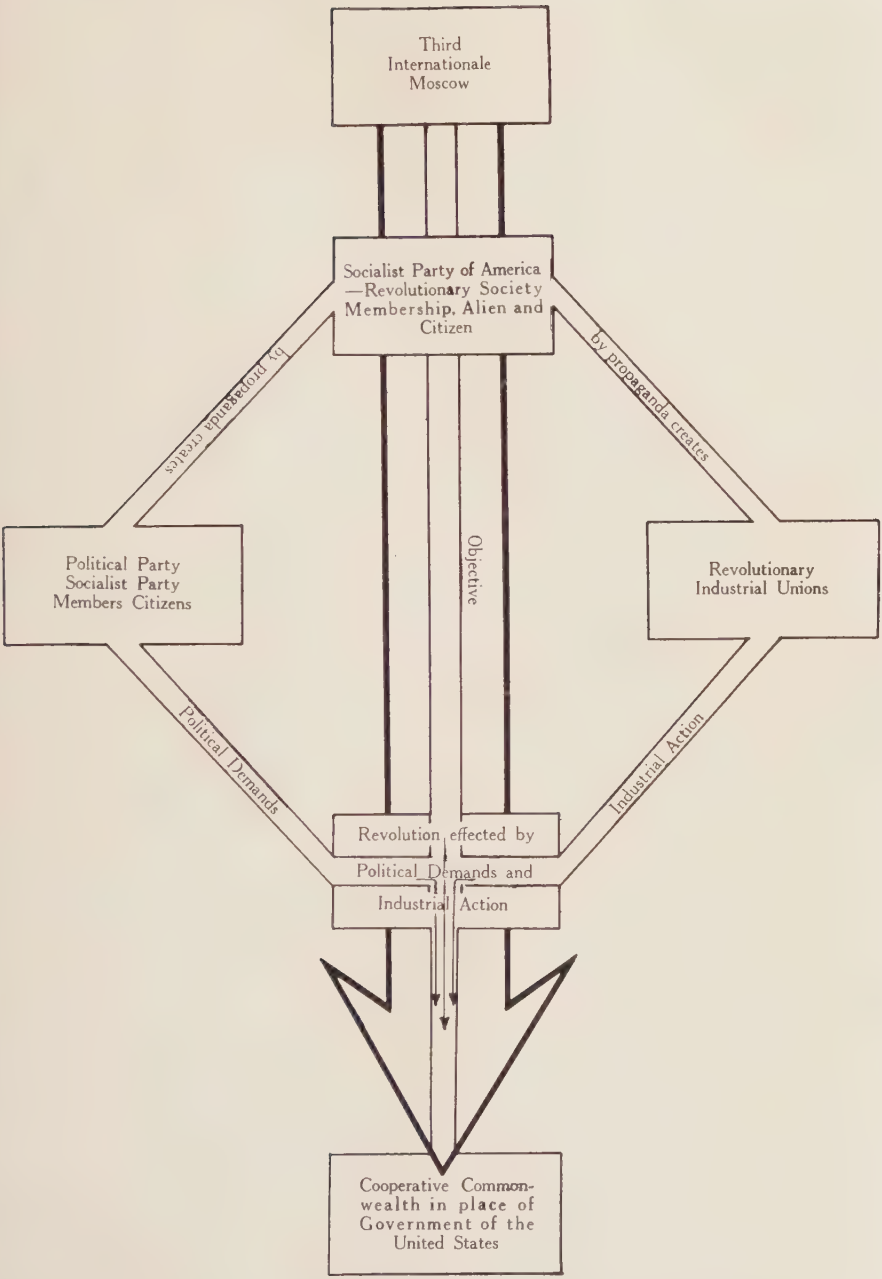
The second current is the centre. This has a tendency to grumble against its government, but is not capable of carrying on a revolutionary struggle. It has not the courage to call the workers into an open fight and fears beyond everything in armed insurrection, which is the only way of solving the question.

And lastly, there is the third current — the extreme left. In Germany Liebknecht and his comrades,— they are German bolsheviks, their policy and views being those of the bolsheviks.

You will understand what a muddle ensues as a result of all these groups calling themselves by one and the same name. The social democrat Liebknecht and the social democrat Scheidemann! What they have in common? The one,— a mean traitor, an executioner of the revolution, and the other — a brave fighter for the working class, can you imagine a greater difference!

In Russia, where the revolutionary struggle and the development of the revolution in October caused the question of socialism and the overthrow of the bourgeois government to be settled, immediately the dispute between the traitors to socialism and the adherents of the true socialism was decided by force of arms. The right socialist revolutionaries and party of the mensheviks were on the same side of the barricades as the counter-revolutionary rabble; the bolsheviks were on the other side, side by side with the workers and soldiers. Blood marked a boundary line between us. Such a thing cannot and never will be forgotten.

This is why we were compelled to give a different name to distinguish us from the traitors to Socialism. The difference between us is too great. Our ways and means are too far apart.



EXPLANATION

The purpose of this diagram is to depict graphically the distinction between the Socialist Party of America, which is a revolutionary society and the Socialist party, which is a political party, created by the propaganda of the society. It will be observed that the society operates on both the political and economic field. Its propaganda seeks to create revolutionary industrial unions, which are to employ the general strike as a weapon to destroy the present social system and overturn the Government of the United States.

As regards the bourgeois government, we Communists, know but one duty towards it — to blow it up, shattering at one blow this union of plunderers. The social democrats propagate the defence of the union of business men, screening themselves by a pretence of defending their fatherland.

But after the victory of the working class, we stand for the defence and protection of the workers Soviet government against its sworn enemies, the imperialists of the whole world. But they, like true traitors to the workers' interests, make it their task to break up the Workers' Government and demolish the Soviets. And in their struggle in this direction they go hand in hand with the united bourgeoisie.

We Communists, are eagerly striving onward, in spite of all difficulties: we are going towards Communism, through the dictatorship of the proletariat. But they, like the evil bourgeoisie, hate this dictatorship with all their hearts, libelling and lowering it whenever they can, proclaiming as their watch-word: "back to capitalism."

We, Communists, say to the working class; "There are many thorns upon our path, but we must go onward, undaunted. The great revolution which is turning the old world upside down, cannot go smoothly: the great revolution cannot be carried out in white gloves; it is born in pain. These birth pangs must be gone through with infinite patience; when duly born they will serve to free us from the iron grip of capitalist slavery."

And the mensheviks, socialist revolutionaries and social democrats stand aside, looking on at our mistakes and failings and draw the conclusion of going back: "let us return," they say,— give up everything to the bourgeoisie and content ourselves with a modest helping at capitalist tables!

No! Our road is not the same. These wretches try to scare us by the bogey of civil war. But there can be no revolution without a civil war. Or do they perhaps imagine that in other, more advanced countries, socialist revolutions will take place without civil war? The example of Finland has proved the contrary. Thousands of murdered Finnish comrades — afford the best evidence of civil war in advanced capitalist countries being ever more fierce, more bloodier, more cruel and frenzied than ours proved to be. Now we can foresee that in Germany, for instance, the war between the classes will be extremely acute. The German officers are already shooting their soldiers and sailors by the hundreds, for the slightest attempt at rebellion. It is

only through civil war and the iron dictatorship of the workers that Socialism can be attained and with it, Communism and fraternal production.

The protection of the bourgeois government and no approach towards Communism!— such is the programme of the social democrats.

The demolition of the bourgeois government, organisation or production by the working class, a wide road to Communism!— such is the programme of the Communist Party.

When we call ourselves Communists we not only draw a line to distinguish ourselves from the social traitors, such as mensheviks, socialist revolutionaries and followers of Scheidemann and other bourgeois agents. We revert to the old name of the revolutionary party, at the head of which stood Karl Marx. His was the Communist Party. The Testament of modern revolution up to the present moment is still the "Manifesto of the Communists" written by Marx and Engels. Some eighteen months before his death, old Engels protested against the name of "social-democrats." He said, "This name is not a suitable one for a party which is striving towards communism and which finally aims at destroying every form of government including a democratic one." What would these great old men, glowing with hatred towards the bourgeois state apparatus, say, if they were shown such social democrats as Dan, Tzeretelli, Scheidemann, they would have branded them with contempt, as they did these democrats who, in tragic and difficult moments of the revolution, directed the muzzles of their revolvers against the working class."

There are many obstacles on our way; and there is at present much that is evil within our midst. For many outsiders have joined us who are selling themselves for money to the highest bidder, intending to fish in troubled waters. And the working class is young and inexperienced. And the fiercest enemies are surrounding the young Soviet Republic on all sides. But we, Communists, know that the working class is learning wisdom by its own mistakes. We know that it will clear its ranks of all the impurity that has crept in; we know that it will be joined by its loyal and desired ally — the world proletariat. No old-womanish wails, no hysterical shrieks will confuse our party, for it has put upon its banner the golden words written by Marx in the "Communist Manifesto:"

"Let the governing classes tremble before the Communist Revolution. The proletariat has nothing to lose but its chains; it has a world to win. Proletarians of all countries, unite!"

May, 1918.

Document XVIII

ZIMMERWALD PROGRAM

TO THE PROLETARIAT OF EUROPE

The war has now continued for more than a year. Millions of corpses cover the battlefields, millions of men have been turned into lifelong cripples. Europe has become a gigantic human slaughter house. The whole civilization created by generations of labor has been devastated. The wildest barbarism celebrates its triumph over all that has hitherto been the pride of mankind.

Whatever may be the truth as to the responsibility for the outbreak of this war — one thing is sure: The war that has brought forth this chaos is the result of imperialism, of the ambitions of the capitalist classes of each nation to nourish their profit lust from the exploitation of human labor and the natural resources of the globe.

Economically backward or politically weak nations have accordingly fallen under the yoke of the great powers, who seek in this war to transform the map of the world with blood and iron to make it correspond with their exploiting interests. So it is that the fate of whole peoples and nations, like Belgium, Poland, the Balkan States and the Armenians, is to be divided as prey in the game of compensations, and to be torn entirely or partially into fragments, and then annexed.

The motive forces of the war in all their baseness come into view as the struggle goes on. Shred by shred every veil is torn away by which it has been sought to hide the truth about the world catastrophe from the knowledge of the peoples.

The capitalists of all countries that would coin the blood of their peoples into the red gold of war profits assert that the war is for the defense of fatherlands, of democracy, or the liberation of oppressed peoples. They lie. In fact and in truth they would bury within each nation the devastated liberties of their own peoples together with the independence of other nations.

New fetters, new chains, new burdens are arising and the proletariat of every country, conquerors as well as conquered, must bear them.

Betterment of conditions was proclaimed at the outbreak of the war — misery and deprivation, unemployment and high prices, under nourishment and pestilence were the actual results.

For decades to come the costs of war will devour the best energies of the peoples, endanger achievements of social reform and prevent every progressive step.

Cultural desolation, economic destruction, political reaction — these are the blessings of this monstrous contest of nations.

So it is that war reveals the naked form of modern capitalism as irreconcilable, not alone with the interests of the working class, nor with the interests of historical evolution, but with the very elementary conditions of human association.

The ruling powers of capitalist society, in whose hands the history of the peoples rests, monarchial as well as republican governments, the secret diplomacy, the powerful associated monopolies, the bourgeoisie parliaments, the capitalist press and the church — all these share the responsibility for this war that has arisen out of the society they have nourished and protected, and for whose interests it is conducted.

Workers! Exploited, outlawed, despised — when war broke out and you were wanted on the field of slaughter, you were addressed as brothers and comrades. Now, when militarism has crippled, mangled, crushed and destroyed you, the rulers demand that your goal, your ideal and, in a word, submit to a slavish subjection in the name of civic harmony. They would rob you of the possibility of expressing your ideas, your feelings, even your sufferings, and would deprive you of the power of pressing your demands or even of defending them. The press is muzzled, political rights and liberties are trodden under foot — military dictation rules today with an iron fist.

This condition, which threatens the entire future of Europe and of humanity, we can not and dare not longer face without action.

For decades the Socialist proletariat has led the fight against militarism. With increasing apprehension its representatives occupied themselves at their national and international gatherings with the ever more threatening danger of war arising out of imperialism. At Stuttgart, Copenhagen and Basle international Socialist congresses have pointed the way that the proletariat must go.

Socialist parties and labor organizations of various countries that had agreed on this way have since the beginning of the war disregarded the duties that followed from this agreement. Their representatives have called on labor to cease the class struggle, the only possible and effective means of proletarian emancipation.

They have given their assent to the ruling class for the war credits, they have placed themselves at the disposal of governments for various services, they have through their press and their emissaries sought to win neutrals to the governmental policy of their countries, they have sent Socialist ministers into the governments as whips to guard civil peace, and thereby they have, before the working class, for the present and the future, accepted responsibility for this war, its objects and its methods. And like the various individual parties, the official representative of the Socialists of all countries, the international Socialist bureau, has also failed.

These facts have brought about a condition where the international working class that was not directly carried away by the national panic of the first days of war, or that has freed itself from that panic, have not yet been able, in the second year of the war, to find ways and means to bring their effective power into action for peace simultaneously in all countries.

In this unendurable condition we, the representatives of Socialist parties, unions and minorities of these, we Germans, French, Italians, Russians, Poles, Letts, Rumanians, Swedes, Norwegians, Dutch and Swiss, we do not stand on the ground of national solidarity with the exploiting class, but on the ground of the international solidarity of the proletariat and the class struggle, have come together in order to knit up the broken threads of international relations, and to call the working class to self-consciousness and to the struggle for peace.

This struggle is the struggle for liberty, for fraternity and for Socialism. It is time to take up this battle for peace, and for a peace without annexations or war indemnities. Such a peace is only possible on condition of the condemnation of all violence against the rights and liberties of the peoples. Neither the possession of whole nations nor of separate sections of nations must be permitted to lead to forcible incorporation. No annexation, either open or masked, and no forcible economic union secured through any violation of political rights must be made. The right of self-determination of peoples must be the indestructible foundation of the creation of national relations.

Proletarians! Since the outbreak of the war you have devoted your strength, your courage, your endurance to the service of the ruling class. The time has now come to stand forth for your

own cause, for the sacred purpose of Socialism, for the liberation of oppressed peoples, for all subject classes, and for the irreconcilable, proletarian class struggle.

It is the task and the duty of the Socialists of the warring countries to take up the full burden of this struggle. It is the task and the duty of the Socialists of all neutral countries to support with all their strength their brothers in this struggle against bloody barbarism.

Never in the history of the world was there a more imperative, a higher or more sublime task than this, whose fulfillment must be our common work. No sacrifice is too great, no load too heavy to bear in order to attain the goal of peace among the nations.

Workingmen and working women! Mothers and fathers! Widows and orphans! Wounded and cripples! All who have suffered from war or through war, we call to you over the frontiers, over the smoking slaughter fields, over devastated cities and villages: Proletarians of all nations, unite!

In the name of the International Socialist Conference.

Signed:

For the German delegation, G. Ledebour, A. Hoffman.

For the French, A. Bourderon, A. Merrheim.

For the Italian, G. F. Modigliani, C. Lazzari.

For the Russian, N. Lenin, Paul Axelrod, M. Babroff.

For the Poles, St. Lapinski, A. Warski, Cz. Hanecki.

For the Inter-Balkan Socialist Federation: Roumania, C. Racowski; Bulgaria, W. Kolarow.

For the Swedes and Norwegians, Z. Hoglund, Ture Nerman.

For the Dutch, H. Roland Holst.

For the Swiss, Robert Grimm, Charles Naine.

The Independent Labor Party of England has declared itself in sympathy with the conference and has elected delegates, but the British Government refused to issue passports, and, therefore, their names cannot be officially signed.

Note.— Angelica Balabanov, Secretary of the Zimmerwald Conferences, writes in the Communist International for October 1919, "The fundamental basis of the Zimmerwald movement was a deep conviction that only a mass revolutionary action of the working-class can put an end to the war."

The First Zimmerwald Conference was held on the 5th-8th of September, 1915; the Second at Kienthal, Switzerland on the 14th-30th of April, 1916, and the Third Zimmerwald Conference was held at Stockholm, September 5th–8th, 1917.

The key-note of the Third manifesto was in its advocacy of the "simultaneous international general strike."

NOTE ON CHAPTER XVII

SOCIALISM IN MEXICO, CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA

NOTE ON CHAPTER XVII

Socialism in Mexico, Central and South America

There has not been any very strong development of Bolshevism in South America. In the Chamber of Deputies in Montevideo during August, the Government was asked by Socialist members to recognize the Soviet government of Russia and they protested against the police interference with recent meetings which had been held in favor of the Russian Bolsheviki. The Socialist Congress at Montevideo, on September 22, voted by an overwhelming majority to join the Third International.

The most important center of Bolshevism in Central America seems to be Guatemala. Here it is reported that the Red League has assumed great importance and that its influence radiates from this center over the whole of Central America. One of the important objects of La Liga Roja — the Red League — is to force American and English business men to abandon Central America. The leader of the movement is General Alvarado, who formerly was Governor of Yucatan, and who is an ardent supporter of Lenin. He supported the Bolshevist movement in Yucatan. The Soviet movement in Guatemala started nearly two years ago with the ostensible purpose of bringing about a union of the Central American states and two or three of the South Mexican states into one big republic. This was done under the aegis of what was called a Unionist Club. The purpose was, of course, Soviet Communism.

MEXICO

Recent events have turned the spotlight on the spread of Bolshevism and the radical labor movement in Mexico, especially on account of the government's favoring and abetting the numerous strikes, and also on account of the results of the Communist Congress of the Mexican Proletariat held in Mexico City September 18th. This Congress was decided upon in July at the Annual Convention of the Confederacion Obrera Regional, held at Aguas Calientes. This organization corresponds to the American Federation of Labor but is far more radical and with strong Bolshevik tendencies. It decided to have the first great Labor Day manifestation and parade throughout Mexico on September

26th, from Sonora to Yucatan, with an especially important manifestation in Mexico City. The head of the labor unions and also the foremost labor leader in Mexico is Luis Morones. The parade on September 26th was led by Morones and by Colonel Filiberto Villareal on horseback. In the procession were forty deputies, part of the Socialist block of the Congress, who made inflammatory speeches at every corner. The national palace was invaded, the Red Flag was planted on its balcony. Soto y Gama, leader of the Zapata Government, made a Red speech. Felipe Carrillo, President of the Socialist Party of Yucatan, also advocated violent revolution and the hoisting of the Red flag. Colonel Villareal was dismissed from the army. Carrillo, Albamarino, and Leon, deputies, were brought before the Federal Courts for sedition, as was Morones.

This spectacular occurrence which appeared to commit the Socialist Party of Mexico to a Bolshevik program, is merely the culmination of a movement in which the De la Huerta government was radically involved. The most dangerous part of the situation lies in the fact that the older group of revolutionists which had been led by American draft evaders, like L. Gale, by pro-German agitators or by Russian emissaries has been supplemented on a big scale by the active organized work of native Mexicans, Socialists and labor leaders who are spreading their propaganda from the communistically run province of Yucatan. President De la Huerta, some time before the meeting of the Communist Congress, had started an investigation which resulted in the expulsion of Gale and the German, C. F. Tabler. It was then found that there had been two Communist groups, one headed by these two men, and supposed to be supported by Aguirre Berlanga, Minister of the Interior under Carranza, and the other headed by native syndicalists of Mexico City, especially Luis Morones and Cervantez Lopez. Their work had been pro-German during the war, aiming to substitute the influence of the I. W. W. in Mexican labor for that of the A. F. of L. With this movement was connected the later labor trouble of Campeche and the factories of Puebla, and the strikes in the factories in Mexico City. Money sent from Russia and Germany and the United States was used at different times. In order to prevent the spread of Communism in the ranks of Mexican labor, Mr. Gompers sent to Mexico two well-known organizers and propagandists to confer with Mexican labor leaders and secure the establishment of branches of

the A. F. of L. in Mexico. But Mexican labor is organizing on a big and independent scale under the patronage of President De la Huerta who has announced himself as a Marxian Socialist of the Kautsky type. He is enforcing the two radical sections of the new Mexican constitution, paragraphs 6 and 123.

The first of these paragraphs includes the establishment of the minimum wage and gives to the workingmen the right to participate in the profits of any industry. It forms the most radical labor code ever adopted. The other section gives to the government the almost complete ownership of land and the absolute ownership of the sub-soil. It will be easily seen that the carrying out of this program might involve the expropriation of all the oil lands owned in Mexico by the American and British companies.

As soon as the Huerta government was established as a workingman's government and had declared its policy of supporting labor organizations and strikes there began a perfect epidemic of strikes all over the country. In every one of these hundreds of cases, the government supported the strikers, and the strikers won all their demands. The Secretary of War threatened to court-martial any officer interfering in a strike on behalf of the owners. Huerta appointed a labor leader Governor of Mexico City. The Secretary of Agriculture began distributing lands belonging to estates to any and every applicant and turning big haciendas into cooperative agricultural colonies. The eight-hour day has been introduced, even in agricultural work, and wages have been increased in many cases four and five times. The result in certain cases has been almost equivalent to expropriation. The Huerta policy will, it is thought, be continued by Obregon who takes possession of the presidency on December 1st, and who has announced himself as a representative of labor.

The policy of the government is backed up by the Socialist block of the Chamber, which already consists of 104 out of 230 deputies who are committed to a Socialist transformation of the government. A number of deputies, not belonging to the block because of the difficult conditions for admission, would work with it.

Until quite recently the Mexican Labor Party had strong syndicalist tendencies and were consequently against parliamentary action, but this has been entirely changed by the socialistic character of the government and the size of the socialist representation in Parliament.

NOTES ON SECTION II

AMERICAN CONDITIONS

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SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

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NOTE ON CHAPTER II

Socialist Party of America

MODIFICATION OF CONSTITUTION AND STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA

Since the filing of this report the National Convention of the Socialist Party of America met in New York City, May 8th–14th, and the Convention of the New York State organization was held in the same city, at which certain changes were effected in the constitution and statement of principles of the party, which must be carefully studied and analyzed if the present position of the party in the revolutionary movement is to be understood.

At the regular session of the New York State Legislature in the spring of 1920 the Assembly expelled five Socialist Assemblymen-elect as being disqualified by reason of their pledges to the Socialist Party organization and the individual acts and utterances of three of them to take their seats in that body.

The objective of the party, its program, principles and tactics at this period have been thoroughly described in the chapter of this report dealing with the Socialist Party of America.

The expulsion of the five Socialists from the Assembly of the State of New York created a profound impression upon the minds of the Socialist Party leaders. The debates in the National Convention showed the party divided into two principal groups; the first, an opportunist element led by Morris Hillquit, sought to modify the constitution and statement of principles of the party so as to meet the objections raised to it by the Assembly's action. The other group, lead by prominent instructors in the Rand School of Social Science, and others, felt that the party should not attempt to mislead the public as to its designs but should fully and frankly state its principles and objects as well as the methods which in fact it intends to employ.

The purpose of the convention of the Socialist Party was not to re-state the principles and tactics by which the Socialist movement is to be furthered, but was the preparation of a statement of principles upon which it could appeal to the public generally in a political campaign. The political leaders of the party, such as Morris Hillquit, realized that if the party was to extend its influence it could not do so with a frank statement of its real

object but must appeal to the discontented and independent voters upon a purely parliamentary platform.

The opportunist element controlled the convention and a new declaration of principles was adopted which is appended in full at the close of this note.

Commenting upon this stand, Benjamin Glassberg, one of the leading instructors of the Rand School of Social Science, in a letter published in the New York Call on July 26, 1920, says:

> "The writer will refrain from discussing the majority report, except to point out that its chief weakness, and that of the platform, is that it has 'Albany' written all over it. It was framed, ostensibly, to meet the objections which were raised by Sweet against the Socialist Party so that the next delegation of Assemblymen will not be unseated. It is intended to paint the Socialist Party as a nice, respectable, goody-goody affair, rather than a revolutionary organization whose one aim is to overthrow a dying social order and replace it with the Cooperative Commonwealth."

At this convention the National Constitution was amended so as to eliminate section 6, which provided as follows:

> "Any member of the Socialist Party elected to an office who shall in any way vote to appropriate moneys for military or naval purposes, or war, shall be expelled from the party."

The provisions of the war program of the party adopted at the National Convention at St. Louis, April, 1917, contained specifications 6 and 7, which were as follows:

> "6. Resistance to conscription of life and labor.
> "7. Repudiation of war debts."

were repudiated, and the new statement of principle demands that the public debt of the United States authorized by law should be paid in full.

The provisions of the National Constitution of the party which permitted aliens and minors to become members and to possess the same rights in party control as citizens was amended so as to read as follows:

> "Article 2. Section 2. Every person resident of the United States of the age of twenty-one and upwards, with-

> out discrimination as to sex, race, color, or creed, who has severed his connection with all other political parties and political organizations and subscribes to the principles of the Socialist Party, including political action and unrestricted political rights for both sexes shall be eligible to membership in the party,"

and article 12, section 1, was substituted for article 12, section 1, and article 14, section 1, in which we find the following:

> "Delegates to International, National, State and Local conventions and Congresses, and members of executive or other governing committees of the party in National, State and Local organizations, must be citizens of the United States and in continuous good standing in the party for at least three years, provided such organizations have been organized for such time."

It is evident that these amendments were intended to meet the objections raised by the Judiciary Committee of the Assembly in their investigation into the eligibility of the five Socialists for seats in that body.

The means by which the party now seeks to bring about the Co-operative Commonwealth is stated in the new declaration of principles as follows:

> "It strives by means of political methods, including the action of its representatives in the Legislatures and other public offices to force the enactment of such measures as will immediately benefit the workers, raise their standard of life, increase their power, and stiffen their resistance to capitalist aggression. Its purpose is to secure a majority in Congress and in every State Legislature, to win the principal executive and judicial offices, to become the dominant and controlling party, and, when in power, to transfer the industries to ownership by the people, beginning with those of a public character, such as banking, insurance, mining, transporation and communication, as well as the trustified industries, and extending the process to all other industries susceptible of collective ownership, as rapidly as their technical conditions will permit. . . . The Socialist Party seeks to attain its end by orderly and constitutional methods, so long as the ballot box, the right of representation, and

civil liberties are maintained. Violence is not the weapon of the Socialist Party but of the short-sighted representatives of the ruling classes, who stupidly believe that social movements and ideals can be destroyed by brutal physical repression."

The majority report to the convention with respect to international relations was adopted by referendum of the party. This report modified the relations with the Third Communist International of Moscow so as to permit of association with that institution while giving to the Socialist Party in America the opportunity to carry out its campaign in this country by parliamentary methods. This report is printed in full at the close of this note. In it will be found the following:

"In view of the above considerations the Socialist Party of the United States, while retaining its adherence to the Third International, instructs its Executive Committee, its International Secretary and International Delegates to be elected:

"(a) To insist that no formula such as 'The Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the form of Soviets' or any other special formula for the attainment of the Socialist commonwealth be imposed or exacted as condition of affiliation with the Third International."

At the State Convention of the Socialist Party, held July 4 and 5, 1920, in New York City, the State Constitution was amended so as to eliminate that section of the constitution which required candidates for public office to place in the hands of the executive committee their resignation to such public office before their election so that they could be withdrawn from such public office at the will of the Socialist Party.

A superficial examination of these changes and amendments makes it appear that the Socialist Party as now constituted seeks to establish the co-operative commonwealth in this country by parliamentary measures only. If this be the case no legal objection can be raised to it. This committee, however, would not be fulfilling its obligations if it did not examine further into these questions to determine if, in fact, there has been a complete and fundamental change in the methods and tactics of the Socialist Party, or whether the amendments to the constitutions and the new statement of principles are simply campaign docu-

ments for the purpose of gaining converts who might refuse to enter the Socialist movement if a franker statement of principles was made.

The necessity of such an examination is suggested by Eugene V. Debs himself in his speech accepting the nomination for President at the hands of his party. He is quoted in the June 1st issue of "The Bulletin" (the official organ of the Socialist Party) as saying on that occasion: "I must be perfectly frank with you. I have read the platform adopted by the convention, and I wish I might say that it has my unqualified approval. It is a masterly piece of writing, and it states the essential principles of the Socialist movement, but I believe that it could have been made more effective if it had stressed the class struggle more prominently and *if more emphasis had been laid on industrial organization.*

"I do not believe in captious criticism, but I want to be frank with you and state my position. I must do this if I am to prove worthy of the high confidence reposed in me. *However, a platform is not so very important after all. We can breathe the breath of revolution in any platform. A platform is not altogether unlike a musical instrument. You can play the particular tune you want on it.*" (Italics ours.)

It should be noted that Debs here emphasizes the need of industrial organization as a part of the work of the Socialist Party and indicates that the statement of principles adopted by the convention is not to be taken too seriously.

If the chapter of this report dealing with the Socialist Party of America has been carefully studied it will be noted that the principal method advocated and sought to be employed to advance the Socialist movement is industrial action. This involves the destruction of trade unions, their conversion into revolutionary industrial unions and the employment of the general strike and sabotage to veto the decision of the ballot box. In other words, to use direct action, euphoniously termed "industrial action," as a means of placing a minority group in political power.

Have the amendments to the constitution and statement of principles which we have enumerated in any way hampered the Socialist Party from continuing to carry out this program, and have the acts of the party as distinguished from its public utterances shown any change of tactics or any rebuke to those elements in the party which seek to utilize extra parliamentary methods?

A careful study of the decision of the party, as distinguished from its word, shows that there has been no fundamental change in the party's attitude on this question.

We have said that the majority report on international relations, which was adopted by party referendum, modified the relations with the Third International, so as to permit the parliamentary procedure in this country. On the other hand, the Socialist Party unanimously nominated Eugene V. Debs as its candidate for Presidency of the United States. The official bulletin of the Socialist Party for June 1, 1920, contains the official report of Debs' speech of acceptance upon notification of his nomination, in which he says:

> (Page 2 of Bulletin) "Before serving time here, I made a series of addresses, supporting the Russian Revolution, which I consider the greatest single achievement in all history. I still am a Bolshevik. I am not a Russian Bolshevik in America, but I am fighting for the same thing here that they are fighting for there.
>
> "I regret that the Convention did not see its way clear to affiliate with the Third International without qualification."

The attitude of the Socialist Party of the State of New York with respect to the Russian problem is shown by its publication of the following resolution:

> "The Russian workers are continuing in their efforts to develop a state where exploitation of the masses by the few has been abolished and where those who produce the wealth of the country administer its affairs.
>
> "They are writing pages of glorious achievement in the history of working-class government and control which are an inspiration to the workers of the world.
>
> "The New York Convention of the Socialist Party sends fraternal greetings to the vanguard of the International Proletariat and pledges to make known and interpret the sacrifices and struggles of the Russian workers in the cause of political and industrial liberty to the American working class.
>
> "We rejoice in the victories of the Russian Soviets over the counter-revolutionary forces at home and abroad.

"We condemn the reactionary Polish government aided and abetted by the imperialist and capitalist powers, for its attack upon Soviet Russia.

"We fervently hope that the Polish workers will soon overthrow their present rulers and establish a government which will represent the true aspirations of the working class.

"We heartily join with Socialist and labor organizations to the world in demanding the lifting of the blockade against Russia and to allow her free intercourse with other countries.

"We demand of the United States Government the immediate recognition of Mr. L. A. Martens as the accredited representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic."

It should be noted that the State organization here demands the recognition of Ludwig Martens which would thereby clothe him with diplomatic immunities after it has been demonstrated both before this Committee and the subcommittee of the Judiciary in the Senate of the United States under Senator Moses that Martens was engaged in activities which had for their ultimate purpose the undermining and destruction of our form of government.

While the National Convention of the party expressed itself in the majority report on international relations as being opposed to the formula of the Russian revolution, "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the form of Soviet," the party at the same time went on record as to the form of representation which should be the basis of the Co-operative Commonwealth in a resolution reading as follows:

"Resolved, That this convention favor the election of representatives to all legislative bodies by industries as well as by geographical units."

This resolution carries with it an endorsement of the Soviet form of government, which is based upon territorial units and representation through industries.

The amendment eliminating the provision of the constitution expelling members of the Socialist Party for voting for military appropriations or war has no practical bearing upon the Socialist movement in America to-day. That provision of the constitu-

tion was adopted at the 1915 convention after the sinking of the *Lusitania* because at that time the Socialist Party felt that war was imminent and it defined the position of the Socialist Party with respect to the government on all matters of national defense. At the present time there appears no danger of immediate war on the part of the United States and the party leaders were safe in eliminating that provision of the constitution for the time being.

The provisions of the 1920 platform call for the payment in full of the war debts and other debts of the Federal government, using the following phraseology:

> "All war debts and other debts of the Federal government should immediately be paid in full, the funds for such payment to be raised by means of a progressive property tax, whose burden should fall upon the rich and particularly upon great fortunes made during the war."

However, little difference may be noted between this phraseology and that in the war proclamation and program adopted at the St. Louis convention in 1917, which contains the following:

> "We pledge ourselves to oppose with all our strength any attempt to raise money for payment of war expenses by taxing the necessaries of life or issuing bonds which will put the burden upon future generations. We demand that the capitalist class, which is responsible for the war, pay its cost. Let those who kindled the fire furnish the fuel."

It will be noted that one of the criticisms raised by the New York State Assembly to the Socialist Party was that it was not a political party in that it admitted to membership and to the control of party councils aliens and minors. An examination of the constitutional amendments of the May convention shows that the change in party principles is purely superficial. It is true that the age of admission to the party has been raised from eighteen years to twenty-one, but aliens are still admitted to membership and full participation in party control, except that they may not serve on governing committees. They have, however, an equal voice with citizens in the election of party officers. In those locals or branches where alien membership predominates it is obvious that they will elect as party delegates and officers citizens who will follow their instructions. It is obvious, therefore, that the criticism has not been met.

The statement of principles emphasizing that the Socialist Party is a purely political party advocating parliamentary methods only is contradicted by numerous acts of the party. The official training school for party organizers and agitators is the Rand School of Social Science. Here the principles of Socialism are taught, the methods and tactics which are deemed essential to its success are expounded, and the leaders of the party for the future are being trained. The attitude of the instructors of the Rand School with respect to methods and tactics are clearly defined in a series of letters appearing in the *New York Call,* which criticize the opportunist stand of the National and State Conventions and state the principles which are being taught in that institution.

That these Socialist leaders recognize that they cannot achieve success by the ballot is made clear in the letter of Benjamin Glassberg to the *New York Call,* above referred to, in which he says (referring to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat):

> "To avoid discussing the Dictatorship and including it among our accepted principles, because it is premature, or because it may not be expedient, in that it may cost us some votes, is to invite disaster when the crucial moment arrives. It will but result in our teaching the workers what is fundamentally untrue, that is, that we can vote ourselves into Socialism. Now is the time to discuss tactics, not when the revolution is upon us. Let us avoid the experiences of the European parties who were rent with open, bloody, internal conflicts over just such questions."

The same writer also makes clear that the Socialists cannot hope to secure the adherence of even a majority of the workers in this country and lays blame upon the capitalists for controlling the press, the church, the theatre and the schools, which it is claimed have blinded the American workman to their slavery under the present system. He says:

> "Are we to object to the assumption of power by the workers, who may for the time be in the minority, because the minds of the workers have been warped and corrupted by capitalist teachings? . . . A general election might perhaps show the Socialist Party to be in the minority, just as the Bolsheviki were in the minority in the Constituent

> Assembly in 1917. But who will deny that the opposition to the Bolsheviki was due to ignorance and that the masses have now made them the overwhelming majority?"

Mr. Alexander Trachtenberg and several other instructors of the Rand School took the same position. Despite their arguments in defense of their position upon the floor of the National Convention and the State Convention, in which they made their position plain, the Socialist Party unanimously designated the Rand School as the official training school by adopting the following resolution (see p. 5 of the issue of July 6, 1920, of the *New York Call*):

> "Education is the keynote to the ultimate emancipation of the working class. But it is a special kind of education, one that enables the workers to see through the evils and shams of the present social and economic order, that is of value."
>
> "Fully aware of this, capitalistic interests have made strong attempts to destroy institutions like the Rand School, dedicated to the task of educating the workers. We pledge the support of the Socialist Party to the Rand School and other working class institutions, which aim at making the working class conscious and preparing them to solve the problems of the coming co-operative commonwealth."

We have indicated the type of education being given at this school and the methods which are to be used in solving the problem of the coming co-operative commonwealth.

As already indicated, the principal weapon sought to be employed by the Socialist Party was industrial action. Have any of the changes or amendments in the statement of principles or constitutions put any prohibition upon members of the Socialist Party to continue the work of organizing their revolutionary industrial unions with a view to using economic action? An examination of the party's stand does not disclose any such limitation.

The Committee on Economic Organizations presented a majority report to the National Convention, which contained the following (see p. 11 of the Bulletin of June 1st):

"The Socialist Party reaffirms its declaration that organized action on the political field *must* (italics ours) be supplemented by organized action on the economic field."

"It pledges its support to the workers in all their struggles against the master class on the industrial field."

"Strikes that have taken place during the past year, such as those of the longshore, steel and railroad workers, have demonstrated that separate action on the part of individual groups is not effective; and declares that a closer organization of the workers is necessary."

"The craft form of organization with its unavoidable jurisdictional disputes, making cohesion practically impossible, must give way to the more effective plan of industrial organization. To the end that the Socialist Party may be in a position to most efficiently aid the workers in their economic struggles, the convention instructs the National Executive Committee to create a Department of Economic Organization, under the direction of the National Secretary, to carry out the following plans:

"(a) To prepare a series of handy pamphlets and leaflets on industrial unionism for sale and for free distribution among the workers.

"(b) To keep in touch with affairs in the labor movement and to furnish a press service to all papers and periodicals that will use it, setting forth the position of the Socialist Party on all important industrial events.

"(c) To further the organization among the various state and local units of the Socialist Party special committees on economic organization to carry on the work in their respective localities.

"(d) To send out specially qualified speakers throughout the country to address local and central bodies and to assist the workers in time of struggle with their employers.

"(e) To direct and assist the locals and branches of the party to organize those of their members belonging to economic organizations, for the purpose of carrying on this work effectively among their fellow-members."

While this majority report clearly defines the purpose of the Socialist Party it was too frank a statement for the opportunist elements of the party which controlled the convention to adopt.

The minority report as amended was adopted by the convention but a careful study of that report shows that it is not inconsistent with the majority report. The following is the text of the report as accepted by the convention:

> "The Socialist Party being the political expression of the working class of America, reaffirms its pledge to support the workers in all of their efforts to organize on the economic field, to carry out their immediate demands and to help in all of the struggles against the organized employers. We deem it vitally necessary that the workers organize along industrial lines the same as the employers have done, in order that they may be able to present a solid front in the demands for economic betterment. That we instruct the National Secretary to have prepared a series of handy pamphlets and leaflets on industrial unionism for sale and for free distribution among the workers."

The convention of the State organization of the Socialist Party, above referred to, also adopted the following resolution which clearly defines the said party's position with respect to industrial or economic action:

> "While the Socialist Party is organized primarily for the purpose of using political methods to aid in the achievement of industrial democracy, we recognize that this result must be brought about by a combination of political and economic action.
>
> "Working as we do to advance the Socialist Party we also pledge our support to the workers in all their efforts to improve their conditions and to help to achieve emancipation *through economic action.*
>
> "We consider it vital for the workers to organize along industrial lines as their employers have organized. *It is only through a powerful union of all workers of hand and brain, politically and economically, that the takers of rent, interest and profit can and will be dislodged from their place of power and the workers come into the control of the world.*" (Italics ours.)

Here is found again repeated what has been already emphasized in the chapter of this report dealing with this subject that the Socialist Party recognizes that it can achieve success only

through the use of industrial or mass action, namely, the employment of extra parliamentary methods; that the co-operative commonwealth can be established in this country solely by an organized minority using its economic power to force upon an unwilling majority the Socialist form of government. In the last analysis it is a complete repudiation of the American principle of the rule by the majority as determined exclusively by the ballot box. Careful, impartial and unbiased examination of the position of the Socialist Party resulting from the determinations of both national and state conventions leads to the inevitable conclusion that while the public statement of political purposes is couched in the mild form of parliamentary action, the principles of the party have not been changed in the slightest degree and the leadership of the party to-day as formerly stands for the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth in this country by such means as offer a prospect of success even to the use of militant direct action.

The words of August Claessens, one of the five Socialist Assemblymen-elect, expelled from the Assembly, take on added means when the above resolutions are read. He said:

> "Now, thank goodness, Socialists are not only working along political lines. If we thought for a minute it was merely a dream on our part, a great political controversy, until we have a majority of men elected, and then merely by that majority declare the revolution — if any of you smoke that pipe dream, if that is the quality of opium you are puffing now — give it up, give it up."

If we are to believe the report of the speeches made by the Socialist Party leaders of September 25, 1920, they emphasize the conclusions which this Committee draws with respect to the party's present position in the revolutionary movement. Morris Hillquit is reported to have said:

> "We have never at any time changed our creed. Never certainly to make ourselves acceptable to any capitalist crowd. . . . As international Socialists we are revolutionary, and let it be clearly understood that we are out to overthrow the entire capitalist system. The capitalist system with its beastly international wars, its violence, its profiteering oppression must come to an end."

Socialist Sunday Schools

A report submitted by David Berenberg of the Rand School of Social Science to the International Executive Committee of the Socialist Party on May 7, 1920, referring to the preparation of a text book for Sunday Schools and assuring the Committee that the same will be ready for submission to the Committee in August, calls attention to a very interesting phase of Socialist propaganda. It has for some years past been a part of the Socialist activity to organize and carry on Sunday schools for the purpose of training children from the ages of six years to fourteen, at which time they are ready to enter the Young People's Socialist League for further training. A book published by the Socialist Schools Publishing Association associated with the Rand School, entitled "Socialist Sunday School Curriculum," by David S. Greenberg, is particularly interesting as showing the methods employed. The courses includes training in history, economics, ethics, morals, social hygiene, physical culture, music and poetry, and expression.

In the primary class, children six to seven years of age, the aim of economics is stated as follows: "To get the children to see that the source of all things is the earth which belongs to everybody and that it is labor that takes everything from the earth and turns it (1) into machinery and (2) the things that labor makes with the machinery." This is a restatement of the Socialist formula, "Labor creates all wealth; therefore labor is entitled to all wealth."

The aim of the course of ethics and morals in this primary class is to show "War: Its wickedness and wastefulness. That murder is murder no matter by whom it is committed,— by the individual or by the nation."

The course of music and poetry contains songs and poems, "Simple revolutionary verse that emphasizes human rights (the best music possible). Songs and poems should be very simple in this grade, co-related with grade work."

In the Elementary Class A, for children of eight years, the aim of the history course is stated as follows: "The work in history in the two elementary classes should lead the children to see how man began to subject his fellows, through force, fear and *religion;* and how that subjugation created certain notions of right and wrong that still exist to-day in the minds of many people."

Reference is made to the caste system of India as follows: "The priests held their places by virtue of the ignorance of the people and the fear that they could inspire. The soldier class was needed by the priests for their protection against possible revolt and encroachments of foreigners and were consequently given the second place in society. Those who manage to gather wealth, the business men, held the third place in society, and the workers, the slaves, those who did all the work that was done, made up the largest as well as the lowest and most miserable class." In the intermediate Class A, for children of eleven and twelve years the aim of the course in history is stated as follows: "The work in history for the two intermediate classes should lead the children to an understanding of the origin and development of governments and the difference between *Government* and *Concord*. Point out clearly and concretely that government means the ruling of some by others — the many by the few — while Concord means the agreement between the members of a society for the good of all."

The advanced class for students of thirteen years and older includes the study of history of Socialism and the French Revolution. Its economics includes the "Class Struggle," by Kautsky; a student of Socialism and unionism — craft unionism and industrial unionism compared.

While the aims of these courses are stated in mild phraseology, it is obvious that their purpose is to inculcate in the minds of children from a very early age a distrust in the government of this country as now constituted, a belief that religion is one of the instruments invented by capitalists for the oppression of the workers and to lead them to accept the revolutionary principles of the Socialist movement which have been described in the chapter on the Socialist Party of America in this report. The purpose of these schools undoubtedly is to counteract much of the good work done by the public schools in the training of children to tssume the responsibilities and duties of citizenship in this country.

International Affiliations

The defeat of the armed forces of the Soviet regime before Warsaw in August of this year produced a profound effect upon the revolutionary groups in all countries, which has been sharply reflected in the attitude of the Socialist Party of America toward

the Third International. There has been a noticeable drift away from the support of the Communist International here.

Just as this report was going to the press the National Executive Committee issued a statement on the position of the Socialist Party of the United States towards the Communist International, which is appended at the close of this note as Document VIII. The reader is urged to read this document carefully in order to appreciate the turn of events.

APPENDIX TO NOTE

Document 1.—"Declaration of Principles" 1793
2.—"Minority Declaration" 1797
3.—"The Socialist Party Platform" 1799
4.—"International Relations" 1804
5.—Glassberg letter in N. Y. *Call* of July 26, 1920 1806
6.—Report of Committee on Constitution 1812
7.—Position of the Socialist Party of the United States Toward the Communist International 1815

Document 1—"Declaration of Principles"

Adopted Socialist National Convention, held in New York City, May 9, 1920.

Section 1. The Socialist Party of the United States demands that the country and its wealth be redeemed from the control of private interests and turned over to the people to be administered for the equal benefit of all.

Section 2. America is not owned by the American people. Our so-called national wealth is not the wealth of the nation but of the privileged few.

These are the ruling class of America. They are small in numbers, but they dominate the lives and shape the destinies of their fellow men.

They own the people's jobs and determine their wages; they control the markets of the world and fix the prices of the farmers' product; they own their homes and fix their rents; they own their food and set its cost; they own their press and formulate their convictions; they own the government and make their laws; they own their schools and mould their minds.

Section 3. Around and about the capitalist class cluster the numerous and varied groups of the population, generally designated as the "middle classes." They consist of farm owners, small merchants and manufacturers, professionals and better paid employees. Their economic status is often precarious. They live in hopes of being lifted into the charmed spheres of the ruling classes. Their social psychology is that of retainers of the wealthy. As a rule they sell their gifts, knowledge and efforts to the capitalist interests. They are staunch upholders of the existing order of social inequalities.

Section 4. The bulk of the American people is composed of workers. Workers on the farm and in the factory, in mines and mills, on ships and railroads, in offices and counting houses, in

schools and in personal service, workers of hand and brain, all men and women who render useful service to the community in the countless ramified ways of modern civilization. They have made America what it is. They sustain America from day to day. They bear most of the burdens of life and enjoy but few of its pleasures. They create the enormous wealth of the country but live in constant dread of poverty. They feed and clothe the rich, and yet bow to their alleged superiority. They keep alive the industries but have no say in their management. They constitute the majority of the people but have no control of the government. Despite the forms of political equality, the workers of the United States are virtually a subject class.

Section 5. The Socialist Party is the party of the workers. It espouses their cause because in the workers lies the hope of the political, economic and social redemption of the country. The ruling class and their retainers cannot be expected to change the iniquitous system of which they are the beneficiaries. Individual members of these classes often join in the struggle against the capitalist order from motives of personal idealism, but whole classes have never been known to abdicate their rule and surrender their privileges for the mere sake of social justice. The workers alone have a direct and compelling interest in abolishing the present profit system.

The Socialist Party desires the workers of America to take the economic and political power from the capitalist class, not that they may establish themselves as a ruling class, but in order that all class divisions be abolished forever.

Section 6. To perform this supreme social task the workers must be organized as a political party of their own. They must realize that both the Republican and Democratic parties are the political instruments of the master classes, and equally pledged to uphold and perpetuate capitalism. They must be trained to use the ballot box to vote out the tools of the capitalist and middle classes and to vote in representatives of the workers. A true political party of labor must be founded upon the uncompromising demand for the complete socialization of the industries. That means doing away with the private ownership of the sources and instruments of wealth, production, and distribution, abolishing workless incomes in the form of profits, interest, or rents, transforming the whole able-bodied population of the country into useful workers, and securing to all workers the full social value of their work.

Section 7. The Socialist Party is such a political party. It strives by means of political methods, including the action of its representatives in the legislatures and other public offices to force the enactment of such measures as will immediately benefit the workers, raise their standard of life, increase their power, and stiffen their resistance to capitalist aggression. Its purpose is to secure a majority in Congress and in every State Legislature, to win the principal executive and judicial offices, to become the dominant and controlling party, and, when in power, to transfer the industries to ownership by the people, beginning with those of a public character, such as banking, insurance, mining, transportation and communication, as well as the trustified industries, and extending the process to all other industries susceptible of collective ownership, as rapidly as their technical conditions will permit.

It also proposes to socialize the system of public education and health and all activities and institutions vitally affecting the public needs and welfare, including dwelling houses.

The Socialist program advocates the socialization of all large farming estates and land used for industrial and public purposes, as well as all instrumentalities for storing, preserving, and marketing farm products. It does not contemplate interference with the private possession of land actually used and cultivated by occupants.

The Socialist Party, when in political control, proposes to reorganize the government in form and substance so as to change it from a tool of repression into an instrument of social and industrial service.

Section 8. The Socialist transformation cannot be successfully accomplished by political victories alone. The reorganization of the industries upon the basis of social operation and co-operative effort will require an intelligent and disciplined working class, skilled not only in the processes of physical work, but also in the technical problems of management. This indispensable training the workers can best gain as a result of their constant efforts to secure a greater share in the management of industries through their labor unions and co-operatives. These economic organizations of labor have also an immediate practical and vital function. Their daily struggles for betterment in the sphere of their respective industries supplement and reinforce the political efforts of the Socialist Party in the same general direction, and their

great economic power may prove a formidable weapon for safeguarding the political rights of labor.

The Socialist Party does not intend to interfere in the internal affairs of labor unions, but will always support the workers in all their economic struggles. In order, however, that such struggles may attain the maximum of efficiency and success, the Socialists favor the organization of workers along the lines of industrial unionism in the closest co-operation as one organized working class army.

Section 9. The Socialist Party does not seek to interfere with the institution of the family as such, but promises to make family life fuller, nobler and happier by removing the sordid factor of economic dependence of woman on man, and by assuring to all members of the family greater material security and more leisure to cultivate the joys of the home.

The Socialist Party adheres strictly to the principle of complete separation of state and church. It recognizes the right of voluntary communities of citizens to maintain religious institutions and to worship freely according to the dictates of their conscience.

The Socialist Party seeks to attain its end by orderly and constitutional methods, so long as the ballot box, the right of representation and civil liberties are maintained. Violence is not the weapon of the Socialist Party but of the shortsighted representatives of the ruling classes, who stupidly believe that social movements and ideals can be destroyed by brutal physical repression.

The Socialists depend upon education and organization of the masses.

Section 10. The domination of the privileged classes has been so strong that they have succeeded in persuading their credulous fellow-citizens that they, the despoilers of America, are the only true Americans; that their selfish class interests are the sacred interests of the nation; that only those that submit supinely to their oppressive rule are loyal and patriotic citizens, and that all those who oppose their exactions and pretensions are traitors to their country.

The Socialists emphatically reject this fraudulent notion of patriotism.

The Socialist Party gives its service and allegiance to the masses of American people, the working classes, but this interest is not limited to America alone. In modern civilization the destinies of all nations are inextricably interwoven. No nation

can be prosperous and happy while its neighbors are poor and miserable. No nation can be truly free if other nations are enslaved. The ties of international interdependence and solidarity are particularly vital among the working classes. In all advanced countries of the world the working classes are engaged in the identical struggle for political and economic freedom, and the success or failure of each is immediately reflected upon the progress and fortunes of all.

Section 11. The Socialist Party is opposed to militarism and to wars among nations. Modern wars are generally caused by commercial and financial rivalries and intrigues of the capitalist interests in different countries. They are made by the ruling classes and fought by the masses. They bring wealth and power to the privileged few and suffering, death and desolation to the many. They cripple the struggles of the workers for political rights, material improvement, and social justice, and tend to sever the bonds of solidarity between them and their brothers in other countries.

Section 12. The Socialist movement is a world struggle in behalf of human civilization. The Socialist Party of the United States co-operates with similar parties in other countries, and extends to them its full support in their struggles, confident that the class-conscious workers all over the world will eventually secure the powers of government in their respective countries, abolish the oppression and chaos, the strife and bloodshed of international capitalism, and establish a federation of Socialist republics, co-operating with each other for the benefit of the human race and for the maintenance of the peace of the world.

Document 2—"Minority Declaration"

1. The Socialist Party of the United States is the political expression of the interests of the workers in this country, and is part of the international working class movement.

2. The economic basis of present day society is the private ownership and control of the socially necessary means of production and the exploitation of the workers who operate these means of production for the benefit of those who own them.

3. The interests of these two classes are diametrically opposed. It is to the interest of the capitalist class to maintain the present system, and to obtain for themselves the largest possible share of the products of labor. It is to the interest of the working class

to improve their conditions of life, and to get the largest possible share of their own product so long as the present system prevails, and to abolish the wage system as quickly as they can. This system, because of its inherent defects and weaknesses, is even now crumbling and breaking down in the greater part of the world.

4. In so far as the members of the opposing classes become conscious of these facts, each tries to advance its own interests as against the other. It is this active conflict of interests which we describe as the class struggle.

5. The capitalist class, by controlling the old political parties, controls the powers of the state, and uses them to secure and entrench its position. Without such control of the state, its position of economic power would be untenable. The workers must wrest the control of the government from the hands of the masters, and use its powers in the upbuilding of the new social order, the co-operative commonwealth.

6. The Socialist Party seeks to organize the working class for independent action on the political field, with the revolutionary aim of putting an end to exploitation and class rule. Such political action is absolutely necessary to the emancipation of the working class and the establishment of genuine freedom for all.

7. But to accomplish this aim, it is also necessary that the working class be powerfully and solidly organized on the economic field as well, to struggle for the same revolutionary goal; and the Socialist Party pledges its aid in the task of promoting such industrial organization and waging this industrial struggle.

8. In the final struggle of the workers for political supremacy, in order to facilitate the overthrow of the capitalist system, all power during the transitional period must be in the hands of the workers, in order to insure the success of the revolution.

9. To avoid unnecessary confusion, inefficiency and waste during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, the workers must begin now to train themselves in the problems incident to the control and management of industry.

10. The fundamental aim of the Socialist Party is to bring about social ownership and working class control of all the necessary means of production — to eliminate profit, rent and interest, and make it impossible for any to share in the product without sharing the burden of labor — to change our class society into a society controlled by all engaged in some form of useful work, through representative bodies chosen by occupational groups.

Document 3—"The Socialist Party Platform"

In the national campaign of 1920 the Socialist Party calls upon all American workers of hand and brain, and upon all citizens who believe in political liberty and social justice, to free the country from the oppressive misrule of the old political parties, and to take the government into their own hands under the banner and upon the program of the Socialist Party.

The outgoing administration, like Democratic and Republican administrations of the past, leaves behind it a disgraceful record of solemn pledges unscrupulously broken and public confidence ruthlessly betrayed.

It obtained the suffrage of the people on a platform of peace, liberalism, and social betterment, but drew the country into a devastating war, and inaugurated a regime of despotism, reaction, and oppression unsurpassed in the annals of the republic.

It promised to the American people a treaty which would assure to the world a reign of international right and true democracy. It gave its sanction and support to an infamous pact formulated behind closed doors by predatory elder statesmen of European and Asiatic Imperialism. Under this pact territories have been annexed against the will of their populations, land cut off from their sources of sustenance, and nations seeking their freedom in the exercise of the much heralded right of self-determination have been brutally fought with armed force, intrigue, and starvation blockades.

To the millions of young men, who staked their lives on the field of battle, to the people of the country who gave unstintingly of their toil and property to support the war, the Democratic administration held out the sublime ideal of a union of the peoples of the world organized to maintain perpetual peace among nations on the basis of justice and freedom. It helped create a reactionary alliance of imperialistic governments, banded together to bully weak nations, crush working class governments and perpetuate strife and warfare.

While thus furthering the ends of reaction, violence and oppression abroad our administration suppressed the cherished and fundamental rights and civil liberties at home.

Upon the pretext of wartime necessity the Chief Executive of the Republic and the appointed heads of his administration were clothed with dictatorial powers, and Congress enacted laws in open and direct violation of the constitutional safeguards of freedom of expression.

Hundreds of citizens who raised their voices for the maintenance of political and industrial rights during the war were indicted under the espionage law, tried in an atmosphere of prejudice and hysteria, and many of them are now serving inhumanly long jail sentences for daring to uphold the traditions of liberty which once were sacred in this country.

Agents of the Federal government unlawfully raided homes and meeting places and prevented or broke up peaceable gatherings of citizens.

The Postmaster-General established a censorship of the press more autocratic than that ever tolerated in a regime of absolutism, and has harassed and destroyed publications on account of their political and economic views, by excluding them from the mails.

And after the war was in fact long over the administration has not scrupled to continue a policy of repression and terrorism under the shallow and hypocritical guise of wartime measures.

It has practically imposed involuntary servitude and peonage on a large class of American workers by denying them the right to quit work and coercing them into acceptance of inadequate wages and onerous conditions of labor. It has dealt a foul blow to the traditional American right of asylum by deporting hundreds of foreign-born workers, by administrative order, on the mere suspicion of harboring radical views, and often for the sinister purpose of breaking labor strikes.

In the short span of three years our self-styled liberal administration has succeeded in undermining the very foundation of political liberty and economic rights which this republic has built up in more than a century of struggle and progress.

Under the hypocritical cloak of a false patriotism and under the protection of governmental terror the Democratic administration has given the ruling classes unrestrained license to plunder the people by intensive exploitation of labor, by the extortion of enormous profits, and by increasing the cost of all necessities of life. Profiteering has become reckless and rampant, billions have been coined by the capitalists out of the suffering and misery of their fellow men. The American financial oligarchy has become a dominant factor in the world, while the condition of the American workers grows more precarious.

The responsibility does not rest upon the Democratic Party alone. The Republican Party through its representatives in Congress and otherwise has not only openly condoned the political

misdeeds of the last three years, but it has sought to outdo its Democratic rival in the orgy of political reaction and repression. Its criticism of the Democratic administrative policy is that it is not reactionary and drastic enough.

We particularly denounce the militaristic policy of both old parties of investing countless millions of dollars in armaments after the victorious completion of what was to have been the "last war:" we call attention to the fatal results of such a program in Europe, carried on prior to 1914, and culminating in the great war; we declare that such a policy, adding unbearable burdens to the working class and all the people, can lead only to the complete Prussianization of the nation, and we demand immediate and complete abandonment of the fatal program.

America is now at the parting of the roads. If the outraging of political liberty and concentration of economic power into the hands of the few is permitted to go on, it can have only one consequence, the reduction of the country to a state of absolute capitalistic despotism.

The Socialist Party of the United States therefore summons all who believe in this fundamental doctrine to prepare for a complete reorganization of our social system, based upon public ownership of public necessities; upon government by representatives chosen from occupational as well as from geographical groups, in harmony with our industrial development; and with citizenship based on service; that we may end forever the exploitation of class by class.

The Socialist Party sounds the warning. It calls upon the people to defeat both old parties at the polls, and to elect the candidates of the Socialist Party to the end of restoring political democracy and bringing about complete industrial freedom.

To achieve this end the Socialist Party pledges itself to the following program:

SOCIAL

1. All business vitally essntial for the existence and welfare of the people, such as railroads, express service, steamship lines, telegraphs, mines, oil wells, power plants, elevators, packing houses, cold storage plants and all industries operating on a national scale should be taken over by the nation.

2. All publicly owned industries should be administered jointly by the government and representatives of the workers, not for revenue or profit, but with the sole object of securing just com-

pensation and humane conditions of employment to the workers and efficient and reasonable service to the public.

3. All banks should be acquired by the government and incorporated in a unified public banking system.

4. The business of insurance should be taken over by the government and should be extended to include insurance against accident, sickness, invalidity, old age and unemployment, without contribution on the part of the worker.

5. Congress should enforce the provisions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, with reference to the negroes, and that effective Federal legislation should be enacted to secure to the negroes full civil, political, industrial and educational rights.

INDUSTRIAL

1. Congress should enact effective laws to abolish child labor, to fix minimum wages, based on an ascertained cost of a decent standard of life, to protect migratory and unemployed workers from oppression, to abolish detective and strike-breaking agencies and to establish a shorter workday in keeping with increased industrial productivity.

POLITICAL

1. The constitutional freedom of speech, press and assembly should be restored by repealing the espionage law and all other repressive legislation, and by prohibiting the executive usurpation of authority.

2. All prosecutions under the espionage law should be discontinued and all persons serving prison sentences for alleged offenses growing out of religious convictions, political views or industrial activities should be fully pardoned and immediately released.

3. No alien should be deported from the United States on account of his political views or participation in labor struggles, nor in any event without proper trial on specific charges. The arbitrary power to deport aliens by administrative order should be repealed.

4. The power of the courts to restrain workers in their struggles against employers by the writ of injunction or otherwise and their power to nullify congressional legislation should be abrogated.

5. Federal judges should be elected by the people and be subject to recall.

6. The President and the Vice-President of the United States should be elected by direct popular election and be subject to recall.

7. All members of the cabinet should be elected by Congress and be responsible to Congress.

8. Suffrage should be equal and unrestricted, in fact as well as in law, for all men and women throughout the nation.

9. Adequate provision should be made for the registration of the votes of migratory workers.

10. The Constitution of the United States should be amended to strengthen the safeguards of civil and political liberty and to remove all obstacles to industrial and social reform and reconstruction, including the changes enumerated in this program, in keeping with the will and interest of the people. It should be made amendable by a majority of the voters of the nation upon their own initiative, or upon the initiative of Congress.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

1. All claims of the United States against allied countries for loans made during the war should be canceled upon the understanding that all war debts, including indemnities, among such countries shall likewise be canceled. The largest possible credit in food, raw material and machinery should be extended to the stricken nations of Europe in order to help them rebuild the ruined world.

2. The government of the United States should initiate a movement to dissolve the mischievous organization called the "League of Nations," and to create an international parliament, composed of democratically elected representatives of all nations of the world, based upon the recognition of their equal rights, the principles of self-determination, the right to national existence of colonies and other dependencies, freedom of international trade and trade routes by land and sea, and universal disarmament, and charged with revising the treaty of peace on the principles of justice and conciliation.

3. The United States should immediately make peace with the Central Powers and open commercial and diplomatic relations with Russia under the Soviet government. It should promptly recognize the independence of the Irish Republic.

4. The United States should make and proclaim it a fixed principle in its foreign policy that American capitalists who acquire

concessions or make investments in foreign countries do so at their own risk and under no circumstances should our government enter into diplomatic negotiations or controversies or resort to armed conflicts on account of foreign property claims.

FISCAL

1. That all war debts and other debts of the Federal government must be immediately paid off in full, the funds for such payment to be raised by means of a progressive property tax, whose burden should fall upon the rich and particularly upon great fortunes made during the war.

2. A standing progressive income and a graduated inheritance tax should be levied to provide for all needs of the government, including the cost of its increasing social and industrial functions.

3. The unearned increment of land should be taxed, all land held out of use should be taxed at full rental value.

Document 4 — "International Relations"[1]

The international organization of socialism has been disrupted as a result of the world war.

The old or Second International is represented principally by the majority party of Germany, the Socialist Parties of the countries carved out from the former Austro-Hungarian empire, and of most of the countries of Europe that remained neutral during the war.

The parties affiliated with this organization have largely abandoned the revolutionary character and the militant methods of working class Socialism. As a rule they co-operate with the middle class reform parties of their countries.

The Third or Moscow International was organized by the Communist Party of Russia with the co-operation of several other communist organizations recruited in the main from the countries split off from the former Russian empire and some Scandinavian and Balkan countries. The Third International also includes the Labor Party of Norway and the Communist Labor Party of Poland. Of the other important countries, the Socialist Parties of Switzerland, Italy and the United States, and the British Socialist Party have expressed their intention to affiliate with it.

[1] Report of Committee on International Relations. Carried by Convention, but to be submitted to referendum of the membership, along with the Minority Report, which runs as follows: "The Socialist Party of the United States of America reaffirms its affiliation with the Third International."

The Moscow organization is virile and aggressive, inspired as it is by the militant idealism of the Russian revolution. It is, however, at this time only a nucleus of a Socialist International, and its progress is largely impeded by the attitude of its present governing committee, which seems inclined to impose upon all affiliated bodies the formula of the Russian revolution, "The dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of soviet power."

The Independent Socialist Party of Germany, the Socialist Party of France and the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain are unaffiliated. They have initiated a movement to unite all truly Socialist parties of the world, including those represented in the Moscow organization, into one International.

At no time was an active and effective organization of a Socialist International more vitally necessary for the succes of Socialism than at this crucial period of the world's history. Socialism is in complete control in the great country of Russia. It is represented in the bourgeois governments of several important countries of Europe. The Socialists constitute the leading opposition parties in most of the remaining modern countries. It should be the task of the Socialist International to aid our comrades in Russia to maintain and fortify their political control and to improve and stabilize the economic and social conditions of their country, by forcing the great powers of Europe and America to abandon the dastardly policy of intrigue, war and starvation blockade against Soviet Russia. It should be its task to help the Socialists in countries of divided political control to institute full and true Socialist governments, and to support the struggles of the Socialists in the capitalist-controlled countries, so that they may more speedily secure victory for the workers in their countries.

But above all a true Socialist International would at this time fulfill the all-important function of serving as the framework of the coming world parliament.

To accomplish these great tasks the International of Socialism must be truly Socialist and truly International.

It cannot be truly Socialist if it is not based upon the program of complete socialization of the industries, and upon the principles of class struggle and uncompromising working class politics. It cannot be truly international unless it accords to its affiliated bodies full freedom in matters of policy and forms of struggle

on the basis of such program and principles, so that the Socialist of each country may work out their problems in the light of their own peculiar economic, political and social conditions as well as the historic traditions.

In view of the above considerations the Socialist Party of the United States, while retaining its adherence to the Third International, instructs its Executive Committee, its International Secretary and International Delegates to be elected

(a) To insist that no formula such as "the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of soviets," or any other special formula for the attainment of the Socialist Commonwealth, be imposed or exacted as condition of affiliation with the Third International.

(b) To participate in movements looking to the union of all true Socialist forces in the world into one International, and to initiate and further such movements whenever the opportunity is presented.

Document 5—Glassberg Letter

"what call readers think"

("For the Minority Report of Declaration of Principles.)

"The majority declaration of principles was hailed by the liberal and conservative press as well as by the majority of the national convention as a victory for an Americanized program; as a departure from the use of 'sterile revolutionary phrases' which it was claimed characterized our past platforms, and which were unintelligible to the American people. The fact that the very hands that fashioned this platform also framed our previous ones entirely escaped the attention of the convention.

"The minority report comes before the Comrades with two serious handicaps. It is devoid of the mystic American flavor which is calculated to charm the people into voting for our candidate, who proudly affirms, 'I enter the prison doors a flaming revolutionist; my head erect, my spirit unconquerable.' The majority report is also guilty of employing 'revolutionary phrases.' This has of late become a crime in Socialist conventions. We must plead guilty on this count.

"The writer will refrain from discussing the majority report, except to point out that its chief weakness, and that of the platform, is that it has 'Albany' written all over it. It was framed, ostensibly, to meet the objections which were raised by Sweet against the Socialist Party, so that the next delegation of Assem-

blymen will not be unseated. It is intended to paint the Socialist Party as a nice, respectable, goody-goody affair, rather than a revolutionary organization whose one aim is to overthrow a dying social order and replace it with the Co-operative Commonwealth.

"The chief objection that has been raised against the minority declaration is that in section 8 it calls for the dictatorship of the proletariat (without specifically using that phrase). Since the leading members of the majority agreed that the rest of the declaration was perfectly acceptable, having been adopted by the previous convention, we may confine our attention to this section of the minority declaration.

"What is the dictatorship of the proletariat?

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a purely war measure; a means of proceeding in the period of transition from capitalism to Socialism. When a revolutionary crisis develops the workers must be prepared to assume all public power, and use it for the purpose of abolishing capitalism and establishing Socialism.

"In commenting on the experiences of the Paris Commune, Marx pointed out that the proletariat cannot simply seize the existing bourgeoisie machinery and employ it for its own ends. On the contrary, it must destroy this machinery. The proletariat, he said, must supplant the bourgeoisie with their own revolutionary dictatorship in order to crush the resistance of the bourgeoisie. Or as Debs puts it, the revolution must protect itself Engels, in discussing the Commune, said: 'The party which wins in the revolution will be compelled to sustain its power with the fear which is created among the reactionaries by its weapons. If the Paris Commune had not used the authority of the armed people against the bourgeoisie could it have held itself in power more than a day? Are we not on the contrary right when we charge them with having made too little use of this authority?'

"In 1906, following his experiences with the Workmen's Council, which had been set up in Petrograd during the 1905 revolution, Trotzky, then in Siberia, wrote that there were three prerequisites to the successful establishment of Socialism; (1) the existence of highly-developed industrial technique; (2) the development of a class interested in the establishment of Socialism and strong enough to overcome any opposition, and (3) the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the assumption of complete power by the workers.

"Is not the dictatorship of the proletariat a violation of democracy?

"Must not the workers wait until they secure a majority before assuming power? Political democracy, as we know it, is merely a cloak for the dictatorship of the capitalist class. The fact that a man has a vote does not mean that he is not exploited. And as long as there are masses who are exploited there can be no equality and no democracy.

"There is at present not even any political democracy in existence. In the United States ten million negroes are deprived of the suffrage; about as many aliens who have not resided in this country for five years cannot vote. Those who have are being denied their citizenship because of their political and economic views. Migratory workers by the hundreds of thousands never live long enough in a district to acquire the vote. Until recently women were everywhere denied the right to vote.

"Assuming that everybody voted, we would not therefore have any real, free democracy. No political power which is not based on economic power is worth anything. The class that controls the wealth of the nation likewise controls the mind of the nation. The possessors of economic power exercise a tremendous influence in determining how people will use their votes. They control the schools, the colleges, the press, the church, the movies and the theaters. They own the halls and the meeting places. It is no exaggeration to say that the ruling class actually determines how the people will use the ballot. How else would one explain that about sixteen million people will vote for the Gold Dust Twins, Cox and Harding, next November?

"In the domain of foreign affairs the power of the President is absolute. We have established a brutal military dictatorship in Haiti and San Domingo, incidentally dissolving the Dominican Constituent Assembly without asking the consent of Congress or of the people. We have invaded Mexico several times. We have blockaded and invaded Russia, just as imperial Japan has done. Neither found it necessary to ask the consent of their peoples. If the ruling class is so inclined it does not hesitate to overthrow or suspend the Constitution which effectively prevents the majority from ruling. Elected Socialist officials have been unseated. Constitutional rights of free speech and free press were abolished at the beginning of the war. The power of the courts to issue injunctions have been used to crush the efforts of labor to organize and carry on their struggles with the employers.

"As a recent editorial in the Call pointed out, if the economic

basis is controlled by a minority, no matter what the governing forms may be, this minority will rule and exploit. The owners of the wealth of the nation can easily adjust themselves to whatever form of government a nation may have.

"Are we to object to the assumption of power by the workers, who may for the time be in the minority, because the minds of the workers have been warped and corrupted by capitalist teachings? It should be kept in mind that the dictatorship is not a measure to be used in normal times such as we are living in just now, but in revolutionary times. A general election might perhaps show the Socialist Party to be in the minority, just as the Bolsheviki were in the minority in the Constituent Assembly in 1917. But who will deny that the opposition to the Bolsheviki was due to ignorance and that the masses have now made them the overwhelming majority? The Russian people are at present the only people in Europe who are willing to fight for their country.

"Why is it not possible to achieve Socialism without the dictatorship of a class?

"Because in every capitalist society the decisive factor is either the workers or the capitalists. The middle class will always remain hesitant; the farmers will suport the revolution until they are assured land. Only the workers, thoroughly disillusioned and well disciplined in their struggles with the employers, will be able to abolish the existing system.

"The experiences of the Russian and German revolutions have amply indicated that the workers cannot hope to share power with representatives of the capitalists. Both the Kerensky and Ebert governments have proven that the state machinery cannot serve both the ruling class and exploited class at the same time. It can serve either one or the other. Or the disputes between the two elements will call a halt on all activities, the workers and the capitalists in the meantime consuming each other in endless quarrels and struggles. Unless the revolution is carried forward, the worker is in no way profiting from the revolution. On the contrary, the bourgeoisie have time to consolidate their forces and organize their White Guards preparatory to the establishment of a military dictatorship. Do we want a workers' government in this period, or a Kerensky government? There is no middle course. When the workers are confronted with the opportunity of assuming power, they must not fritter away that

opportunity in endless disputes among themselves as to the method of procedure, resulting perhaps in open conflict.

"It is not to be expected that a ruling class will willingly give up its power, no matter how large a majority vote against it may be. When the Southern slave-holders were threatened with the loss of their property and power as a result of the election of Lincoln, they immediately prepared for war against the North, in spite of the solemn assurances of Lincoln that he would in no way interfere with slavery in the South. Every ruling class can be depended upon to do the same thing. During the American Revolution the Tories probably formed the majority of the people. The patriots went right ahead with their plans nevertheless. To crush the Tories, who opposed the revolution, the patriots disfranchised them, deprived them of their property, denied them all political and civil rights; hundreds were brutally mistreated and about 100,000 were driven into exile. These measures were taken to safeguard the revolution.

"Does it mean the disfranchisement of the bourgeoisie?

"It all depends on the existing conditions. Lenine in discussing this question points out that the limitation of the suffrage was a purely Russian question. 'The limitation of the suffrage is a purely national question, but not one that involves the question of proletarian dictatorship. It would be a mistake to state beforehand that all, or most of the future proletarian revolutions in Europe absolutely will give a limited suffrage to the bourgeoisie. It may so happen. . . . But it is not necessary for the enforcement of proletarian dictatorship, it is not an absolute distinguishing mark of the logical conception of such a dictatorship, it is not a necessary prerequisite for the historical and class conception of the dictatorship.'

"Do we urge giving up demands for civil and political liberties under capitalism?

"Not at all. Socialists have always insisted upon the necessity of using every possible weapon in the fight against the master class. But we recognize full well that the ruling class will grant the workers civil and political rights, only if they are forced to by the power of the workers. We can at the same time expose the nature of the capitalist dictatorship under which we live. We favor a democratic republic as the best form of the state for a proletariat under capitalism, but we must not forget that wage slavery is the lot of the people even under the most democratic republic.

"If the dictatorship is to be used in the transitional period why teach it now?

"Many who are opposed to the dictatorship claim that talking about it now is premature; that we are so far from assuming power that it is unnecessary to discuss what we will do in the transition period. The fact that we are far removed from the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth does not prevent us from talking about the necessity of establishing it. It is absolutely necessary that we should ourselves understand the manner in which a Socialist Party should proceed when it assumes power. To avoid discussing the dictatorship and including it among our accepted principles, because it is premature, or because it may not be expedient, in that it may cost us some votes, is to invite disaster when the crucial moment arrives. It will but result in our teaching the workers what is fundamentally untrue, that is, that we can vote ourselves into Socialism. Now is the time to discuss tactics, not when the revolution is upon us. Let us avoid the experiences of the European parties who were rent with open, bloody, internal conflicts over just such questions.

"Is the phrase an unfortunate one?

"The word 'dictatorship' is an unfortunate one. To the American it means arbitrary rule by a few over the many. That is exactly the opposite of what it means when used in connection with the phrase 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat.' Debs pointed this out in his acceptance speech: 'There is some difficulty about that unfortunate phrase about the dictatorship. A 'dictatorship' does not imply what we mean. It is a misnomer. Dictatorship is autocracy. There is no autocracy in the rule of the masses. During the transition period the revolution must protect itself. The French Socialists in their recent congress took what I believe is the correct attitude, that everyone believes in a dictatorship as a thesis. But it is an unfortunate term and leads to misrepresentation. I am sorry it is used.'

"This was exactly how the minority felt about the matter, and therefore Section 8 does not contain the phrase. It contains, however, the substance, the meaning of the phrase.

"Will not the bourgeoisie proceed to establish a ruthless dictatorship of their own if we declare ourselves for a proletarian dictatorship?

"The capitalist class is not waiting for any excuses to establish their dictatorship. We have had their dictatorship all along—

as much of it as they thought they could impose. It will become more ruthless if they believe the workers are weak. As the workers demonstrate their power they will hesitate somewhat in their efforts to deprive the workers of their few remaining rights.

"The important Socialist Parties of the world have gone on record in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat: The British Socialist Party, the French Socialist Party, the Independent Socialist Party, as well as the Communist Party of Germany, the Italian Socialist Party, the Norwegian Social Democratic Party, and large elements of the Spanish, Scandinavian and Balkan parties. We can do no better for the welfare of our own party than to take our place with them.

"BENJAMIN GLASSBERG."

Document 6 — Report of Committee on Constitution

Your Committee on Constitution begs leave to report that they have taken up the constitution seriatim and considered each section in connection with suggestions and resolutions submitted to it and that they recommend the following amendments:

1. That Article II, Section 2, be amended to read: "Section 2. Every person resident of the United States of the age of 21 and upwards," and so forth. Carried.

2. That Article II, Section 6, be stricken out of the constitution and that a convention resolution on the subject cover the matter. Carried.

4. Amend Article III, Section 2, Paragraph (b), by adding "said motion may be accompanied by a statement of not more than 500 words." Carried.

5. Amend Article IV, Section 10, to read as follows: "Section 10. Fifty cents per year per member of the dues provided for in this constitution for the National Organization shall be a subscription to the monthly publication of the 'National Office,' to be known as 'The Socialist World,' and shall be so applied by The Executive Secretary." Carried.

Amend Article VIII, Section 8, Paragraph (a), by changing "60" to "30." Carried.

Amend Article VIII, Section 6, by adding, "Dual convention stamps shall be issued to dual membership." Carried.

Article VIII, Section 10, as substitute for Article VIII, Section 10.

All national platforms, amendments of platforms or constitution, and resolutions adopted by any national convention shall be submitted to a referendum vote of the membership.

1. Upon request of the membership through initiative provision of this constitution; or

2. Upon the specific request of delegates numbering at least one-fourth of the delegates voting on such measures. Such request for submission to referendum to be made before the adjournment of the convention.

One-fourth of the regularly elected delegates shall be entitled to have alternative paragraphs submitted at the same time. Such alternative paragraphs, signed by one-fourth of such delegates shall be filed with the Executive Secretary not later than one day after the adjournment of the convention. Carried.

Article VIII, Section 11, as substitute for Article XIV, Section 2:

Any matter referred to the membership by the convention shall not be in effect until approved by the referendum vote of the membership.

Platforms and resolutions shall take effect upon adoption. Amendments to constitution shall take effect sixty days after being adopted. Carried.

Article VIII, Section 12. Agenda Committee:

The National Executive Committee shall formulate the Agenda for the Party Convention. The committee shall issue a call for resolutions and suggestions four months before the convention, allowing one month for filing of same with committee. After preparing a preliminary Agenda based upon the material received at the expiration of the allotted time, the committee shall send it to the subdivision of the party for amendment and revision, allowing one month for same. Upon receipt of revisions, the committee shall prepare a final draft of the Agenda which shall be sent to the party subdivisions at least one month before the convention and submitted to the convention. Carried.

Article XII, Section 1. As substitute for Article XII, Section 1, and Article XIV, Section 1.

Motions or resolutions to be voted upon by the entire membership of the party shall be submitted seriatim by the Executive Secretary to the referendum vote of the membership upon the request of locals, as follows:

On amendments to constitution, upon request of locals representing at least 8 per cent of the membership.

On recall of any or all members of the N. E. C. upon request of locals representing at least 10 per cent of the membership, located in at least five different states.

On all other actions, upon request of locals representing at least 5 per cent of the membership.

The term "local" as herein used shall mean a local or branch of a local, but not a body composed of delegates from branches or locals. The term "membership" shall mean the entire membership on the basis of dues paid in the preceding year.

Delegates to International, National, State and Local Conventions and Congresses and members of executive or other governing Committees of the party in National, State and Local organizations must be citizens of the United States, and in continuous good standing in the party for at least three years, provided such organizations have been organized for such time. Carried.

Article XIII. Young People's Socialist League.

1. The work among the young in the national field shall be under the control and direction of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party.

2. The National Executive Committee shall employ a National Director, who shall direct the Propaganda and Education among the young. He shall organize the young people between the ages of 14 and 25 into groups to be known as "Branches of the Young People's Socialist League," and shall cooperate with and aid those branches affiliated with the Department of Propaganda among the young which is under the direction of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. All Y. P. S. L. members over 25 years of age must join the party.

3. The National Director of Propaganda among the young shall be entitled to a voice, but no vote, at all National Committee meetings or conventions of the Young People's Socialist League.

4. The Branches of the Young People's Socialist League shall be under the jurisdiction of the City, County or State organizations, and must in all cases work in harmony with the constitution and platform of the City and State organizations and the Socialist Party.

5. Every State, City and County organization shall elect at least one member of the Socialist Party to represent the party in the State, County or City organization of the Y. P. S. L. as the

case may be. Such party member to have a vote and voice in all affairs concerning the Young People's Socialist League.

6. The Y. P. S. L. shall pay the National office every month a sum equal to five cents for each member in good standing within their respective states, for which they will receive dues stamps or a valid receipt for dues. Only dues stamps issued by the Department of Propaganda among the young shall be affixed to members' dues cards as a valid receipt as a payment for dues.

7. The Young People's Socialist League shall be entitled to elect one fraternal delegate having a voice, but no vote, to the National Convention of the Socialist Party. The Fraternal Delegate shall receive railroad fare and per diem from the party the same as the regular delegate. Carried.

Document 7 — The Position of the Socialist Party of the United States Toward the Communist International

The national executive committee has been requested to state clearly the attitude of the party on the question of affiliation with the Communist International. In doing so, the committee desires to call attention to the fact that the Soviet government of Russia and the Communist International are two entirely distinct and separate organizations. The Soviet Government was in existence 18 months before the formation of the Communist International and its continued existence does not necessarily depend upon either the success or the failure of the Communist International.

To the Soviet Government the Socialist party of America has given its unwavering support, as evidenced by resolutions of sympathy and comradeship and by persistent and reiterated demands upon our own government for the withdrawal of troops, the lifting of the blockade, the resumption of trade relations and the recognition of the Soviet Government. This position has not been based upon our complete approval of every act and policy of the Soviet Government, but upon the unquestionable right of the Russian workers to establish such a government and such administration and institutions as they deem necessary to secure and maintain their liberty and happiness.

The Communist International on the other hand has nothing to do with the internal affairs of the Russian people, but with the interest of the revolutionary workers of the entire world. It is not only the right but the duty of the revolutionary workers of

the various countries to insist upon the opportunity of participating in the organization of an international body with which they desire to affiliate and to demand a voice in determining the policies of the body of which they are to form a part.

In accordance with this principle, the party adopted, by referendum closing May 30, 1919, the following resolution:

Referendum "D," 1919

"That the Socialist party shall participate only in an international congress or conference called by or in which participate the Communist party of Russia (Bolsheviki) and the Communist Labor party of Germany (Spartacan)."

Following the adoption of this resolution the Communist party of Russia called an international conference for the purpose of forming a new Socialist International. It did not notify the Socialist party of the United States of the Conference nor invite us to send delegates. The first unofficial reports of this conference and of the formation of the Communist International were at hand when the emergency convention met in Chicago in 1919. Two resolutions on international affiliation were presented to this convention.

The majority resolution provided for participation in the calling of an international conference. The object of such conference was the formation of a new international, to which delegates should be invited from the Communist parties in all countries which have remained true to the principle of the class struggle. The resolution excluded from participation any party which participates in a government coalition with parties of the bourgeoisie.

The minority resolution provided for direct and immediate affiliation with the Communist International, making reservations in the following language:

"The Socialist party of the United States, therefore, declares itself in support of the Third International, not so much because it supports the 'Moscow' programs and methods but because:

(a) "'Moscow' is doing something which is really challenging to world imperialism.

(b) "'Moscow'" is threatened by the combined capitalist forces of the world simply because it is proletarian.

(c) "Under these circumstances, whatever we may have to say to Moscow afterwards, it is the duty of Socialists to stand by it now because its fall will mean the fall of Socialist republics in

Europe, and also the disappearance of Socialist hopes for many years to come."

Both resolutions were submitted to a referendum of the membership and the minority resolution was adopted. Following the adoption of the minority resolution, the executive secretary on March 4, 1920, forwarded a formal application for affiliation to the executive committee of the Communist International in Moscow. When the national convention met in New York on May 10, 1920, no official communication had yet been received from Moscow, but the convention had before it, unofficially, various statements and declarations by the executive committee and by the chairman of the executive committee, Zinovief.

Two reports on international affiliation were submitted to this convention. The majority report, while declaring for affiliation with the Communist International, did so with the following reservations:

"In view of the above considerations, the Socialist party of the United States, while retaining its adherence to the Third International, instructs its executive committee, its international secretary and international delegates to be elected.

"(a) To insist that no formula such as "the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of soviets" or any other special formula for the attainment of the Socialist Commonwealth be imposed or exacted as condition of affiliation with the Third International.

"(b) To participate in movements looking to the union of all true Socialist forces in the world into one international, and to initiate and further such movements whenever the opportunity is presented."

The minority resolution was identical with that adopted by referendum following the Chicago convention. Both these resolutions were submitted to a referendum of the membership which resulted in the adoption of the majority report. At the present time, and until it is changed by national convention or referendum, the resolution last adopted states the official position of the party. This declaration and all other declarations adopted by the party in national convention or by referendum vote are mandatory, and binding upon this committee. We have no authority and we have no desire to assume the authority to alter or abolish them. However, the committee does consider that it has, at its discretion, a certain latitude as to time and manner in the execution of adopted policies or declarations.

At the meeting of the National Executive Committee held in Pittsburgh, August 21 to 24, immediately following the adoption of the majority resolution, the committee having in hand the uncertainty of communication, the difficulty of securing passports, the unsettled and transitional period through which the international movement is now passing, as well as the smallness of the vote cast in the referendum, exercised its discretion and adopted the following motion:

By Oneal — "In view of the extremely small vote cast in the referendum, and the slight majority by which the majority report was adopted, that no action be taken by the executive committee regarding international affiliation until such time as the committee may have before it some definite proposal to be considered."

Since the Pittsburgh meeting, however, we are in receipt of unofficial reports of resolutions and declarations adopted by the second congress of the Communist International containing conditions of affiliation for all parties or organizations seeking to affiliate with it. Among these conditions are the following:

2. Every organization desiring to join the Communist International shall consistently and purposefully remove from all important, and even less important positions of trust (party-council, editorial staff, trade union, parliamentary factions, co-operatives and municipal council) the reformists and centrists, and shall replace them by tried Communists even at the risk of supplanting, for a while, experienced men by workers picked from the ranks.

3. In countries where, because of martial-law or other "emergency acts," the Communists have no opportunity to carry on action by lawful means the pooling of lawful and unlawful action is absolutely necessary. In practically every state in Europe and America, the class struggle has reached the stage, or rather the threshold of civil war. In this momentous period the Communists cannot intrust their cause to bourgeois legality. It is their duty everywhere to create, parallel with the lawful organizations, secret organs destined at the decisive moment to play the revolutionary role of the party.

4. We are in need of consistent and unabating propaganda and agitation. Within every group and within every unit a Communist kernel must take root. Most of this work will be unlawful, but it would be treason against revolutionary duty and, consequently against the Third International to shrink therefrom.

7. Parties desirous of joining the Communist International must recognize the necessity of absolute separation from the politics indulged in by the centrists and reformists, and this severance must also be effected among members of organizations. With the fulfillment of these conditions only can there be truly consistent Communist agitation.

The Communist International insistently and without brooking refusal demands that this breach take place within the shortest possible time. This Communist International cannot tolerate as members of the Third International such inveterate reformists as Turatti, Modigliani and others, lest the Third International soon become the counter-part of the Second International.

11. Parties desiring to join the Communist International must sift their parliamentary group in order to remove therefrom all uncertain elements and must place all such groups under the control of the central committee, and must also demand of their Communist representatives (congressional) that they place all their service at the disposal of the party for revolutionary propaganda.

12. The entire organization of periodicals and party literature shall be controlled wholly by the central committee regardless of the legality or illegality of such committee. The press shall not be permitted to enjoy an autonomy which, if abused, would result in tactics diametrically opposed to that which the party pursues.

13. Parties belonging to the Communist International must have a clear conception of the principles of democratic centralization. In this acute period of civil strife, the Communist party can fulfill its mission only if its organization is centralized to the fullest extent, if ruled by iron discipline, such as controls the military, and if its central body is vested with the widest possible power and jurisdiction, if its authority is absolute and enjoys the undivided confidence of the militant Comrades.

14. Communist parties operating in countries where legal methods can be employed must from time to time resort to a weeding out process within their organization in order to rid themselves of all middle-class and bourgeois elements.

16. Parties that have to this day preserved their social-democratic programs must revise the same without delay and, at the same time, draft a new program, one most suitable to the particular conditions existing in each respective country, but in harmony with the spirit of the Communist International. In

instances of this sort it should be made a rule to place all parties belonging to the Communist International under the supervision of the International Congress or the executive committee. In case the latter refuses the application of a party, the party in question shall have the right to appeal to the Communist International Congress.

17. Resolutions adopted by the Congress of the Third International and the executive committee thereof are obligatory upon all parties belonging to the Communist International. In this momentous period of civil strife it is imperative that the Third International be far more unified and in its action far more centralized than the Second International ever has been. The Communist International and its executive committee must reckon with the divergent conditions of the movement in various countries, and, therefore, final and compulsory decisions can be brought only upon careful consideration.

In the opinion of the committee the conditions of affiliation are absolutely incompatible with the position of our party as set forth in the majority resolution adopted by the last national convention and approved by referendum. The committee considers these conditions impossible of acceptance by the Socialist party of the United States. The Comrades of the Communist International have assumed the right to dictate internal affairs and policies of the affiliated parties and to force upon us declarations and methods of propaganda which are inapplicable to the conditions in this country.

In the words of Comrade Eugene V. Debs, who is meeting with the committee and advising with us in the preparation of this reply, "the Moscow program wants to commit us to a policy of armed insurrection; the Moscow Comrades have arrogated to themselves the right to dictate the tactics, the program, the very conditions of propaganda in all countries. It is ridiculous, arbitrary, autocratic, as ridiculous as if we were to dictate to them how they should carry on their propaganda."

The conditions of affiliation laid down by the Communist International are not only impossible of acceptance by our party, but in the opinion of the committee they are a detriment to the Soviet Government. The promulgation of these declarations at a time when opposition to the Soviet Government was lessening and strong movements existed in all Western countries for resumption of trade relations, was a colossal blunder. It tends to disrupt and

disorganize the Socialist movements in other countries; it strengthens the reactionaries of all countries, gives them new arguments for reactionary measures of suppression, and impedes the growing tendency for resumption of trade relations.

In view of the conditions of affiliation set forth above, and under the authority of the provisions of the majority report recently adopted, which is the declaration of the party's position, this committee is now authorized to participate in or initiate a movement for the formation of a genuine International Socialist organization. However, we feel that the conditions existing at the time of the Pittsburgh meeting have not changed to any great extent and this committee will, therefore, await further developments or the receipt of definite proposals from European parties before taking any action relating to international affiliation.

(Signed)

Edmund T. Melms,
George E. Roewer, Jr.,
James Oneal,
Bertha H. Mailly,
W. M. Brandt,
John Hagel,
William H. Henry,
National Executive Committee Socialist Party,
Otto Branstetter,
Executive Secretary.

NOTE ON CHAPTER III

The Activities of the Russian Soviet Regime in the United States

In the chapter of this report dealing with the activities of the Russian Soviet regime and its sympathizers in the United States, attention has been called to the attempt on the part of this committee to elicit from Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, the unrecognized Soviet representative in this country, information respecting the correspondence with his own government. The Committee was not successful in obtaining this information for the reason that Martens fled the jurisdiction when assured he would be punished for contempt of the Committee. He did not return until after July 1st, at which time the power of this Committee to issue a subpoena had expired. Since that date he has publicly continued to carry on his propaganda through the instrumentality of his weekly newspaper known as Soviet Russia. He has appeared on more than one occasion at public meetings.

In the early part of August in 1920 when the drive of the Russian Soviet army on Warsaw was at its height, the Secretary of State of the United States addressed a communication to the Italian Government with respect to the attitude of the United States on the Polish situation. This document was in answer to an inquiry on the part of the Italian ambassador as regards the position of the United States with regard to the Russian-Polish situation. The Committee feels that it is important that this document should be given in full as it summarizes in a masterly way information respecting the character and objects of the Russian Soviet regime in its foreign relations. We particularly call attention to the following paragraph:

> "It is not possible for the Government of the United States to recognize the present rulers of Russia as a government with which the relations common to friendly governments can be maintained. This conviction has nothing to do with any particular political or social structure which the Russian people themselves may see fit to embrace. It rests upon a wholly different set of facts. These facts, which none disputes have convinced the Government of the United States, against its will, that the existing regime

in Russia is based upon the negation of every principle of honor and good faith, and every usage and convention, underlying the whole structure of international law; the negation, in short, of every principle upon which it is possible to base harmonious and trustful relations, whether of nations or of individuals. The responsible leaders of the regime have frequently and openly boasted that they are willing to sign agreements and undertakings with foreign powers while not having the slightest intention of observing such undertakings or carrying out such agreements. This attitude of disregard of obligations voluntarily entered into, they base upon the theory that no compact or agreement made with a non-Bolshevist government can have any moral force for them. They have not only avowed this as a doctrine, but have exemplified it in practice. Indeed, upon numerous occasions the responsible spokesman of this Power, and its official agencies, have declared that it is their understanding that the very existence of Bolshevism in Russia, the maintenance of their own rule, depends, and must continue to depend, upon the occurrence of revolutions in all other great civilized nations, including the United States, which will overthrow and destroy their governments and set up Bolshevist rule in their stead. They have made it quite plain that they intend to use every means, including, of course, diplomatic agencies, to promote such revolutionary movements in other countries.

"It is true that they have in various ways expressed their willingness to give 'assurances' and 'guarantees' that they will not abuse the privileges and immunities of diplomatic agencies by using them for this purpose. In view of their own declarations, already referred to, such assurances and guarantees cannot be very seriously regarded. Moreover, it is within the knowledge of the Government of the United States that the Bolshevist Government is itself subject to the control of a political faction, with extensive international ramifications through the Third Internationale, and that this body, which is heavily subsidized by the Bolshevist Government from the public revenues of Russia, has for its openly avowed aim the promotion of Bolshevist revolutions throughout the world. The leaders of the Bolsheviki

have boasted that their promises of non-interference with other nations would in no wise bind the agents of this body. There is no room for reasonable doubt that such agents would receive the support and protection of any diplomatic agencies the Bolsheviki might have in other countries. Inevitably, therefore, the diplomatic service of the Bolshevist Government would become a channel for intrigues and the propaganda of revolt against the institutions and laws of countries, with which it was at peace, which would be an abuse of friendship to which enlightened governments cannot subject themselves.

"In the view of this Government, there cannot be any common ground upon which it can stand with a Power whose conceptions of international relations are so entirely alien to its own, so utterly repugnant to its moral sense. There can be no mutual confidence or trust, no respect even, if pledges are to be given and agreements made with a cynical repudiation of their obligations already in the mind of one of the parties. We cannot recognize, hold official relations with, or give friendly reception to the agents of a government which is determined and bound to conspire against our institutions; whose diplomats will be the agitators of dangerous revolt; whose spokesmen say that they sign agreements with no intention of keeping them.

The position taken by the Government in this document is a result of a careful analysis of authoritative information gathered by various federal investigation services, and is in thorough accord with the recommendations made by this Committee in Part II, Section 1, Chapter 1 of this report, which deals with the question of the recognition of the Soviet regime.

In order that the readers of this report may have before them the statements which this document elicited from Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, Soviet representative, we include at the close of this note, the statement of the Soviet Bureau on the "American Policy" which appeared in the issue of "Soviet Russia" for August 21, 1920, and also the text of the note of Chicherin to the Italian Ambassador of the United States, which was delivered by Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, bearing on the same subject.

It should be noted that in these two statements there is offered no real answer to the objections raised by the American Government to a recognition of that regime.

APPENDIX TO NOTE

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

Document 1.— Formal Reply of the Secretary of State to the Ambassador of Italy in Answer to the Ambassador's Inquiry as to the Position of the United States Regarding the Russian-Polish Situation 1825
2.— "American Policy,"— Statement of the Russian Soviet Bureau in the United States 1832
3.— Letter Sent From the Soviet Russian Representative in the United States to the Italian Ambassador in the United States, Including Note of the Commissar for Foreign Affairs, George Chicherin 1836

DOCUMENT 1

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *August* 10, 1920.

AMERICAN NOTE ON POLISH SITUATION

BEING A FORMAL REPLY FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE AMBASSADOR OF ITALY IN ANSWER TO THE AMBASSADOR'S INQUIRY AS TO THE POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES REGARDING THE RUSSIAN-POLISH SITUATION.

August 10, 1920.

Excellency:

The agreeable intimation, which you have conveyed to the State Department that the Italian Government would welcome a statement of the views of this Government on the situation presented by the Russian advance into Poland, deserves a prompt response, and I will attempt without delay, a definition of this Government's position not only as to the situation arising from Russian military pressure upon Poland, but also as to certain cognate and inseparable phases of the Russian question viewed more broadly.

This Government believes in a united, free and autonomous Polish State and the people of the United States are earnestly solicitous for the maintenance of Poland's political independence and territorial integrity. From this attitude we will not depart, and the policy of this Government will be directed to the employment of all available means to render it effectual. The Government therefore takes no exception to the effort apparently being made in some quarters to arrange an armistice between Poland and Russia, but it would not, at least for the present, participate in any plan for the expansion of the armistice negotiations into a general European conference which would in all probability involve two results, from both of which this country strongly

recoils, viz. the recognition of the Bolshevist regime and a settlement of Russian problems almost inevitably upon the basis of a dismemberment of Russia.

From the beginning of the Russian Revolution, in March, 1917, to the present moment, the Government and the people of the United States have followed its development with friendly solicitude and with profound sympathy for the efforts of the Russian people to reconstruct their national life upon the broad basis of popular self-government. The Government of the United States, reflecting the spirit of its people, has at all times desired to help the Russian people. In that spirit all its relations with Russia, and with other nations in matters affecting the latter's interests, have been conceived and governed.

The Government of the United States was the first government to acknowledge the validity of the Revolution and to give recognition to the Provisional Government of Russia. Almost immediately thereafter it became necessary for the United States to enter the war against Germany and in that undertaking to become closely associated with the Allied Nations, including, of course, Russia. The war weariness of the masses of the Russian people was fully known to this government and sympathetically comprehended. Prudence, self-interest and loyalty to our associates made it desirable that we should give moral and material support to the Provisional Government, which was struggling to accomplish a two-fold task, to carry on the war with vigor and, at the same time, to reorganize the life of the nation and establish a stable government based on popular sovereignty.

Quite independent of these motives, however, was the sincere friendship of the Government and the people of the United States for the great Russian nation. The friendship manifested by Russia toward this nation in a time of trial and distress has left with us an imperishable sense of gratitude. It was as a grateful friend that we sent to Russia an expert commission to aid in bringing about such a reorganization of the railroad transportation system of the country as would reinvigorate the whole of its economic life and so add to the well-being of the Russian people.

While deeply regretting the withdrawal of Russia from the war at a critical time, and the disastrous surrender at Brest-Litovsk, the United States has fully understood that the people of Russia were in no wise responsible.

The United States maintains unimpaired its faith in the Russian people, in their high character and their future. That they will overcome the existing anarchy, suffering and destitution we do not entertain the slightest doubt. The distressing character of Russia's transition has many historical parallels, and the United States is confident that restored, free and united Russia will again take a leading place in the world, joining with the other free nations in upholding peace and orderly justice.

Until that time shall arrive the United States feels that friendship and honor require that Russia's interests must be generously protected, and that, as far as possible, all decisions of vital importance to it, and especially those concerning its sovereignty over the territory of the former Russian Empire, be held in abeyance. By this feeling of friendship and honorable obligation to the great nation whose brave and heroic self-sacrifice contributed so much to the successful termination of the war, the Government of the United States was guided in its reply to the Lithuanian National Council, on October 15, 1919, and in its persistent refusal to recognize the Baltic States as separate nations independent of Russia. The same spirit was manifested in the note of this Government, of March 24, 1920, in which it was stated, with reference to certain proposed settlements in the Near East, that "no final decision should or can be made without the consent of Russia."

In line with these important declarations of policy, the United States withheld its approval from the decision of the Supreme Council at Paris recognizing the independence of the so-called Republics of Georgia and Azerbaijan, and so instructed its representative in Southern Russia, Rear-Admiral Newton A. McCully. Finally, while gladly giving recognition to the independence of Armenia, the Government of the United States has taken the position that the final determination of its boundaries must not be made without Russia's cooperation and agreement. Not only is Russia concerned because a considerable part of the territory of the new State of Armenia, when it shall be defined, formerly belonged to the Russian Empire; equally important is the fact that Armenia must have the good will and the protective friendship of Russia if it is to remain independent and free.

These illustrations show with what consistency the Government of the United States has been guided in its foreign policy

by a loyal friendship for Russia. We are unwilling that while it is helpless in the grip of a non-representative government, whose only sanction is brutal force, Russia shall be weakened still further by a policy of dismemberment, conceived in other than Russian interests.

With the desire of the Allied Powers to bring about a peaceful solution of the existing difficulties in Europe, this Government is of course in hearty accord, and will support any justifiable steps to that end. It is unable to perceive, however, that a recognition of the Soviet regime would promote, much less accomplish this object, and it is therefore averse to any dealings with the Soviet regime beyond the most narrow boundaries to which a discussion of an armistice can be confined.

That the present rulers of Russia do not rule by the will or the consent of any considerable proportion of the Russian people is an incontestable fact. Although nearly two and a half years have passed since they seized the machinery of government, promising to protect the Constitutent Assembly against alleged conspiracies against it, they have not yet permitted anything in the nature of a popular election. At the moment when the work of creating a popular representative government based upon universal suffrage was nearing completion the Bolsheviki, although, in number, an inconsiderable minority of the people, by force and cunning seized the powers and machinery of government and have continued to use them with savage oppression to maintain themselves in power.

Without any desire to interfere in the internal affairs of the Russian people, or to suggest what kind of government they should have, the Government of the United States does express the hope that they will soon find a way to set up a government representing their free will and purpose. When that time comes, the United States will consider the measures of practical assistance which can be taken to promote the restoration of Russia, provided Russia has not taken itself wholly out of the pale of the friendly interest of other nations, by the pillage and oppression of the Poles.

It is not possible for the Government of the United States to recognize the present rulers of Russia as a government with which the relations common to friendly governments can be maintained. This conviction has nothing to do with any partic-

ular political or social structure which the Russian people themselves may see fit to embrace. It rests upon a wholly different set of facts. These facts, which none disputes, have convinced the Government of the United States, against its will, that the existing regime in Russia is based upon the negation of every principle of honor and good faith, and every usage and convention, underlying the whole structure of international law; the negation, in short, of every principle upon which it is possible to base harmonious and trustful relations, whether of nations or of individuals. The responsible leaders of the regime have frequently and openly boasted that they are willing to sign agreements and undertakings with foreign Powers while not having the slightest intention of observing such undertakings or carrying out such agreements. This attitude of disregard of obligations voluntarily entered into, they base upon the theory that no compact or agreement made with a non-Bolshevist government can have any moral force for them. They have not only avowed this as a doctrine, but have exemplified it in practice. Indeed, upon numerous occasions the responsible spokesmen of this Power, and its official agencies, have declared that it is their understanding that the very existence of Bolshevism in Russia, the maintenance of their own rule, depends, and must continue to depend, upon the occurrence of revolutions in all other great civilized nations, including the United States, which will overthrow and destroy their governments and set up Bolshevist rule in their stead. They have made it quite plain that they intend to use every means, including, of course, diplomatic agencies, to promote such revolutionary movements in other countries.

It is true that they have in various ways expressed their willingness to give "assurances" and "guarantees" that they will not abuse the privileges and immunities of diplomatic agencies by using them for this purpose. In view of their own declarations, already referred to, such assurances and guarantees cannot be very seriously regarded. Moreover, it is within the knowledge of the Government of the United States that the Bolshevist Government is itself subject to the control of a political faction with extensive international ramifications through the Third Internationale, and that this body, which is heavily subsidized by the Bolshevist Government from the public revenues of Russia, has for its openly avowed aim the promotion of Bolshevist revolu-

tions throughout the world. The leaders of the Bolsheviki have boasted that their promises of non-interference with other nations would in no wise bind the agents of this body. There is no room for reasonable doubt that such agents would receive the support and protection of any diplomatic agencies the Bolsheviki might have in other countries. Inevitably, therefore, the diplomatic service of the Bolshevist Government would become a channel for intrigues and the propaganda of revolt against the institutions and laws of countries, with which it was at peace, which would be an abuse of friendship to which enlightened governments cannot subject themselves.

In the view of this Government, there cannot be any common ground upon which it can stand with a Power whose conceptions of international relations are so entirely alien to its own, so utterly repugnant to its moral sense. There can be no mutual confidence or trust, no respect even, if pledges are to be given and agreements made with a cynical repudiation of their obligations already in the mind of one of the parties. We cannot recognize, hold official relations with, or give friendly reception to the agents of a government which is determined and bound to conspire against our institutions; whose diplomats will be the agitators of dangerous revolt; whose spokesmen say that they sign agreements with no intention of keeping them.

To summarize the position of this Government, I would say, therefore, in response to your Excellency's inquiry, that it would regard with satisfaction a declaration by the Allied and Associated Powers, that the territorial integrity and true boundaries of Russia shall be respected. These boundaries should properly include the whole of the former Russian Empire, with the exception of Finland proper, ethnic Poland, and such territory as may by agreement form a part of the Armenian State. The aspirations of these nations for independence are legitimate. Each was forcibly annexed and their liberation from oppressive alien rule involves no aggressions against Russia's territorial rights, and has received the sanction of the public opinion of all free peoples. Such a declaration presupposes the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory embraced by these boundaries, and in the opinion of this Government should be accompanied by the announcement that no transgression by Poland, Finland or any other Power, of the line so drawn and proclaimed will be permitted.

Thus only can the Bolshevist regime be deprived of its false, but effective, appeal to Russian nationalism and compelled to meet the inevitable challenge of reason and self-respect which the Russian people, secure from invasion and territorial violation, are sure to address to a social philosophy that degrades them and a tyranny that oppresses them.

The policy herein outlined will command the support of this Government.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

Bainbridge Colby.

His Excellency

Baron Camillo Romano Avezzana,

Ambassador of Italy.

Document 2

THE AMERICAN POLICY

The note recently delivered by the American Secretary of State to the Italian Ambassador, contains little which is of interest or direct application to the Russian people. The most important significance of this document lies not in the mere reiteration of the hostile attitude of the American Government towards the Soviet Republic, an attitude already repeatedly expressed in word and deed, but rather in the expression of the purpose of the United States to break with its recent associates in European and Asiatic affairs. The note places the United States, on one ground or another, in direct opposition to England, Italy, and Japan. This is a matter which will be of interest to the peoples and governments of the latter countries, but which does not concern the Russian Government, except insofar as it serves to confirm our repeated contention that there can be no unity of policy or action among the Allies in matters involving their economic rivalries, and that the gross misunderstanding and mishandling of the Russian situation by all the associated nations of the Entente have been the chief cause of the present political and economic chaos of Europe.

However, although Soviet Russia is not directly affected by an academic restatement of the already well-known views of the American Government, we nevertheless share in the profound disappointment which will be felt by the workers everywhere that the official representatives of the American nation have so irrevocably placed themselves in opposition to the aspirations of the toilers of the world, who seek only peace and freedom from oppression. This disappointment will be the more sharp inasmuch as this declaration of the Government of the United States has come at the very moment when the governments of Europe, yielding to the demands of the workers, have shown a tendency, to revise their previous misjudgments of Russia, and to adopt a policy of adjustment. The Government of Italy has already taken steps to resume active relations with Soviet Russia. Great Britain has expressed its desire to reach an understanding with the Soviet Government. The British Government has invited the Soviet Republic to send representatives to a general conference of nations which should have as its main object the restoration of peace in Europe by repairing the damage done at the con-

ference of Versailles, where it was attempted to arrange the affairs of Europe without consulting the Russian people.

Against all these steps towards pacification and the restoration of normal economic intercourse in Europe, the Government of the United States has maintained an attitude of irreconcilable opposition. If the policy of the American Government, reaffirmed in this recent note, should prevail as the policy of the Allies, there would be no hope of peace in Europe. Fortunately, however, much as we regret the position in which the American people have thus been placed before the world, we are confident that the hopes and purposes of the European workers, striving for peace and successfully prevailing upon their governments to adopt courses of moderation, will not be frustrated by any official declaration from any source. The European masses will make peace, in spite of the insatiable imperialistic ambitions of their own rulers, and in spite of any interference from the American Government. This utterance of the American Government may give temporary encouragement to the most reactionary elements in Europe; it may even prolong the bloodshed and destruction a little longer, but it will not swerve the European workers from their determination to achieve peace and freedom. Much less, of course, will it move the people and Government of Russia from their determination to defend the Revolution against all assaults. The naive hope expressed in some quarters, that this note may affect the purposes and actions of the Russian people, can only arise from ignorance of the facts and is too ridiculous for serious consideration.

Those portions of the note which refer to the internal affairs of the Russian Republic do not merit extended comment. The domestic affairs of the Russian people are no concern of the Government of the United States, and we do not desire to enter into any controversy with American officials upon matters concerning which they are so lamentably ill-informed. Moreover, for us to point out the manifest inaccuracies contained in this note, or to defend the Soviet Government against such grossly unwarranted misrepresentations, would be to appear to accept a principle in international dealings which we must specifically repudiate; namely, the principle put forward in this note that the recognition of a foreign state is determined by considerations of the social structure or political principles of that state. No government has ever based its foreign relations upon this principle, and if the American Government now assumes to do so, we repeat

that this is a principle which the Soviet Government emphatically repudiates. The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic has repeatedly offered to establish friendly economic and political relations with foreign governments with whose principles and internal structure the Soviet Government has no sympathy. In resuming relations with capitalist states, which the Soviet Government has already done in several instances, and is ready to do in general, we should never for one moment wish to be understood as approving or countenancing the social structure or the political ideas of those states. We do not ask them to approve our institutions, nor can they expect us to approve theirs. The principle advanced in the American note, if generally acted upon, would be destructive of all international relations. We know, of course, that this principle does not actually determine the attitude of the American Government and that the real motive for its hostility to the Soviet Republic lies elsewhere. We particularly regret the position assumed by the American Government in this respect because of the unfortunate effect which it will have upon the sentiments of the Russian people. Having only recently escaped from the tyranny of the Russian Czar, and suffering at this very moment from wanton invasion and spoliation by the troops of the Japanese Mikado, and remembering that the American Government held no aversion to intimate and friendly relations with the autocratic governments of the Czar and the Mikado, the people of Russia will not comprehend by what standards the American Government judges the beneficence and virtue of those governments to which it extends recognition. As for the alarm of the American Government that the diplomatic service of the Soviet Government might become a "channel of intrigue," against which the American people could not defend their cherished institutions, we cannot repress a smile of amazement at such an expression from anyone who is in the least familiar with the traditional and general practices of the diplomatic agents of capitalistic and imperialistic nations. The Soviet Government had its experience with foreign diplomatic services employed as "channels of intrigue" and was able to take adequate steps in its own protection. We should imagine that the American Government, familiar with such matters, might assume that it had the ability to protect itself from any dangers arising from this source.

As for the solicitude of the American Government for the "integrity" of the Russian Empire, we can only explain this by

the continued and favored presence in Washington of certain reactionary Russian elements who still hope for the restoration of the old Czaristic regime with all its unbridled tyranny over the peoples formerly held in subjection along the borders of Russia. We are amazed that the influence of these discarded representatives of Russian Imperialism should have moved the American Government to abandon the principle of "self-determination of peoples." However this change may have been brought about, and whatever the American Government may seek to gain by supporting the restoration of Russian Imperialism, we must emphatically deny the claim of the American Government to determine the present or future status of any of the component parts of the former Russian Empire. This is a matter for decision between the peoples inhabiting those regions and Soviet Russia, and it is not for the Government of the United States to decide which of the aspirations of these people are "legitimate." The Government of Russia has freely recognized the independence of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland, and other border states, and so long as the peoples of these states desire to maintain their independence, their sovereignty will be respected by the Soviet Government. The Soviet Government, moreover, will defend by every available means the right of these peoples to self-determination against the pretensions of any foreign power. The peoples of these states, freed at last from the long tyranny of Russian Imperialism, will view with amazement and alarm this declaration of an intention on the part of the American Government to restore them to their former bondage.

The hope which the Soviet Government has maintained, against all appearances to the contrary, for the early resumption of friendly intercourse and profitable economic relations between the peoples of Russia and America is now definitely destroyed by this official declaration. The Russian Government cannot urge and will not permit the resumption of commercial relations between Russia and America so long as the attitude and policy of the American Government remains that expressed in this document. It has become plain that the present administrators of the foreign policy of the United States are irrevocably hostile to the Russian Government. This fact, however, does not shake our confidence that there is no conflict, but only sympathy and identity of interest, between the broad masses of the American people and their fellow toilers in Russia.

Document 3

CHICHERIN'S NOTE TO BARON AVEZZANA

October 4, 1920.

The following letter has been sent by the Russian Soviet Representative in the United States to the Italian Ambassador in the United States:

His Excellency, Baron Camillo Romano Avezzana,
Washington, D. C.:

Excellency.— I am instructed by the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of my Government to transmit to you his despatch in reply to the note of the Secretary of State, Bainbridge Colby, addressed to you under date of August 10, 1920. The despatch of the Commissar for Foreign Affairs, George Chicherin, follows:

"Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby's note to the Italian Ambassador contains an attack upon Soviet Russia's policy and her political system. Soviet Russia cannot leave unheeded these false and malicious accusations of a character quite unusual in diplomacy, and desires to bring them before the bar of public opinion.

"The American Government bases its objections to the policy of the British and Italian Governments on the principle of the territorial integrity of the former Russian Empire and would enter into friendly relations and intercourse only with such a Russian Government as would not be a Soviet Government. The only exceptions made by Mr. Colby from the principle of the territorial inviolability of the former Russian Empire are Poland, Finland, and Armenia. The demand for independence of those nations is considered by him as legal, inasmuch as they were annexed to Russia by force wherefore their secession does not infringe Russia's territorial sovereignty. Mr. Colby imagines that the other oppressed nationalities of Czarist Russia were not annexed by force, and that the aspirations of the Georgian, Azerbaijan, Lithuanian, Latvian, Esthonian, and Ukrainian peoples for independence in the form of either secession or state sovereignty and federation with Russia are illegal. The discrimination on the part of the American Government in favor of some of these nationalities as against the

others is unintelligible, being probably due to lack of information concerning national conditions in Eastern Europe. The condition precedent for Mr. Colby's friendship towards Russia is that her government should not be a Soviet Government. As a matter of fact any other government at present would be a bourgeois or capitalist government, which in view of the present economic unity of the world, would mean a government identified with the interests of the world's dominating financial groups. The most powerful among the latter, as a consequence of the world war, are the North American financial groups. The condition upon which Mr. Colby would extend American friendship to Russia is therefore that her regime should be such as to permit of the domination of the American financial groups in Russia. Mr. Colby displays in his note a strong friendly feeling towards the Russian Government of 1917, i. e. towards that Russian Government which coerced Russia's working masses to bleed on the side of the allied and associated powers in the world war which was fought for the interests of financial capital; of that Russian Government which under the cloak of a pretended democratic regime supported the domination of the bourgeoisie in Russia, i. e. of the capitalist system and in the last resort the domination of the world's leading financial interests over Russia. As far back as 1905, when the weakness of Czarist Russia and her dependence on the western financial interests for the first time became clear, Maximilian Harden wrote that Russia was in fact a colonial land which must be governed in a business-like manner by commercial agents and clerks of business firms. This idea, so cynically avowed by Harden, in reality underlay all those plans which were elaborated by the Entente during the period of the intervention against Russia's Soviet system, and likewise explains the hostility towards Soviet Russia of the interests Mr. Colby speaks for. At the same time it must be noted that Mr. Colby, in his desire to maintain the integrity of the Czarist territory, not merely dissents from Britain's policy, but is actually engaged in a struggle against her policy. Obviously the groups he represents perceive that other, viz., British, interests have established themselves in the new states separated from Russia, and Mr. Colby sees no other way of combat-

ing those interests than to abolish the independence of these states. Quite different from this policy of maintaining the integrity of the Czarist territory with the object of establishing on this territory the domination of foreign financial interests, and quite different, on the other hand, from the more successful policy of establishing the domination of those interests in the new bourgeois border states, quite different from both, is Soviet Russia's policy,— the policy of complete abolition of the exploitation of the workers by the former owners of the means of production, which is the basis of the Soviet system. The Soviet Government unwaveringly upholds the right of national self-determination of the working people of every nationality, including the right of secession and of forming separate states. This is the cornerstone on which it wishes to establish friendly relations with the new border states. This system, represented by the Soviet Government, under which the working masses govern themselves and determine their own fate, is the only present day challenge to the domination of the exploiting interests of the leading groups of world's capital, foremost of all the American groups; this is why Mr. Colby displays such an implacable hostility to the Soviet regime and hurls his false charges at it, which are the exact opposite of actual facts. Mr. Colby asserts that the Soviet system is based, not upon the representation of the popular masses, but upon brutal force, notwithstanding the fact that this system is at present the only one under which the working masses are free from exploitation by the privileged few and from the domination of the exploiting financial capital, a domination really based on brutal force. The latter dominates in all countries where the parliamentary regime is in force, and yet this regime is held by Mr. Colby to be the only one deserving recognition. The substance of the parliamentary regime is that the working masses being in an unorganized condition are under the absolute domination of strongly organized political parties which are completely subservient to the leading financial groups. This organization has its ramifications throughout the country, which are connected with innumerable local interests; it subjugates the minds of of the masses through a subservient press, through inspired literature, through the pulpit, etc. Under the so-called

democracy the semblance of freedom of the press, of freedom of assemblage, and of association, and of free speech is in reality a *mise en scene* of the domination of the leading financial groups acting through a venal press, venal politicians, tribunals, writers, clergymen, etc. The Soviet system alone is a permanent organization of the working masses under which the real sovereignty and the executive power in every locality are vested in the local Soviet, this permanent organization of the working masses on the spot. The structure of the Soviet regime invests the working masses with such power and draws them to such an extent into the workaday functions of government that the mere suggestion of the central power being able, under the Soviet system, to rule against the will of the masses, is sheer absurdity. It is the masses themselves, who, in the fight for liberty, amidst a sanguinary civil war which threatens all their conquests, have come to realize the necessity of a firm centralized revolutionary power for crushing the last resistance of the exploiting classes at home and for carrying on the unprecedented struggle against the capitalist governments of the whole world, which stand united against the Revolution whenever the working masses attain power in a particular country. At the time when all the capitalist governments of the world are united against the workers' and peasants' rule in Russia in an attempt to crush her resistance by the force of arms, by the hunger blockade, by fostering perennial conspiracies of the exploiting classes against the working masses in power, — at this time the working masses have become fully conscious of the fact that only a relentless proletarian dictatorship can defend their revolutionary conquests against the attacks of capital and of all its agents from within and without. The Communist Party, which directs this implacable struggle against the exploiters of the whole world, rules in Soviet Russia for the only reason that the masses themselves consider its rule as the only effective means of successful warfare against the deadly danger threatening them from world capital.

"But the Communist Party arouses Mr. Colby's ire also for another reason, viz., because the Communist Party is at the head of the revolutionary movement of the working masses in all countries, and also in the United States. Its world-

wide struggle is rooted in the actual conditions of all countries, but Mr. Colby attempts to account for it by alleged propaganda of Russian Soviet agents. It is not for the first time that we witness attempts on the part of American financial groups to discredit Soviet Russia by calumnies. We have not forgotten the publication by the United States Public Information Division of the absurd Sisson documents charging the Bolsheviks with being German agents. The forgery was so crude that the least examination was sufficient to disclose that fraud. Owing to the subserviency of the press to the financial interests, which is almost complete in the parliamentary countries, calumny against Soviet Russia is one of the principal means of combating the movement of the working masses in every country including the United States. Mr. Colby, too, in his note to the Italian Ambassador, has resorted to coarse slander against Soviet Russia. We most emphatically protest against his false allegation that the Soviet Government violates its promises and concludes agreements with a mental reservation to transgress them. Not a single fact can be quoted in support of this calumny. Even the Brest-Litovsk Treaty which was imposed upon Russia by violence was faithfully observed by the Soviet Government. Whenever it was accused of violating its diplomatic obligations, a frame-up by enemies of the Russian Soviet Government was shown to be at the bottom of the charges. If the Russian Government binds itself to abstain from spreading Communist literature, all its representatives abroad are enjoined scrupulously to observe this pledge. The Soviet Government clearly understands that the revolutionary movement of the working masses in every country is their own affair. It holds to the principle that Communism cannot be imposed by force but that the fight for Communism in every country must be carried on by its working masses themselves. Seeing that in America and in many other countries the workers have not conquered the powers of government and are not even convinced of the necessity of their conquest, the Russian Soviet Government deems it necessary to establish and faithfully to maintain peaceable and friendly relations with the existing governments of those countries. That the elementary economic needs of the peoples of Russia and of other countries demand normal relations and an exchange of

goods between them, is quite clear to the Russian Government, and the first condition of such relations is mutual good faith and non-intervention on both parts. Mr. Colby is profoundly mistaken when he thinks that normal relations between Russia and the United States of America are possible only if capitalism prevails in Russia. On the contrary we deem it necessary in the interests of both nations and despite the differences of their political and social structure, to establish proper, peaceful and friendly relations between them. The Russian Soviet Government is convinced that not only the working masses, but likewise the farsighted business men of the United States of America will repudiate the policy which is expressed in Mr. Colby's note and is harmful to American interests, and that in the near future normal relations will be established between Russia and the United States.

(Signed) Chicherin."

Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Very respectfully,

(Signed) L. C. A. K. Martens,

Representative in the United States of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

NOTE ON CHAPTERS V AND VI

Communist Party and Communist Labor Party Unite

Since the filing of this report on April 24, 1920, certain important changes have taken place in the alignment of quasi-political parties which should not escape notice. In Chapter III of this section attention was called to a communication addressed by G. Zinoviev, as President of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Central Committees of the Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party.

In this communication we find the statement that "with the aim of bringing about unification, the Executive Committee of the Communist International proposes an immediate joint convention, whose decision shall be binding on both parties." The split which arose in the Communist movement here is described as "a heavy blow to the movement; unprecedented sacrifices must be made by the American Proletariat. The question of tactics is the principal source of disagreement, and this split is therefore unjustified."

The reasons for unity are pointed out by Zinoviev as follows: "The Communist Party should unite to seize power and to establish the dictatorship of the Proletariat. A determined struggle should be made to overthrow the power of the Bourgeoisie. For this aim all differences are inadmissible."

The action taken by the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party subsequent to the publication of this communication is an indication of how potent the influence of the Communist International is in molding the policies of the different revolutionary elements in this country.

The steps taken by the leaders of the two parties mentioned to bring about unity and the basis of such negotiations are set forth in the May 15, 1920, issue of "Communist Labor," the official organ of the Communist Labor Party of America, on page 5, as follows:

PROGRESS IN C. L. P. AND C. P. UNITY

As we reported in a recent issue of "Communist Labor," the party sub-committee presented a counter-unity-proposition to the conference committee of the Communist Party, in answer to the Communist Party's unity program, which in short was "no immediate unity but a unity convention some time in the future."

To inform the membership we reprint this counter-unity proposition of the Communist Labor Party. It will be noted that we are in agreement with a joint call for a convention, but that together with this we demand immediate working unity.

> "1. We recognize that there is no fundamental difference of principle between the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party and we agree to send out a call for a joint convention on the basis of the Communist Party manifesto and program and to elect a convention committee for this purpose.
>
> "2. We realize that the constitution of both parties are impossible of application under present conditions and agree to new organization forms adapted to the circumstances.
>
> "3. WE FAVOR IMMEDIATE WORKING UNITY as far as this can be effected pending the convention. For this purpose the two national executive committees and the two national offices shall be merged, and propaganda and organization work, as well as defense activities shall be conducted in common, but the language federations of both parties shall be allowed to continue upon their old basis until the convention."

The C. P. sub-committee agreed to report this counter proposition to the N. E. C. of the C. P., which was to take place soon, it was claimed.

COMMUNIST PARTY ANSWERS

To this counter-proposition the sub-committee of the central executive committee of the Communist Party sent our party the following answer:

February 9, 1920.

To the N. E. C. of the Communist Labor Party:

Reply of the C. E. C. of the Communist Party as to unity proposition.

On clause 1: As to the difference in fundamental principles, the C. P. cannot consistently join in or subscribe to a declaration that there are no such differences between the C. P. and the C. L. P., although it could not object to such a statement coming from the C. L. P.

On clause 2: As to the basis for a joint convention, the C. P. holds that tentative acceptance of its Manifesto and Program and also of those parts of the Constitution setting forth the fundamental relationship of the Language Federations within the party, is necessary. It is understood that underground form of organization and conditions of membership effecting representing in the joint convention are to be made the same in the C. L. P. as in the C. P., to insure equal basis of representation. It is further understood that the joint convention will be arranged as soon as possible within the next six months.

On clause 3. As to immediate consolidation of the central executive committees of the two organizations to conduct together the work of defense, organization and propaganda while the Federations would continue as heretofore, the C. E. C. of the C. P. positively decided against such consolidation as inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the C. P., and as impracticable in the present situation. The C. P. holds that the only road to organic communist unity is a joint convention.

For any further explanations and conference, the undersigned will be glad to meet with the representatives of the C. L. P. at any agreed time and place.

Reply of the C. L. P.

Due to circumstances uncontrolable by either committee the above communication from the C. P. was several weeks in reaching the N. E. C. of the C. L. P. After its receipt the N. E. C. of the C. L. P. met and made the following reply:

New York City, *March* 9, 1920.

Central Executive Committee, Communist Party of America:

Comrades.— The National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party learns with regret that the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party has again refused the opportunity to unite all Communist forces in the United States under one banner.

No other interpretation can be placed upon the proposal by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party to hold a convention, in view of their insistence that "as a basis for the convention tentative acceptance of the Communist Party constitution setting forth the fundamental relationships of the language federations within the Party is essential."

The form of language federations has been one of the essential points of differences between the two parties. The fact that a small clique through their control of autonomous federation groups controlled the Communist Party Convention in Chicago prevented unity of all Communist elements there. But now that governmental persecution has forced both parties to ignore the constitutions that they adopted last fall, now that the Communist Party membership itself is violating those very provisions of the Communist Party constitution regarding federations, it is senseless and silly to bring up acceptance of those provisions as an essential preliminary to unity of Communist forces. The assumption is justified that they are trotted out rather as an OBSTACLE to unity, so as to perpetuate the small clique control of the Communist Party by the present majority of the Communist Party's Central Executive Committee.

The Communist Party committee maintains that co-operation in the work of defense, organization and propaganda is "impracticable" and "inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the Communist Party." But we know that the great mass of the Communist Party's membership desire IMMEDIATE co-operation of all Communist forces in these endeavors to meet the forces of reaction. We know that in this attempt to postpone even the consideration of Unity to a distant convention, the holding of which is very problematical, the majority of the Communist Party's Central Executive Committee (a bare majority of one) does not represent the will of the Communist Party's membership, and we appeal to this membership to enforce its will.

We ask the membership not to be lulled into inactivity with the promise of a Unity Convention six months hence. Our acceptance of the Convention proposal was conditioned upon an immediate uniting of all Communist forces to fight the common foe. Those that want unity can achieve it AT ONCE, much easier than six months from now. RIGHT NOW is the time to unite into one mighty army all comrades that will hold aloft the banners of the Third International. The persecutions have disrupted the old organization forms. The membership is now in a state of flux. New organization forms are being molded and built, adapted to the new conditions. While this process is going on ALL that are worth while can be united into ONE organization, will NATURALLY unite into one organization.

But if we wait six months, if we first go through a long period of steam roller building and wire pulling to control convention delegates (as some of the Communist Party's Central Executive Committee's majority have already started to do against members of their own Party), if now once more build TWO Commuunist organizations until they become set and rigid, and then pit them against each other in a convention, a unity of Communist forces will be almost impossible to attain. If the golden opportunity to unite NOW is allowed to pass, if the chasm in the Communist ranks is perpetuated as the present majority of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party seems to desire, then those responsible for it will convict themselves of actual treason to the Communist International.

We stand ready at any time to discuss with the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party the problem of the immediate merging of the Communist hosts, to bring into one great fighting organization all those who are for the Soviets and the proletarian dictatorship, as recommended by the Executive Committee of the Communist International. We hope sincerely that this consummation may yet be achieved.

National Executive Committee, Communist Labor Party,
Executive Secretary.

New York, *March* 19, 1920.

National Executive Committee, Communist Labor Party:

Comrades.— Your reply to our proposal to hold a joint convention for the purpose of achieving unity of the Communist elements of this country has been received and has had the careful consideration of our committee.

We will not concern ourselves with the various charges and insinuations in your statement. These are evidently not intended to be taken seriously, but are included merely for the purpose of propaganda, since they do not affect the issues at stake. Our committee has, however, again considered your proposal for immediate unity between your committee and ours and has rejected this proposal by the decisive vote of nine to four. The reason for this rejection is that our committee does not believe that unity attained through such committee action would attain the permanent Communist unity which we earnestly desire.

As evidence of its desire to achieve such permanent Communist unity our committee has adopted the following statement, which it submits for your consideration and acceptance:

1. We accept the basis of Communist unity proposed by the Third International, inasmuch as it relates to the rank and file, but we maintain that the Central Executive Committee of a Communist Party must be in agreement also on questions of tactics and organization, and since such would not be the case if we merged the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party and the National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party, we reject such a merger.

2. We reaffirm our desire to have the unity of both parties achieved through a joint convention.

3. We are ready to set the date for the joint convention at the earliest possible date and not later than .....

4. The Constitutional relations of the Federations to the party must enter as a part of the call for the joint convention, subject of course to changes by the convention.

5. In the meantime we favor co-operation between the two parties whenever desirable and practical through the Central, District and Local committees of both parties, subject to the control and approval of the respective Central Executive Committees.

We have elected a joint convention committee of three members with instruction to meet with a similar committee of your organization and to arrange a convention on the following basis:

1. The joint call for the convention must include our Manifesto, Program and Constitutional relations of the Federations to the party.

2. Apportionment of delegates on the basis of dues stamps sold by each organization for the months of October, November and December, the total number of delegates from both organizations not to exceed thirty-five. Books of both organizations to be open to the opposite committee members.

3. The election of delegates to be by membership action and to be conducted secretly and to be as nearly as possible alike for the two organizations.

4. The quorum to call the convention to order to consist of two-thirds of the delegates elected by each organization.

For ourselves we have adopted the following plan for the election of delegates:

1. We will appoint delegates to our districts on the basis of dues stamps purchased during October, November and December.

2. A convention of each district shall be called in which the subdistricts shall be represented by one delegate for each 200 members on the basis of dues stamps purchased for October, November and December. This convention to elect our delegates and alternates.

3. Nominations for delegates to the district conventions shall be secured from the members by the group organizers. Nominees must be members in the district in which they are nominated. The names of all nominees shall be presented to members for vote by the group organizers. The district conventions may elect any party member irrespective of districts.

If your committee really desires unity between the Communists of the United States and is not merely using the plea for unity as a convenient method of propaganda against the Communist Party of America, we trust you will take immediate favorable action on this proposal and elect your convention committee to confer with our committee.

Fraternally submitted,
Central Executive Committee,
Communist Party of America,
Executive Secretary.

March 25, 1920.

To the Central Executive Committee, Communist Party:

Comrades.— We see nothing in your last communication which brings us nearer to unity. In answer we but repeat:

1. We are willing to join in a convention call upon the basis of your Manifesto and Program because we see no essential difference between yours and that of the Communist Labor Party.

2. If there is a joint call for a convention, then there should be an immediate uniting of working forces, for we desire a convention composed of ONE party and not one composed of two contending factions. No one that has any sincere desire for

unity will propose the criminal waste of energy involved in continuing for three months to build two rival systems of underground organization.

We do not want a convention where two hostile groups caucus against each other to win the steamroller championship. Another split of Communist forces might be the outcome of a convention such as that. We desire to bring about unity now, so that when the convention is held the delegates will not attend as members of the Communist Party or the Communist Labor Party caucus, but will meet as Communists, determined to organize our common strength against our common foe.

3. This is definite — that the Communist Party's constitutional form of language federations as a basis for the joint call for the convention can not be acceded to by us. If we understand your position upon this point, it is that you wish us to go into convention with you with the admission that your form of language federation organization is correct and daring us to attack and change it. In other words, you hold the fort and we are invited to make the attack. Your constitutional form of language federations has already broken down and has been eliminated in great part by the new methods you have been forced to adopt to prosecute Communist work. You are violating your own constitutional form of language federation. Why ask us to accept it as a basis for a convention call when you recognize it as obsolete.

We are not insisting upon our form of non-autonomous language federations as a basis for the convention call. We on the other hand cannot accept your form of federations as provided for in your obsolete constitution as a basis for the convention call. We want the question of language federations to go before the convention without prejudice. Unless you can do this and confine the convention call to the principles as enunciated in the Manifesto and Program, then progress toward unity cannot be made.

If you think our last communication needs elucidation, we would be glad to hear from you further or enter into conference.

National Executive Committee,
Communist Labor Party,
Executive Secretary.

March 28, 1920.

Central Executive Committee, Communist Party:

Comrades.—At a meeting of the national executive committee of the Communist Labor Party, just held, it was decided to add the following definite proposals to our correspondence for unity:

1. That the joint convention be held as soon as possible, but not later than two months from the time of agreement by the joint convention committees.

2. That the matter of language federation form must go before the convention without prejudice and to that end we propose an agreement upon the following statement:

"It is agreed that the form of language federations as provided for in the constitution of both parties shall be accepted as a basis for discussion at the convention. Both parties agree to accept the decisions of the convention upon this question and will not permit any difference of opinion regarding this question to cause another split in Communist ranks."

3. That the convention shall be composed of thirty-five delegates. We hold that the two parties today are of equal strength and that therefore each party should have an equal number of delegates. We have decided however to give the Communist Party an advantage in number of delegates because of its claim of a greater membership. On the other hand we claim that membership numbers will not be considered by us to be the only nor main test of strength. A division of delegates, fifteen for the Communist Labor Party and twenty for the Communist Party will be agreed to.

4. That no member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party nor of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party shall be a delegate, but that these officials shall have a voice without vote upon the convention floor.

5. Joint convention committee.

(Signed) .....

Executory Secretary.

The above communication was presented to the joint convention committee elected by the Communist Party by the joint convention committee elected by the Communist Labor Party. A conference was then had at which no agreement was reached as to a basis of representation for the joint convention. It was eventu-

ally decided that the C. P. joint convention committee go back to its executive to secure a mandate for an agreement upon a twelve to twenty-three basis of representation, whereas the C. L. P. joint convention committee was to return to its executive to decide whether or not to accept a twelve to twenty-three basis of representation or to base representation upon the average dues purchased in the months of March, April and May. At the C. L. P. national executive committee the following decision was reached, which was communicated to the C. P. executive.

March 31, 1920.

To the Central Executive Committee, Communist Party, New York City:

COMRADES.— The National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party has decided upon an apportionment of delegates to the proposed joint convention of thirteen for the Communist Labor Party and twenty-two for the Communist Party.

This decision is final, and our joint convention Committee is authorized to proceed with arrangements only if this is accepted by you. An immediate answer is requested.

Fraternally yours,

Executive Secretary.

April 7, 1920.

National Executive Committee, Communist Labor Party:

COMRADES.— You will find attached our proposal for the joint call for the convention as approved by our committee.

The statement of the various points is, I feel sure, in accordance with the agreement which we reached in our conferences. In regard to the point about which there was no definite agreement, that of representation, our committee has the following to say:

Our proposal to you was that we would grant you one-third of the delegates, or twelve out of the thirty-five, if the apportionment was to be made arbitrarily or that we would accept any month's sale of dues stamps which you might select as the basis for the apportionment. We much preferred the latter course because we believed, and still believe, that the arbitrary apportionment give you a much larger representation than you would be entitled to if dues stamps sales were the basis. However, since our committee agreed to the arbitrary division, we will stand behind it.

We have decided, in view of certain representations made to us by various units of our organization that the number of delegates was too small, to increase the size of the convention to fifty delegates, and agree to give you eighteen delegates, leaving thirty-two for our organization. In this we are conceding a little more than the one-third we offered and practically meeting the proportion of thirteen to twenty-two, which you proposed.

We make this concession in the hope that there will be no further haggling about the matter.

Our committee is under instructions to hold this proposal open for five days for your acceptance and in the absence of such acceptance to withdraw from all further negotiations.

Fraternally yours,

Executive Secretary, Communist Party.

P. S.— While not included in the joint call, it is understood by our committee that the provision in regard to co-operation during the period before the convention is agreed upon in the form stated in our original proposal.

Signature of other two members of our committee can be obtained later. I am sending proposal without these to expedite matters.

(Together with the above communication the C. P. sent the following form for a joint convention call.)

JOINT CALL FOR THE COMMUNIST CONVENTION

In harmony with the position of the Third International that all parties which agree upon the following fundamental principles should unite:

1. Class war of the workers without any compromise with bourgeois and social patriotic parties.
2. Mass action of the working masses as a means to conquer power.
3. Dictatorship of the proletariat.
4. Soviet constitution as the proper basis for proletarian democracy.

The Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party, through their respective executive committees, agree to unite the two parties in a joint convention, called upon the following basis:

1. The Communist Labor Party accepts as a basis for this joint call the Manifesto and Program of the Communist Party.

2. Both parties agree that the form of organization of the federations and their relations to the party shall be determined by the convention and neither group will on account of any decision of the convention on this question again split away from the united party.

3. The Convention is to consist of fifty delegates, of which the Communist Party is allotted thirty-two delegates and the Communist Labor Party eighteen delegates.

4. The convention is to be held as early as possible and not later than June 15th.

5. The method of electing delegates is to be by membership action and to be conducted secretly. The details to be as nearly alike, considering the organization facts as they exist in both parties.

6. The Joint Convention Committee shall have power to supervise the election and shall arrange all other details of the convention, subject to control by their respective executive committees.

7. It is understood that the purpose of the convention is not to negotiate about the question of unity but to adopt a Manifesto, Program and Constitution for the united party and to make decisions on such other questions as properly come before it.

April 9, 1920.

Central Executive Committee, Joint Convention Committee, Communist Party:

COMRADES.— The ultimatum which you issue, namely, that we accept your latest proposals within five days or you will discontinue all further negotiations, is entirely uncalled for and unprincipled in the circumstances.

You presume to dictate a new representation for the convention to us. You presume to dictate to us the form and wording of the joint call. All this was reserved specifically for the deliberations of the Joint Convention Committee as per previous agreement. We interpret your latest communication as not conducive to unity. It seems to breathe, not a spirit of unity but a passion for dictatorial control.

It is physically impossible for the National Executive Committee or the Joint Convention Committee of the Communist Labor Party to either give answer to or to accept your latest proposal within five days. Every member of both committees, except the undersigned, is in the field and the majority of them are more than a thousand miles from this city.

Might we recall to you the fact that you have consumed whatever time you needed in making answer to proposals in regard to unity sent you by us? You promised an answer Thursday, April 1st to our last proposal. Your answer arrived eight days later. In every instance you have taken the time you wanted and needed to discuss the steps toward unity among yourselves. Now you place a five-day limit, not upon an answer from us but upon our acceptance of your terms, your new representation basis.

The National Executive Committee and the Joint Convention Committee of the Communist Labor Party will hold a meeting to discuss your latest communication just as soon as the committeemen can be reached and transported.

Comradely yours,

Executive Secretary, Communist Labor Party.

At this point in the negotiations a split occurred in the Communist Party. As will be remembered, certain persons, more intent upon a career for themselves than upon the building of a strong communist movement, by controlling a language federation block, used the power so gained to split the left wing convention, to split the executive council of the left wing, all of which eventually led to a split in left wing ranks and the organization of two communist parties. These careerists controlled the organization convention of the Communist Party, refused unity at the time both the conventions of the C. P. and C. L. P. were in session, knowing full well that such unity would end their control. Immediately after the organization conventions of both communist parties, the membership of the C. P. began to make demands for unity with the C. L. P. These membership demands were ignored until about the first of the present year when they became the subject of controversy in the central executive committee of the C. P. Negotiations for unity were begun with the C. L. P. as above reported. Throughout the negotiations the aim of the

careerists was not to unite with the C. L. P., but to absorb it and to clear the field for unopposed control. As unity negotiations proceeded the careerists realized that the rank and file of the C. P. were tiring of their control. Fearing that a joint convention with the C. L. P. would result in a majority of delegates in opposition to their control, the careerists began a movement to depose those district officials which opposed the controllers. A meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the C. P. was held to which all district organizers and federation representatives were invited. There the question of deposing district organizers was debated for several days, with the result that the careerists, who had a majority upon the committee, maintained their right to depose subordinates, whereas the minority of the Central Executive Committee held that such action should not be taken before the convention, knowing full well that the majority contemplated this action in order to control the convention and so continue in control of the united party. As neither side would compromise, the minority withdrew from the meeting, taking with it most of the district organizers and federation representatives present.

Following this split in the Communist Party these letters were received by the national office of the C. L. P. The first is from the majority faction of the C. E. C. of the C. P. and the second from the minority faction.

April 20, 1920.

Executive Secretary, Communist Labor Party:

Dear Comrade.— This is to notify you of a change in our joint convention committee: it consists now of .....

We are very anxious to know what you have done in the matter, or when you expect to take action.

You can meet me at ..... and I would very much like to see you there as soon as you can come. I want to give you a new address for communicating with us also.

Fraternally yours,

Acting Secretary, Communist Party of America

April 22, 1920.

Executive Secretary, Communist Labor Party:

Dear Comrade.— Regarding the pending negotiations between the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party for a unity convention, it will be of interest to you to know that a division has taken place in our organization over a factional controversy and that at the present time the Executive Secretary, a minority of the Central Executive Committee, the Polish Federation, the South Slavic Federation, the Ukrainian Federation, the German Federation, the Esthonian Federation and the district organizers of Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and Boston no longer recognize the authority of the majority group of the Central Executive Committee.

In addition to the above the Jewish Federation has withdrawn from relations with the majority of the Central Executive Committee and assumed a position of neutrality in the factional struggle.

While from the above statement it might seem that the Russian, Lithuanian and Lettish Federations are supporting the majority of the C. E. C. of our organization, as well as the Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and New York district organizers, this is not the case and all the evidence goes to show that the larger part of the party will be united in our group. Negotiations are pending for the inclusion of both groups in the one convention.

It might be desirable that we discuss the situation personally. If you wish to do this I would be glad to make an appointment. I am leaving the city today but will return next Tuesday.

Fraternally yours,

Executive Secretary, Communist Party of America

To the above communication from the "minority" faction, the C. L. P. answered as follows:

April 26, 1920.

Dear Comrade.— The National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party has authorized its joint convention committee to act in all matters pertaining to the question of unity.

In answer to your communication of April 22, in which you inform us of the split in your party and in which you state that your group desires to negotiate for unity, we can only answer that our sub-committee stands ready to meet a like committee from your faction to begin negotiations.

Fraternally,

Executive Secretary, Communist Labor Party

Several meetings were held between representatives of the C. L. P. and representatives of the "minority" group as represented by ..... At these conferences agreement was reached not to negotiate with the "majority" group of the C. E. C. of the C. P., those who attempted to continue their control in opposition to rank and file desires. It was also agreed to hold a unity conference between the C. L. P. and the "minority" group and the following call and basis were agreed upon:

Call for a Unity Conference Between the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party

In harmony with the position of the Third International, that all parties which agree upon the following principles shall unite:

1. Class war of the workers without compromise with bourgeois and social patriotic parties.

2. Mass action of the working class as the means to conquer power.

3. Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

4. Soviet constitution as the proper basis of proletarian democracy —

The Cummunist Party and Communist Labor Party agree to meet in Unity Conference called for the purpose of uniting the two parties. The basis of this conference shall be:

1. The principles of communism as stated in the manifesto and program of the Communist Party are accepted as the basic principles upon which the two parties are in agreement.

2. Each party shall call a national convention which shall resolve themselves into a Unity Conference for the purpose of

discussing unity between the two parties. Until unity is agreed upon, the delegates of each party shall vote as separate units and decisions must be reached by agreement.

3. If, in such preliminary discussion, an agreement for uniting the two groups of delegates is reached, then the delegates from the two parties shall unite and proceed with the work of adopting a Manifesto, Program and Constitution and the election of officers for the united party.

4. In order to facilitate the work of the Unity Conference, a Joint Committee, consisting of three members from each party, shall meet one week before the conference to draft a Manifesto, Program and Constitution, to be submitted to the Unity Conference.

5. It is understood that each party assumes the obligation to meet the expense of its delegates.. Should the two parties unite into one convention, this obligation will be assumed by the united party.

6. Arrangements for the Unity Conference shall be made jointly by the Executive Secretary of the Communist Labor Party and the Executive Secretary of the Communist Party.

7. It is understood by both parties that the method of electing delegates is to be by membership action and is to be conducted secretly.

To Members of the C. L. P:

It is understood that it will take some time before the Unity Conference can be held. Delegates must be elected by each party and this in itself will consume weeks. In the interim between now and the Unity Conference we call upon all members to actively prosecute the work of the party and to show no laxity in duties. The stronger the C. L. P. is now built, the stronger the united party should unity ensue. The stronger the C. L. P. is now built, the better the chances for a united party as a result of the Unity Conference.

On Saturday, June 12, 1920, "The Communist" appeared as the official organ of the United Communist Party of America. This issue is a special convention number and contains detailed reports of the proceedings which resulted in the uniting of a majority of the members of the Communist Party and the Com-

munist Labor Party. To quote from the report given in this paper — "The program of the Party declares that the final struggle between the workers and the capitalists, between exploited and exploiter, will take the form of civil war, and that it is the function of the United Communist Party systematically to familiarize the working class with the necessity of armed insurrection as the only means through which the capitalist government and the capitalist system can be overthrown."

In view of this pronouncement, it is interesting to recall that the Department of Labor of the United States had recently declared the Communist Labor Party "legal." The importance of this convention justifies a reproduction here of the report of what transpired as set forth in "The Communist," June 12, 1920. We find on page 3 the following:

> "Sometime recently, somewhere between the Atlantic and Pacific, between the Gulf and the Great Lakes, two groups of elected delegates assembled as the Unity Conference of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party. Of the former, 32; of the latter, 25, and one fraternal delegate; also a representative of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. These 59 delegates came together from all parts of the United States, held sessions for seven days, debated every issue with absolute thoroughness, laid out the plan of work for the United Communist Party; — all under the most perfect circumstances conceivable for such a convention.
>
> "One who holds in his hand the scroll upon which is inscribed the record of this mysterious gathering is amazed, for one thing, at the roll of delegates. Communist Party and Communist Labor Party — but all these strange names? Not one of the 1919 Communists present? Search the roll again — not one familiar name. Remarkable achievement of the Lusk-Palmer Inquisition — not one of the 1919 Communists in the list!"

(Note.— It should be noted that all of the names appearing in this article are fictitious, the convention being carried on clandestinely.)

"In spite of the fact that these delegates came together on a call for a "Unity Conference," in spite of all realization of the fearful blow it would be to the Communist movement in this country if unity were not at once achieved, it was not until noon of the seventh day that this issue was decided conclusively.

"Neither side was fully conscious of the undercurrent of sentiment on the other side. Factional controversies of nearly a year's standing surcharged the atmosphere with suspicion — suspicion not only across the lines but within each camp. None of the delegates were willing to surrender their reservations until after a long series of debates, some of little intrinsic importance, many on basic questions of Communist understanding and practice — questions which had never before been really faced in United States.

"One delegate hit upon the most salient truth about this convention in the remark that, in contrast to any other convention in which he had taken part either in Europe or America, this convention had met squarely every essential issue and debated it fully to its ultimate solution.

"There were three separate advance sessions of the two parties. To each of these conventions was presented the tentative draft of a Program and Constitution previously prepared by a Joint Committee: Damon, Caxton and Fisher, C. P., and Brown, Klein and Dubner, C. L. P.

"During the second of these sessions, a message came to the C. P. convention that the C. L. P. convention had accepted the agreements of the Joint Committee as a basis for unity, reserving all amendments for joint discussion.

"At this moment the C. P. convention had under consideration a substitute Manifesto, Program and Constitution presented by Ford for the New York District delegation. The debate quickly centered on the declaration as to "mass action," it being conceded that the Joint Committee Program was more acceptable as an entirety. The main contention was that the Joint Committee had not used direct and unequivocal language as to force. It was answered that the criticism was only of words; that there could not possibly be any doubt but that the Program pointed clearly to armed revolt as the ultimate and inevitable form of "mass action."

"Personal suspicion stimulated this argument. The outside group of the C. P.—the majority members of the Central Executive Committee—had manufactured the issue of force as a dominant item in the C. P. split. There had never been such a factional issue. But the Eastern delegates particularly were determined to make certain that there would be nothing about the handling of this subject which might leave a loophole for the C. P. opposition.

"Agreement was reached for the revision of the Program in a number of particulars, the C. P. delegates to support these amendments as a unit. The C. P. convention further bound its members on the issue of federations; also, to retain the C. P. name and emblem."

"The first joint session opened with a spirited dispute as to election of committees. Some of the C. P. delegates insisted upon discussion of the Program as the first order of business. They said that they were not ready to commit themselves as to joint proceedings until the Program was disposed of. This brought forth angry protest; it served as a challenge to the group unity of the C. L. P. It was urged that unity had been achieved by coming together on the basis of the Joint Committee Program and Constitution; that every provision was open to amendment by the convention; that there might be a new division on the issues to come up, but that the old party division was gone.

"A bolt of nine or ten of the C. P. delegates was started. Klein (C. L. P.) reintroduced the motion to proceed with the discussion of the Program. Peace was restored.

"The opening debates were sparring matches, with a strong undercurrent of nervousness. Threescore persons, engaged in a criminal conspiracy, spent two hours to decide whether capitalism breaks down in that it fails to "produce" the needs of life, or whether the collapse is due to the failure to "provide." After considerable uncertainty the argument pervailed that capitalism, in spite of all its equipment, stultifies production; the wheels of industry turn only at the call of profit, regardless of all capabilities for production; crisis or no crisis, capitalism has never functioned to "provide" the needs of the masses . . .

In the playfulness of this debate was expressed relaxation and the forestalling of another premature clash. This was the safe way of "getting acquainted" — the suppressed form of the struggle for unity.

Restrained resentment and suspicion broke loose into a furious storm during the next session. At the first statement in the Program concerning the overthrow of the capitalist system it was insisted that the word "forcible" be added. Likewise, at the first mention of "conquest of political power" it was demanded that there be added "by the use of armed force." One amendment was piled upon another — a veritable "force" panic.

In vain was it argued that this part of the Program contained only preliminary definitions, statements of the goal to be achieved; that the Program, under appropriate subdivisions, gave full attention to the methods of action; that the item of armed force does not stand by itself, but is the inevitable culminating aspect of "mass action;" that this tactic must be presented in its developmental character — armed uprising as the unavoidable sequence of the advancing class conflict.

The C. L. P. delegates, for the most part, were ready for a test of strength against the C. P. "irreconcilables." They were conscious that this minority would have to accept defeat, since the point to be voted was only on what page something should be stated in the Program. Others sensed too much danger of misunderstanding behind such a vote, too much anger where agreement could easily be reached. Caxton moved to recommit this part of the Program, then to adjourn. There were some protests, but the motion prevailed. Meanwhile the tension was relaxed by the brilliant satirical speech of Sherwood, whose Yankee wit was the perfect antidote for passionate argument on an artificially stimulated issue.

The C. P. night caucus which followed, the amendments proposed by the Joint Committee, and a decision to dispose first of the section on "Mass Action," gave the convention smooth sailing the next morning.

A spirited debate ensued on the proposition to limit nominations to legislative officers, according to the clause of the C. P. program. The issue was not clear-cut, since the anti-parliamentarians took the side of limiting nominations as one way of expressing opposition to all nominations. Brown (C. L. P.) and some of the C. P. speakers argued directly against nominations of any kind. Damon (C. P.) contended that this clause was needed to discourage petty nominations by local units of the party, Raphailoff (C. L. P.), Caxton (C. P.), Malcolm (C. L. P.) and others pointed out that the general proposition of parliamentary action was not involved in this debate; that to the extent we were to have any nominations at all it was indispensable, under the American system, to name the "head of the ticket," the president, governor or mayor; that this clause had been written into the C. P. program under the misconception that this was the proper method of meeting the "ministerial question," the fact being that the Socialist ministers in Europe had all been elected as legislative candidates; that in this country the Socialists whether elected to legislative or executive offices had all behaved equally badly; that, finally, it was no occasion to worry about the actions of a Communist president, because the revolution would forestall this contingency, and that minor executive officers could serve just as well to be thrown out of office as the Communists elected to the legislatures.

By a close vote the paragraph was retained, but the limitation is of no immediate practical moment since the convention further went on record against all nominations during the 1920 campaigns.

On the third day occurred the longest and most stubborn debate of the convention, that on industrial unionism. This was another three-cornered affair. The C. P. convention had passed up the question of the I. W. W. because it was apparent that this question could not be settled by agreement. Perhaps two-thirds of the C. P. delegates favored a direct endorsement of the I. W. W. and a program of co-operation, reserving criticism of the I. W. W. theorizing. The other C. P. delegates considered the I. W. W. as essentially no

better than the A. F. of L., citing the reactionary character of the I. W. W. in some of the Eastern cities. All of the C. P. delegates were agreed upon an absolute stand against the A. F. of L. as an inherently anti-revolutionary organization which must be destroyed.

On the other hand, there was a strong current in the C. L. P. ranks for a treatment of the subject of industrial unionism from a general viewpoint which would neither include direct endorsement of the I. W. W. nor absolute condemnation of the A. F. of L. The lead in this debate was taken by Dawson who argued that the A. F. of L. must be considered from the angle of the local unions, not from the side of the Gompers officialdom; that industrial unionism was having a development in many fields aside from the I. W. W.; that the need was for a call to a new general industrial union, a new One Big Union.

On both sides there was not only a close analysis of the proper function of a Communist party in connection with the unions, but also a wealth of illustrative material out of actual shop and union experience. Machinists, miners and ship-builders fused their practical understanding with the more abstract conceptions of those whose vision was focused on the ultimate revolutionary clash. The cleavage was not between "intellectuals" and "rank and file," but between workers in the industries who had undergone contrasting forms of experience.

The original Joint Committee proposal on this subject had been taken over from a draft by the Chicago District Committee. Dozens of amendments and substitutes were brought before the convention, but finally the section was adopted as originally presented. As a result of the debate, however, the Committee opened the subject for reconsideration the next day, presenting two amendments which were accepted. In the sentence, "A Communist who belongs to the A. F. of L., on account of absolute job necessity, should seize every opportunity to voice his hostility to this organization, not to reform it but to destroy it," there was eliminated the phrase "on account of absolute job necessity." The sentence, "A stronger I. W. W. must be built," was stricken out.

The unity issue flared up again on the question of party name. On the first vote there was 22 counted for "Communist Party," 24 against. A roll call was demanded; the C. P. names were read first; 30 votes were recorded for "Communist Party."

The C. L. P. delegates resented what they considered a coercive vote without any chance for discussion. An indignation speech was made by Flynn which proved the moral power of effective minority criticism — with the opening of the next session came a ballot vote on "United Communist Party" or "Communist Party" with "united" written underneath. The vote was 33 to 22 for "United Communist Party."

This appeared to be the real achievement of unity, the breakdown of the old party lines . . . But there were still the elections.

Two important debates came under the consideration of the Constitution, one on party centralization, the other on federations.

In the first instance the issue of centralization came up on the amendment making the C. E. C. appointment and removal of organizers subject to the approval of the district executive committees. On the one side it was argued that this meant the substitution of autonomous districts for autonomous federations, a central executive shorn of real authority and real capability of action; that democracy was not to be obtained by decentralization but only by some effective means for control of the central authority; that district committees would lend themselves more easily to factional manipulation than the central committee elected in a national convention by delegates well known to the members. It was urged that an underground party must have the possibility of instant decision and action by a small committee; it must act as a single machine, else it can never strike a decisive blow.

Lack of confidence in officials was the central theme of the contrary argument. The party affairs, it was urged, must be brought nearer to the control of the rank and file. The central committees had been the breeding place of factional

controversies. It was not asking much to give the district committees a veto in the choice of the organizers upon whom their work depended.

Upon the first vote the amendment was declared adopted. It then appeared that some of the delegates had misconceived the proposition to be one of appointing all organizers "from the top downward," that is, sub-district, section, branch and group organizers as well as the district organizers. A motion to reconsider was made and declared lost. Then followed a keen parliamentary battle, led by Damon, which finally resulted — after three roll calls — in a reversal of the original vote, 34 to 20.

On the federation question the Joint Committee had come to no agreement. In curious contrast to the history of last Summer, it was the C. L. P. committee members who were loath to take a rigorous stand against federations. At the convention the C. L. P. delegates took no group stand on this question. Two plans were presented, one for the C. P. delegates by Damon, the other by Dubner and Raphailoff for the federation members of the C. L. P. The debate was largely between the federation delegates on both sides. The principal controversy was as to the existence of national executive committees for the language groups, this proposal being decisively voted down.

Late in the afternoon of the fourth day of the joint sessions it was decided to proceed with elections of party officials. There had been many hours of caucusing on each side as to elections. Regardless of the sentiment of the convention expressed by a majority vote against further caucuses, neither side was willing to risk a surrender of its group strength.

A motion was made by Spark (C. P.) that the C. E. C. be composed of the five C. P. delegates and four C. L. P. delegates receiving the highest votes, without contest as between the C. P. and C. L. P. candidates. The motion was not supported.

Brown and Caxton were the nominees for International Secretary. Brown 30, Caxton 23.

With two to elect, there were four nominees for International Delegate. The vote stood Damon 30, Meyer (C. L. P.) 28, Caxton 26, Barry (C. L. P.) 26 . . . The lines were not holding; four C. P. votes had been divided between Meyer and Barry.

Then came ten nominations for the nine places on the C. E. C. Damon, Scott, Reinhart, Delion, Zemlin (C. P.); Meyer, Klein, Flynn, Brown, Dawson (C. L. P.). These were the caucus nominations. Obviously the C. L. P. caucus had determined to avail itself of the dissensions in the C. P. ranks and to attempt to elect a majority of the committee.

At the night session was announced the result of the balloting; Damon, Scott, Klein, Flynn, 29; Brown, 33; Dawson, 32; Meyer, 30; Reinhart, 26; Delion, Zemlin, tied at 24.

Damon, Scott and Reinhart quickly offered their resignations. A bitter discussion was precipitated. Both sides had played for "control" and the result had been a boomerang; for how, it was urged, could the C. P. delegates report back to their members that they had been outwitted in strategy in a way to give the minority control of the united party? Even though the fault was that of the C. P. delegates themselves, how could that remedy the outside situation?

The C. L. P. speakers vehemently answered that what was done was the result of the will of the convention; that it was outrageous for members to resign from the C. E. C. simply because they felt they could not boss the committee and the party; that, after all, this outcome of the elections would be the best proof to the members that the old party lines had been forgotten.

A motion for a recess of half an hour was adopted. Then began the tug of war which went into the middle of the night, only to be resumed the next morning — the two groups, apparently completely welded, now standing sharply apart as C. P. and C. L. P. The convention vanished; in its place were two caucuses, with committees for interchange of offers and counter-proposals.

The strained item in the C. P. camp had been an attack upon Caxton, based on the "majority" C. P. criticisms. In the C. P. caucus, after long discussion, he had been nominated

for the C. E. C., 18 to 9. Later Caxton withdrew his name. Now it was insisted that his name be reintroduced, making Zemlin first alternate. The C. L. P. offered to substitute Caxton for Brown as International Secretary.

The last morning found the situation deadlocked. To open the convention again meant to give the C. P. the advantage of the renewed caucus pressure in favor of solidarity for C. P. control, all questions of personality aside. The issue of control having been precipitated by the turn of the elections, the C. P. delegates were in no mood to give up their demand for a majority of the C. E. C.

The C. P. delegates made only one demand, to reopen the convention. It was for the other side to make the next move.

There is nothing in the official record which suggests under what sort of surroundings all these things happened. As a matter of fact the physical surroundings had a very important part in the struggle for unity; — which is not at all illuminating to the reader who is asked to wait a few years for a description of these surroundings.

Besides, how is one to visualize one group of delegates in heated argument, while the other group is engaged in the singing of revolutionary songs, mostly Russian, — how is one to imagine all this without something in the way of spacial dimensions? The singing group marches halfway toward the arguing group — a challenge to unity, the song of the Internationale — and reluctantly marches back to its own meeting place.

There is a committee conference. Before the report comes back the lines are formed for a new march, this time to go all the way. Agreement is reported: a C. E. C. of ten members, the five C. L. P. candidates to stand elected, five C. P. members now to be chosen. The march proceeds; it is the only report to the anxious C. L. P. delegates; — the two groups merge into one another, all singing the Internationale. There is the grasping of hands, the embrace of comradeship; nothing is said — there is too much feeling for speech... Unity is achieved...

Recapitulating, the C. E. C. stands: Damon, Scott, Reinhart, Delion, Caxton, Brown, Dawson, Klein, Flynn, Meyer. Alternates, in the following order, Zemlin (C. P.) Dubner (C. L. P.), Stone (C. P.), Jones (C. L. P.), Kerker (C. P.), Hill (C. L. P.), Ford (C. P.), Malcolm (C. L. P.), Kazbeck (C. P.), Logan (C. L. P.).

For Internationale Secretary, Caxton replaces Brown; Damon and Meyer stand as Internationale Delegates; Scott, alternate for Damon, Barry, alternate for Meyer.

An American convention of Communists. Yet there was, more likely than not, a majority of "foreigners," though the division was fairly even. But these were Communists who were vitally concerned about the class struggle in America, men and women who really expected to take part in this struggle; not those who toyed with the Communist movement here as a method of ingratiating themselves in Moscow.

It was one of the most inspiring things about this convention to hear delegates painfully struggling with the English language, no longer depending for expression on the artificial foreign-language caucuses of prior conventions, but making themselves one with all the other delegates in defiance of barriers of language or nationality.

Perhaps this was the greater "unity" achievement of this convention...

Again and again the sentence was heard: "We have crossed the Rubicon." Every delegate was in the hands of his fellows; all subject to imprisonment, deportation, social and economic displacement. Yet most of the time, — not without thanks to the irrepressible wit of the convention secretary, Smyth, — the whole affair seemed like a jollification. Or perhaps it was the grim seriousness of it all that challenged relief in playfulness?...

A revolutionary movement driven "underground" is apt to be driven away at the same time from its own petty animosities and quibbles. Forced to face the life and death

character of the combat, it is likely to discard pretenses, evasions, purposeless quarrels about persons. Confusion gives way to clarity; hesitation yields to stern determination.

A convention of revolutionists — a convention which relentlessly searched the truth of its every word and the heart of its every delegate...

The following program was adopted as a statement of principles of the United Communist Party.

PROGRAM OF THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY

"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended either in the revolutionary reconstitution of society, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other, bourgeoisie and proletariat."

Communist Manifesto of 1847.

During the three-quarters of a century since these historic words were written, the class antagonisms in capitalist society have sharpened and intensified to the point that brings us face to face with the alternative of "a revolutionary reconstitution of society" or "the common ruin of the contending classes."

I

The Collapse of Capitalism

Capitalism today faces complete collapse. The world war, which made a shambles of civilization, provided the utter incapacity of capitalism longer promote the progress of society,

The oppressions of capitalism, intensified by the war and its aftermath of misery, have swept the working class into a revolutionary struggle for the new social order — the order of Communism — which alone can save humanity.

Civil war between the classes now holds the world in its grip. On the one side the League of Nations rallies the forces of capitalism for a last desperate stand; on the other side the Communist International calls the workers of the world to battle for the workers' rule which will save civilization.

In a large part of Europe capitalist economy is no longer able to function so as to produce even the bare necessities of life. Millions are starving; semi-starvation has long been the normal lot of the working masses of Europe and Asia. Even in the United States, with all the fabulous wealth of capitalism, government statistics show that in the year 1920 more than half the workers' families are undernourished, millions to the point of slow starvation.

Central Europe is still the chaos which the imperialistic war made it. Capitalism, due to its own contradictions, has been unable to rebuild the machinery of production. In Germany, Hungary, Austria, Poland, Lithuania; in the Baltic and Balkan countries; in Italy, France, England, Spain; in Egypt and the small nations of Asia Minor; in East India, China and Japan; — in every part of the world the working class arrays itself more aggressively and decisively against the capitalist rule of society. In the United States the machinery of production and distribution is disarranged and choked by widespread strikes in the basic industries, strikes compelled by the need for the bare necessities of life.

This breakdown has resulted not from mysterious, unforeseen causes, but from forces innate in the capitalist system, forces accurately charted by the Communist pioneers of three-quarters of a century ago.

Capitalist Exploitation

The essence of the capitalist system is the ownership and control of the materials and tools of production and distribution by a small class whose legal title to the lands, forests, mines, railroads, quarries, mills, factories, and other industrial and commercial utilities and plants, gives them control over the lives of the working masses. The workers subsist in a new form of slavery, wherein labor power is paid for by wages, and the bare chance to live depends upon employment by some capitalist master.

Employment depends upon the production by the worker of a margin of value over and above what he receives for his labor power. The capitalist master has no liability on account of the wage-worker, except that of payment for labor-power on a time or piece basis.

In its earlier stages, capitalism presents itself as a large number of small manufacturers and traders in competition. Through this competition comes more efficient production, by improvements of machinery and methods. The successful competitor displaces his rivals, enlarges his plant, increases at the same time his output and investment; decreases the number of workers needed to turn out a given amount of product. As machinery develops in cost and size, requiring constantly larger outlay and larger plant, production becomes centered in fewer large-scale establishments.

This process, hastened by the piratical methods of competition made familiar by the history of our trusts, brings us to the stage of monopoly, concentration of ownership and control of the economic resources of the nation in the hands of a few individuals or corporations. This means even more arbitrary control of the lives of the working masses by a decreasing capitalist class. It means artificial manipulation of production for maximum returns on investment, that is, the attempt to limit production so as to maintain the desired level of prices. Not only lessened production and higher prices result from the very progress of capitalism — by the innate character of the system — but also constantly recurring periods of interrupted production with hundreds of thousands of workers thrown out of their only means of livelihood, the blind, servile victims of a system which responds to but one impulse — profit.

Meanwhile, along with the creation of the army of the unemployed, there is a vast accumulation of surplus, since every item of production is accompanied by the taking of unpaid-for service. Under developed capitalism this surplus increases so rapidly that what is used up in the most lavish and princely indulgence in luxuries makes no impression. In the United States, it has been calculated, this surplus exceeds 30 billions annually.

This surplus cannot go back into the same industries without rapidly increasing the output, compelling lower prices

and lower rates of profit. It becomes capital seeking new avenues of investment. Investments are centered in the finance institutions, which are joined with the monopolistic enterprises — in the banks, trust companies, brokerage and mortgage houses, endowments, foundations, etc. These institutions are controlled largely by the same persons who own and control the basic industries; also the finance establishments themselves have become highly centralized. This tremendous concentration of economic power leads inevitably to the more open political dictatorship of the capitalist class. Political control serves, in the first instance, the immediate business objects, domestic and foreign. Fundamentally, this control is needed for the intrenchment of class privilege. A powerful, highly militarized central government is built up to ward off working class revolt against this gigantic system of exploitation.

Imperialism

The production of tremendous amounts of new capital, with monopolization of the most important investment opportunities in the home country, compels an intense international competition for investments in undeveloped countries. In part, loans are made, and these serve as payment for our exports. Also new industries are established in these backward territories. Railroads are built, sometimes with very little regard for the actual needs of the territory. In general, the export to undeveloped countries tends to become more an export of steel and machinery for the setting up of new industrial enterprises; and there is a quick transformation of the natives, sometimes little removed from savagery, to the "civilized" status of wage-slavery.

As a guarantee for these loans and investments goes control over the governments of the exploited territories. Sometimes this is secured by a direct conquest, but since this imposes the difficult burdens of foreign rule the preferred method is to obtain the real control while maintaining a nominally independent native despotism, or even a sham democracy. China, East India, Turkey, Morocco, Algiers, Tripoli, Persia, Tunis, Egypt, Abyssinia, South and Central Africa, Korea, Madagascar, The Philippines, Haiti, San

Domingo, Costa Rica, Mexico, Ireland — all these tell the same story, with inessential variation in the forms of imperialistic exploitation.

In the competition between the national groups of capitalists the governments act as agents of the capitalists. Diplomacy is used — bluff and threats — until the pressure of conflicting economic interests compels war. First the government acts as agent in making the foreign loans, as in the case of the six-power loans to China; or the government bargains directly for investment concessions. Later the government steps in to enforce the interest and profit obligations by might of arms. The flag follows the dollar; the army and navy follow the flag. As in the case of Mexico, where our government intervened to dictate the rates of taxation on oil lands held by American, English and German capitalists. It is this partnership between investment capital and governments which has come to be known as finance-imperialism. It is the epoch of finance-imperialism, with its unbearable oppressions of militarism and incalculable destructiveness of life and waste of productive energies, which compels the workers to organize themselves for the overthrow of the whole capitalist system.

Capitalist-imperialism, particularly in the rivalries for the trade routes to the Orient, threw tens of millions of workers at each others' throats upon the battlefields of Europe. It was American capitalistic interests which brought this country into the world war, at a cost of 100,000 dead and twice as many maimed. Capitalist-imperialism let loose the forces of destruction which are condemning tens of millions to starvation and which threaten to engulf the whole world in the mire in which Europe is desperately struggling.

The War and Revolution

During four years of war the capitalist nations engaged in the greatest orgy of destruction which humanity has ever known. The entire energy of the nations was directed to producing the implements and ammunition which were poured out in an incessant stream upon the battlefields. Hundreds of billions of dollars worth of wealth were produced for instant destruction; the direct expenditures alone have been calcu-

lated at $370,000,000,000. An equal amount is represented in property destruction, loss of production, interruption to trade, etc. The United States alone, in less than two years, paid out over 32 billions. Such sums are beyond the grasp of the mind.

Instead of being paid for by the capitalists, the war costs were largely met by government promises to pay in the future — by war bonds which are mortgages upon the future production of the world. Investment in something that has been destroyed, yet the interest must be paid — so it is planned — for hundreds of years, out of the labor of the masses. War profits of fabulous proportions were immortalized in bonds, while the burden of payment was passed as a heritage to rest on the backs of the toilers for indefinite centuries.

Finally the financial structure of capitalism has come to the breaking point and threatens to bring down with it the whole capitalist system. It is this inflation — multiplication of the evidences of value at the same time that the actual values are destroyed, — which is undermining the whole organization of capitalist exchange and production. High prices are the reflection of inflation. As money decreases in value the working masses are thrown into a far more bitter struggle for the chance to live like human beings.

In those countries where the breakdown has been most complete, where the masses have been goaded to final desperation, where the political structure based on capitalism can no longer function to meet the demands of the national life, there has been revolution or there is revolution in process. First came Russia, with by far the greatest toll of deaths in the war, with its ruthless autocratic despotism. Revolution against czarism, under extreme economic pressure, quickly became revolution against capitalism, the Bolsheviki taking the lead to arouse the masses to consciousness of power and to realization of the need for the Communist reconstruction of society.

Then came revolution in Germany, the overthrow of the Kaiser regime. But now the war was suddenly brought to a close, and capitalism in Germany intrenched itself behind the traitor Socialists of Germany, using the threats of Allied intervention to hold back the proletarian masses. Never-

theless, under the inspirational leadership of Karl Liebknecht, the revolution against capitalism broke out in Germany — only to be drowned in the blood of martyrdom. Traitor Socialists and junker militarists made common cause against the workers' revolution. Again and again the working masses of Germany have shown their revolutionary courage and vigor, but betrayal and the ominous shadow of intervention have checked their progress. But there can be no other solution.

In Hungary there was not even the possibility of effective resistance on the part of the privileged classes against the Communist demand for all power to the workers. Only by Allied intervention, accompanied by untold savageries, was the workers' revolution crushed in Hungary. But for how long?

Italy is on the verge of the Communist revolution. The national debt of Italy exceeds the national wealth. The capitalist political parties are unable to solve the economic problems of Italy. More and more the workers and peasants are turning to the Italian Socialist Party (a section of the Communist International) — to the program of soviet rule under a working class dictatorship, committed to the Communist transformation of the economic life.

No capitalist government feels itself entirely secure against the revolutionary impulse and power of the working masses. The united military power of world capitalism is hurled against Russia, the symbol of the world proletarian revolution. But the Red Guard of workers and peasants fights with unconquerable zeal against enemies from all sides — not alone for Russia but for world Communism.

The United States government has financed and armed one expedition and another — has supplied its own soldiery — for intervention against the revolutionary workers of Europe. At home the government has turned its might against the bare idea of the onsweeping proletarian revolution. Thousands have been arrested, on deportation and felony charges, who have dared to express the aspirations of the masses; particularly the Communists, who hold forth the program of the destruction of capitalism.

By one form of treaty and another, made by private negotiation, the government of the United States makes com-

mon cause with the Imperialists of the world for the last stand of destructive capitalism against the revolutionary toiling masses.

League of Nations vs. Communist International

The League of Nations was created to save world capitalism from inner forces of destruction and from its open enemy, the revolutionary proletariat. It has been a broken instrument from the start, because of the inevitable antagonisms between the national groups of capitalists. Besides, the breakdown of capitalism has gone too far for the easy establishment of a new equilibrium. The world war has not ended; it has only transformed itself into the international civil war of the classes. The League of Nations cannot secure peace; nor can it rally its peoples into a great offensive against the revolutionary workers of Europe. It must depend on semi-barbarian mercenaries. The class consciousness of the workers of every advanced nation undermines the military organizations upon which imperialistic exploitation finally depends.

The Communist International came into being during the first week of March, 1919. It calls the workers of the world to the defense of the accomplished proletarian revolution in Russia and for its extension into every other country.

In the working masses inheres the power of the Communist International — a power which is brought to consciousness and action by the pressure which robs life of all its values, by unending wars, starvation, repression.

The Communist International unites all the conscious revolutionary forces — it issues the call for the final struggle against capitalism.

To this call the United Communist Party of America answers. It joins itself with the parties, organizations and groups in all countries which rally for the overthrow of world Capitalism and for the reconstruction of society on the basis of Communism.

The Communist International calls!
Workers of the world, unite!

II

The Class Struggle

The conflict that is rending capitalist society is a class struggle. It is a struggle between exploiter and exploited, between oppressor and oppressed. The basic facts of the present economic system place capitalist and worker in opposition to one another, in constant conflict over wages, hours and working conditions.

The overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Communist society is the historic mission of the working class. The United States Communist Party is the conscious expression of the class struggle of the workers against capitalism.

Imperialism sharpens the class antagonisms within the capitalist system and intensifies the class struggle. The small capitalists are forced to accept the domination of finance-capital. In a measure, they are allowed to participate in the fabulous profits of imperialism. The middle class invests in monopolistic enterprises; its income depends upon the adventures of finance-capital; its members secure positions of management in the industries. Through various bribes the middle class becomes the defender of imperialistic capitalism. Also the "aristocracy of labor" aligns itself with the capitalist class, in exchange for concessions to its reactionary craft unionism. To this group there is the semi-privileged inducement of wages and hours above the general labor standards.

The division is between those who profit from the capitalist system, directly or indirectly, and the proletariat — the mass of workers largely unskilled and semi-skilled — which can emancipate itself from exploitation and oppression only through the overthrow of the entire capitalist system.

The Nature of the State

In every historical epoch the existing government — the state — has been the organ of coercion used by the ruling class to keep the exploited class in subjection. The state is the expression of the organized power of the dominant class.

In capitalist society the state is sometimes democratic in appearance. The workers are permitted to take part in elections and seemingly the government is the expression of "the will of the people." The capitalist government is none the less a class government, the organ of the capitalists for the coercion of the workers.

So long as the capitalists control the power of the newspapers, the pulpit, the politicians, the schools and colleges; so long as millions of workers are disfranchised through racial and residential qualifications and naturalization laws, the capitalists can well afford to allow the workers the empty privilege of periodically voting to confirm their rule.

As the class struggle develops more bitter antagonisms the state arrays itself openly on the side of the capitalists. In every strike the state power is used to coerce the workers. The steel strike and miners' strike furnished conspicuous examples of this use of governmental power.

In the control of the state power lies the strength of the capitalist class. This control places at its command the military and police power for the protection of its class interests. While this power remains in the hands of the capitalists the working class cannot achieve its emancipation.

Election Campaigns

The United Communist Party participates in election campaigns and parliamentary action only for the purpose of revolutionary propaganda. Nominations for public office and participation in elections are limited to legislative bodies, such as the national congress, state legislatures and city councils.

The United Communist Party will make use at appropriate times of the policy of boycotting the elections, especially when the elections would be a diversion from the mass action of the workers.

Moderate Socialism, such as that of the Socialist Party, proposes to secure control of the capitalist state through electing a majority of the legislative and constitution-making bodies, to use the position thus achieved to transform capitalism. It proposes to capture political power by strict adherence to exactly those constitutional methods which capitalist representatives have astutely selected to make their government immune from fundamental change through the popular suffrage.

The expulsion of the Socialist Assemblymen at Albany, the expulsion of the Socialist Councilmen in Cleveland during the war, indicate how summarily the capitalists get rid of elected officials who even in the least degree challenge the capitalist dictatorship.

When Moderate Socialism assumes the apparent control of the state power it uses this power not to transform but to protect capitalism, as did the Kerensky regime in Russia and the Ebert-Scheidemann-Noske government in Germany; that is, the condition upon which the Moderate Socialists are allowed to hold the political power without armed resistance by the capitalist class is that they shall betray the working class struggle for emancipation.

The United Communist Party participates in the election campaigns and in the legislative debates only to avail itself of these propaganda opportunities to expose the sham of capitalist democracy. It will not, however, be always and everywhere the policy of the party to nominate candidates, even though not prevented by legal persecution. When the revolutionary crisis shattered the mass illusions as to capitalist democracy, it becomes unnecessary for the Communists to direct their agitation to the destruction of these illusions. The events of 1919 and 1920 have gone far toward enlightening the American workers as to the real nature of capitalist democracy.

But when the workers win one or more battles of revolutionary potentiality the doors of the legislative halls are likely to be thrown wide open to the Socialist and Laborite betrayers of the workers' struggle. Then the "yellow" spokesmen of Labor will become invaluable to the capitalist class as the most useful agents to bring to life again the illusions of parliamentary democracy. At such a time the consciously revolutionary workers will send to the legislatures and to Congress the Communist spokesmen to expose this deception and to keep to the front the slogan: Down with the parliamentary sham of capitalism; Hail to the soviets and real working class democracy!

Communist representatives will not introduce nor support reform measures. They will make clear that such measures are of no fundamental significance to the working class; that they are only the recognition by the capitalist representatives that there are "efficiency" limits to the using up of the health and lives of the working men, women and children. At best they are belated parliamentary acknowledgments of defensive gains won by the workers in their industrial struggles. Indeed, all concessions by the government to the work-

ing class reflect the strength of the workers in their distinct class organization.

The United Communist Party will maintain the uncompromising class struggle under all circumstances and refuse to co-operate with groups or parties not committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as the Labor Party, Socialist Party, Socialist Labor Party, Non-Partisan League, Municipal Ownership Leagues, and the like.

Industrial Unionism

Industrial unionism is potentially a factor in the action for the conquest of power, and it will constitute a basis for industrial administration of the co-operative commonwealth. The United Communist Party therefore propagandizes industrial unionism as against craft unionism of the A. F. of L. type.

Craft unionism has become the bulwark of capitalism in this country. In every recent struggle of moment the workers have been betrayed by the reactionary officials of the American Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods. The officials of the latter organization even went so far as to call upon the government to use the courts against the workers engaged in what they chose to call "outlaw" strikes. The tactics of the trade union leaders are those of dickering with the capitalists and their governmental representatives to secure privileged positions for their trade groups, at the expense of the mass of workers.

The concentration of industry rapidly enlarges the new class of industrial workers, the unskilled laborers and semi-skilled machine tenders. It is among these workers particularly that there has developed the new form, industrial unionism — and the new method of struggle, mass strikes of all the workers in the industry. The common level of labor and wages and the common interest of workers by the millions bring class solidarity in opposition to craft disunity.

The United Communist Party rejects the conception, as advocated by the I. W. W., that industrial unionism is of itself the means through which industry can be transferred from the capitalists to the workers. The proletarian revolution cannot be achieved by direct seizure of industry by the workers, without the workers first having conquered the

power of the state and established themselves as the government. While pointing out that industrial unionism cannot transform society, the United Communist Party recognizes that industrial unionism is a revolt against the existing trade unionism and offers more efficient methods of struggle.

The Socialist Party policy of "boring from within" the A. F. of L. is vicious in that it is only an indirect and hypocritical method of supporting an inherently reactionary labor organization. A Communist who belongs to the A. F. of L. should seize every opportunity to voice his hostility to this organization, not to reform it but to destroy it. The struggle against the A. F. of L. must not be purely negative. The I. W. W. is the obvious medium for giving the advocacy of industrial unionism affirmative character. The I. W. W. must be upheld as against the A. F. of L. At the same time the work of Communist education must be carried on within the I. W. W.

Mass Action

It is through revolutionary mass action of the working class that the power of the capitalist state will be destroyed and the proletarian government established.

At an advanced stage of the class struggle the capitalists realize the futility of other means and resort to widespread use of the armed power of the state. The capitalist government then functions openly as a military dictatorship. The working class must then answer force with force.

The class struggle, which so long appeared in forms unrecognizable to the millions of workers actively engaged in it, develops into open combat, civil war. The United Communist Party will systematically and persistently familiarize the working class with the inevitability of armed force in the proletarian revolution. The working class must be prepared for armed insurrection as the final form of mass action by which the workers shall conquer the state power and establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The United Communist Party will make the great industrial struggles of the working class its major campaigns, in order to develop an understanding of the strike in relation to the overthrow of capitalism.

As the pressure of capitalism increases, strikes grow in number and scope, particularly in the basic industries which are highly monopolized. In mass strikes under the conditions of concentrated capitalism there is the tendency toward the general mass strike.

With greater unity and effectiveness the workers' struggles in the industrial field become more dangerous to capitalism. The capitalists are no longer able to offer effective resistance in the economic struggle. They resort to the use of the power of the state; the government, which previously posed as the arbiter between classes, is unmasked and appears as the dictatorship of the capitalist class. The workers are compelled to direct their economic struggles against the state and the struggle takes on political character.

Gradually the understanding of the political character of the class struggle is forced upon the workers. With the growth of this understanding the struggle intensifies. Greater and greater masses of workers are involved, until the mass action of the workers becomes conscious class action.

Likewise the United Communist Party must enter into other mass protests and demonstrations which constantly disturb capitalist society, tending toward open class warfare. Such are the protests which accompany the financial panics that periodically throw capitalism into chaos. Such are the mass protests against enforced military service in the interests of imperialism and counter-revolution, protests which must be aggressively encouraged by Communist propaganda and example. Elemental outbursts of the masses, possessing political significance as they relate themselves ever more directly and on an increasing scale against imperialistic exploitation, merge with the organized and semi-organized mass action of the workers in the basic industries.

The United Communist Party participates in the mass strikes of the workers primarily to develop the revolutionary understanding and action through which the workers will achieve Communism.

The Communists aim to give these struggles the direction of conscious organization for the final struggle; and, at the proper time, it becomes the vital duty of the Communists to initiate the creation of councils — the soviets — through which the whole power of the working class can be united into one overwhelming offensive against the capitalist police and military power.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The immediate aim of the United Communist Party is to overthrow and destroy the capitalist government and to establish a working class government.

The form of the working class government which must accompany the proletarian revolution is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. It is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat which breaks the opposition of the capitalists and inaugurates Communism.

The capitalists of this country have given ample evidence that they will not easily give up their privileged position as exploiters. They have murdered thousands in their efforts to prevent the workers from gaining better wages and working conditions. Homestead, McKees Rock, Lawrence, Ludlow, Calumet and Hecla, Massaba Range, Hammond and scores of other industrial struggles have shown that the capitalists do not hesitate to shed the blood of the workers in order to protect their interests.

No ruling class in history has given up its power without a bitter struggle. The final arbiter in the struggle between the classes which is written across the pages of history is force.

The working class must prepare itself for this conflict. It must develop organs of working class power and government. The experience of the proletarian revolution in other countries has shown that it is through workers' councils — soviets — that the power of the working class can best be mobilized for the struggle against the capitalists. These councils then become the basis for the workers' control of society, the initial units for the organization of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is the means through which the workers reconstruct the industrial system according to the program of Communism.

In contrast to the Communists, the Anarchists propose at one stroke to do away with all government, not taking into account the need of the workers for their own organs of governmental power to crush the resistance of the capitalists. Only after private property has been converted into communistic property, by expropriation of the bourgeoisie, do the class divisions disappear; and with the passing of the class antagonisms goes also the state — organ for control of

one class by another. The workers' government — the Dictatorship of the Proletariat — as the division of the classes disappears, finally converts itself into an administrative organization of society without coercive functions or power.

Immediate Tasks

In order to enable the party to function more effectively in the immediate struggles of the workers, shop groups of the party must be organized to secure actual contact with the workers. These shop groups, together with Communist groups within the unions, shall carry on the agitation for industrial unionism and against the A. F. of L.

The Communists in the shops and unions, and the party through its general propaganda organs, shall take part in the strikes in order to deepen and broaden them — to unite them on a class basis and to give them revolutionary political consciousness.

The unskilled and semi-skilled workers, including the agricultural laborers, constitute the bulk of the working class. It is an important part of the work of the United Communist Party to awaken these workers to industrial union organization and action.

In close connection is the problem of the negro workers. The racial oppression which is the special burden of the negro workers is essentially an expression of extreme economic exploitation. This complicates the negro struggle against oppression but it does not separate it from the general struggle of the working class. The United Communist Party will carry on an agitation among the negro workers to unite them with all class conscious workers.

The United States is developing a large-scale policy of militarism. Veiled or open plans for compulsory military service are being formulated and carried out. A tremendous semi-official military organization, tending to maintain and keep mobile the military power of the consciously counter-revolutionary upper and middle class elements — the American Legion — is already playing an active part in the struggle against the militant proletariat. The Communists will point out the class character of militarism; they will aim to direct the mass protests against imperialist militarism

and war toward the civil war against the capitalist class and its organs of power.

Non-intervention in the workers' struggle in Russia, in Germany, in Italy and in other countries, must be brought to the front as part of the strike demands, or made the basis of direct political strikes.

Likewise, the demand for release of class war prisoners must be projected into the strikes and other workers' demonstrations and struggles.

The Communists must bring into these struggles the tendency toward conscious organization of the workers for taking over complete social control. Such control as the workers can secure of capitalist industry through their mass demands can best be exercised through shop committees, shop stewards or similar organizations. But control of industry won and maintained by the power of the workers must not be confused with the sham "industrial democracy" established by the employers for the same deceptive purposes as the political democracy of capitalism.

At the appropriate stage of the struggle the Communists must take the lead toward the establishment of the workers' councils which serve to unite and co-ordinate the whole power of the revolutionary workers.

III

The Communist Reconstruction of Society

The breakdown of capitalist order and the destruction of industry makes impossible reconstruction on the capitalistic basis. The workers can become emancipated and social order can be maintained only when production is controlled by the workers.

In order to crush opposition, in order to raise the level of productivity, the Proletarian Dictatorship must proceed as rapidly as possible with the expropriation of capitalism. The means of production and distribution must be converted into the common property of the working masses organized in a Council system.

The power of the Councils must be built on direct participation in control of the government and industry by ever-increasing elements of the working masses.

As the opposition of the capitalist class is broken, as it is expropriated and gradually absorbed in the working groups, the Proletarian Dictatorship disappears; until finally, the class distinctions having been wiped out, the state — organ of one class for domination of another — dies out, leaving only the administrative communistic association "in which the free development of each is the condition of the free development of all."

Economic Reconstruction

The foregoing guiding principles outline the transition from capitalistic to communistic economy, but it is obvious that the detailed program of reconstruction must depend upon the exact circumstances which confront the Proletarian Dictatorship when it assumes power.

It is to be remembered at all times that the Communist proposals for the socialization of industry have nothing in common with the proposals for nationalization and government ownership which abound in the Socialist, Labor and Non-Partisan League programs. These are plans for the extension of the public services under the capitalist rule. Extensions of the government services, which in no way conflict with the general capitalistic system of exploitation, have become one of the most important methods for strengthening the capitalist state power. Millions of workers are brought more directly under state and military control; the railroads are converted into more effective instruments for the militaristic program of capitalist-imperialism (as in Germany and France, as in the United States during the war, etc.).

There can be no true public services except under the rule of the working class, since then only is the government itself an instrument of the mass welfare — an instrument against exploitation. All of the Communist program for the socialization of industry is to be understood only in connection with — as subsequent to — the conquest of the political power by the workers as a class and the establishment of the Workers' Dictatorship.

As illustrative of the general Communist program of economic and political reconstruction, we present the guiding policy stated in the manifesto of the Communist International, with the qualification that the more exact and more detailed program for the United States must await the further progress of the class struggle:

> "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat does not in any way call for partition of the means of production and exchange; rather, on the contrary, its aim is further to centralize the forces of production and to subject all of production to a symmetrical plan. As the first

step toward socialization of the entire economic system may be mentioned: the socialization of the great banks which now control production; the taking over by the state power of the proletariat of all government-controlled economic utilities; the transferring of all communal enterprises; the socializing of the syndicated and trustified units of production, as well as all other branches of production in which the degree of concentration and centralization of capital makes this technically practicable; the socializing of agricultural estates and their conversion into co-operative establishments.

"As far as the smaller enterprises are concerned, the proletariat must gradually unite them, according to the degree of their importance. It must be particularly emphasized that small properties will in no way be expropriated and that property owners who are not exploiters of labor will not be forcibly dispossessed. This element will gradually be drawn into the socialistic organization through the force of example, through practical demonstration of the superiority of the new order of things, and the regulation by which the small farmers and the petty bourgeoisie of the cities will be freed from economic bondage to usurious capital and landlordism; and from tax burdens (especially by annulment of the national debts), etc.

"The task of the Proletarian Dictatorship in the economic field can only be fulfilled to the extent that the proletariat is enabled to create centralized organs of management and to institute workers' control. To this end it must make use of its mass organizations which are in closest relation to the process of production. In the field of distribution the Proletarian Dictatorship must re-establish commerce by an accurate distribution of products. To this end the following methods are to be considered: the socialization of wholesale establishments, the taking over of all state and municipal organs of distribution; control of the great co-operative societies, which organizations will still have an important role in the production epoch; the gradual centralization of all these organs and their conversion into

a systematic unity for the rational distribution of products.

"Besides expropriating the factories, mines, estates, etc., the proletariat must also abolish the exploitation of the people by capitalistic landlords, transfer the large mansions to the local workers' councils, and move the working people into the bourgeoisie dwellings.

"As in the field of production so also in the field of distribution all qualified technicians and specialists are to be made use of, provided their political resistance is broken and they are still capable of adapting themselves, not to the service of capital, but to the new system of production. Far from oppressing them the proletariat will make it possible for the first time for them to develop intensive creative work. The Proletarian Dictatorship, with their co-operation, will reprieve the separation of physical and mental work which capitalism has developed and thus will Science and Labor be unified."

Political Reconstruction

"The main emphasis of bourgeois democracy is on formal declarations of rights and liberties which are actually unattainable by the proletariat, because of want of the material means for their enjoyment; while the bourgeoisie uses its material advantages, through its press and organizations, to deceive and betray the people. On the other hand, the Council type of government makes it possible for the proletariat to realize its rights and liberties. The Council power gives to the people palaces, houses, printing offices, paper supply, etc., for their press, their societies, their assemblies. And in this way alone is actual proletarian democracy made possible.

"Bourgeois democracy, with its parliamentary system, uses words to induce belief in popular participation in government. Actually the masses and their organizations are held far out of reach of the real power and the real state administration. In the Council system the mass organizations rule, and through them the mass itself, inasmuch as the Councils draw con-

stantly increasing numbers of workers into the state administration; and only by this process will the entire working population gradually become part of the government. The Council system also builds itself directly on the mass organizations of the workers: on the councils themselves, the revolutionary trade unions, the co-operatives, etc.

"Bourgeois democracy and its parliamentary system sharpened the separation of the masses from the state by division of the government into legislative and executive powers, and through parliamentary enactments beyond popular recall. The Council system, by contrast, unites the masses with the government by right of recall, amalgamation of legislative and executive powers, and by use of workers' administrative boards. Above all, this union is fostered by the fact that in the Council system elections are based not on arbitrary territorial districts, but on units of production.

"In this way the Council system brings about true proletarian democracy — democracy by and for the proletarians against the bourgeoisie."

Social Reconstruction

Under Capitalism the very development of higher productivity is inevitably accompanied by an intensification of the bondage and oppression of the workers. The machines invented to serve humanity have become the instruments for enslavement of the producing masses.

Communism will release all the productive energies for the common welfare of all the people. In place of profit as the animating impulse to production must stand the needs and enjoyments of the producing masses.

The right and the obligation to labor — service toward the common enjoyment of all — this shall be the basis of citizenship under the Communist regime.

Education of the masses toward better social service and toward higher appreciation of the enjoyments of life is the foremost item in the Communist transformation. This education must go to the adult workers, who have so long toiled in darkness, as well as to all the children of the nation.

Education under Communism, as already in process of development in Russia, takes account of the physical welfare

of the children along with their mental training. Under the blockade conditions compelling the rationing of food, it has been the children who have always been given the preference. Tens of thousands of children of the poor in the big cities have been fed on a communal basis. Meanwhile, too, the palaces of czarism have been converted into homes for the homeless war orphans. The general educational system includes periods for all city children in the country, on the socialized agricultural estates, while the village children, in turn, will be brought periodically into the cities, and in this way education is made to include contact with every phase of the industrial, institutional and cultural life of the nation.

Art, music, the stage — all the cultural advantages which have been held aloof for the enjoyment of the privileged few, and in their more vulgar forms have been used to deceive and cajole the masses — become the institutions of the working masses. Art is thereby released from its prostitution to exploiting interests, and becomes imbued with new inspiration and vitality.

In a word, the working class will have at its disposal all that civilization has thus far produced for the enhancement of individual and social life. The better organization of the industrial and social system can in a single generation, with the advanced technique and science of today, achieve more toward the eradication of disease, crime, depravity and superstition than has been accomplished in all the prior centuries together.

The United Communist Party, the American section of the Communist International, urges the workers of America to take their place alongside their revolutionary comrades of Europe.

There is but one solution for the ills of capitalist society, but one way for the workers to achieve freedom and a human life — the way of the Revolution and the Workers' Dictatorship!

All power to the workers! Hail to Communism!

The same convention adopted the following Constitution:

CONSTITUTION OF UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY

Article 1. Name, Purpose and Emblem

Section 1. The name of this organization shall be the United Communist Party of America. It is the American Section of the Communist International.

Section 2. The United Communist Party of America is the organization of the vanguard of the class-conscious workers. Its purpose is the education and organization of the workers for the overthrow of the capitalist state, establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, abolition of the capitalist system and the development of a Communist society.

Section 3. The emblem of the party shall be a hammer, sickle and sheaves of wheat above the words "All Power to the Workers," surrounded by a circular margin with the words, "The United Communist Party of America" and "The Communist International."

Article II. Membership

Section 1. Any person who accepts the principles and tactics of the party and of the Communist International, agrees to submit to the party discipline and to engage actively in its work, shall be eligible for membership, provided he has severed connection with all other political organizations.

Section 2. Applicants must be accepted with due care and only on recommendation of two persons who have been members for at least three months, except in newly organized groups in new territory. Every applicant shall be on probation for two months with a voice but no vote. Before being admitted to full membership the applicant must familiarize himself with the program and constitution of the party. Applicants can be accepted only by unanimous vote of the group to which application is made. Whenever practical, applicants shall be assigned to recruiting groups during the period of probation.

Section 3. Applicants shall pay an initiation fee of one dollar and monthly dues of 75 cents. Dues shall be paid during the probation period.

Section 4. Members may transfer from one party unit to another only upon permission from the party unit to which

they belong. The unit granting the transfer shall notify the unit to which the member transfers through regular party channels.

Section 5. No member of the party shall accept or hold any appointive public office, honorary or remunerative, otherwise than through civil service, nor enter the service of the government in any way except through legal compulsion. No member shall be a candidate for any public office except by instructions of the party.

Section 6. Members of the party who are writers, speakers and artists shall, so far as possible, place their services at the disposal of the party. Any member using his training in those lines detrimentally to the party shall be disciplined.

Article III. Units of Organization

Section 1. The basic units of the party shall be groups of approximately ten members, and wherever possible, not less than five members.

Section 2. Each party group shall elect a group organizer to serve as connecting link between the group and the unit of party above it.

Section 3. Not more than ten groups shall constitute a branch and not over ten branches a section; not over ten sections a sub-district and not over ten sub-districts a district. Districts shall be organized around the industrial centers, rather than along state lines.

Section 4. Party members working in the same industrial plants shall, so far as is practical, be organized into shop units. Groups may also be organized in unions and other working class organizations.

Section 5. Groups may consist of members speaking the same language, when this does not interfere with the organization of industrial groups.

Article IV. Administration

Section 1. The supreme administrative body of the party shall be the convention of the party.

Section 2. Between conventions the supreme body of the party shall be the Central Executive Committee, which shall consist of ten members elected by the convention.

They shall live in the city in which the national headquarters is located or in adjacent cities. The convention shall also elect ten alternates for the C. E. C. In case the list of alternates is exhausted the C. E. C. shall have power to fill the vacancies.

Section 3. The Central Executive Committee shall appoint such party officials as are necessary to conduct the work of the party. It shall carry on the propaganda, organization and educational work of the party; and publish the party papers, supplying each member with a copy of the official party paper in the respective languages free of charge.

The Committee shall have power to —

(a) Divide the country into districts.

(b) Appoint district organizers as the representatives of the national organization in these districts.

Section 4. It shall be the duty of the Central Executive Committee to make a monthly report of its activities and of party finances.

Section 5. The administrative power of the District shall be vested in the district conventions to be held at least once each year. Between the district conventions the work of administration shall be vested in a district executive committee elected by the district convention. The district executive committee shall supervise the work of the district organizer; it shall also appoint sub-district organizers, subject to approval of the sub-district committees.

Section 6. The administrative power of the sub-district shall be vested in the sub-district conventions, to be held once each six months. Between sub-district conventions, the work of administration shall be vested in a sub-district executive committee.

Section 7. Section committees shall consist of the branch organizers. The branch committees shall consist of the group organizers. The group organizers of a branch shall elect the branch organizer.

Article V. Language Federations

Section 1. In order that the party shall be a centralized organization capable of united action, no autonomous federations of language groups shall exist in the party.

Section 2. Branches made up of language groups may form sub-district propaganda committees and these may be combined in district propaganda committees. These propaganda committees shall have power to devise plans for propaganda and agitation in their respective languages, which shall be carried out through the regular party channels.

Section 3. The C. E. C. of the party shall annually call a national conference of the respective language groups by request of district committees representing a majority of the language group. These conferences shall plan the work of agitation and organization of the group on a national scale and elect the editors and organizers to carry on the work of the groups. Such editors and organizers shall work under the direction of the C. E. C. of the party.

Section 4. Should the organizers or editors elected by the language conference prove incompetent the C. E. C. may upon protest of district propaganda committees representing a majority of the language group, remove such officials and fill the positions by appointment.

Section 5. All language literature and official party papers shall be published by the C. E. C. of the party.

Article VI. Discipline

Section 1. Every unit of the party is responsible for the maintenance of party discipline over its members and subordinate groups. Members expelled from groups may appeal to the branch committee and subordinate units to the next higher unit. District organizers may appeal from the C. E. C. decision to the convention.

Section 2. Party policies shall be formulated by the convention and by the C. E. C. and all subordinate party units are bound by the decisions of convention and C. E. C. The work of the district and sub-district committees is strictly limited to administration.

Section 3. All party units shall confine their activities to their respective territorial limits.

Section 4. The Central Executive Committee shall maintain discipline over its members and may remove any of its members by a unanimous vote of the remaining members of the committee.

Section 5. No unit of the party shall publish a party organ without the consent of the C. E. C.

Section 6. All papers published by the party shall be under the editorial control of the Central Executive Committee.

Article VII. Finance

Section 1. Applicants for membership shall pay an initiation fee of one dollar, which shall be forwarded to the national organization.

Section 2. Monthly dues shall be seventy-five cents, which shall be paid into the treasury of the national organization. Dues shall be receipted for by dues stamps issued by the C. E. C.

Section 3. An organization stamp shall be issued by the C. E. C. which shall be used as receipts for special contributions from the membership.

Section 4. Special assessments may be levied by the convention and the Central Executive Committee. No member shall be considered in good standing unless he pays such assessments. The organization stamps shall be used to receipt for these assessments.

Section 5. Husband and wife belonging to the same group shall only be obligated to pay seventy-five cents dues monthly.

Section 6. Unemployed and imprisoned members shall be so reported by the group organizer and shall not be considered in bad standing because of non-payment of dues.

Section 7. Dues shall be paid monthly by every member. No advance payment shall be made and members who have not paid dues by the first of the succeeding month for the previous month shall be considered in bad standing. Members three months in arrears shall be excluded from their group.

Article VIII. Conventions

Section 1. A national convention shall be held annually at a time and place determined upon by the Central Executive Committee. The C. E. C. may call emergency conventions when requested by district committees representing a majority of the membership. In case the C. E. C. does

not act, district executive committees may send delegates to a conference for the purpose of calling the convention.

Section 2. The number of delegates shall be determined by the C. E. C. according to the circumstances. Delegates shall be apportioned to districts in proportion to the membership.

Section 3. Districts shall apportion the delegates to sub-divisions in such a manner that no sub-division shall elect more than one. Provided that such apportionment must be proportionate to the membership.

Section 4. Delegates to national conventions shall be paid railroad expenses and the same per diem as party officials.

Section 5. The convention call and apportionment of delegates must be issued not less than sixty days before the convention.

Section 6. When requested by any district committee or by five sub-district committees, the C. E. C. shall submit propositions that are to come before the convention to every party group for discussion at the same time that the call for the convention is issued.

Article IX. International

Section 1. Delegates and alternates to the International Congress of the Communist International and an international secretary shall be elected by the convention.

A typical example of the propaganda being spread by the United Communist Party is the following handbill which was widely distributed throughout New York City recently:

STAND BY SOVIET RUSSIA!

The capitalist governments of the world are fighting Soviet Russia! The French and British governments are going to send troops to kill Russian workers and peasants!

The United States government is sending munitions to help Poland!

The United States government is loaning money to Poland and the capitalist governments of Europe to shoot down Russian workers!

Hungary and Roumania are to be armed by the Allies and sent against Soviet Russia!

WORKERS OF THE UNITED STATES—

WHAT ARE *YOU* GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

The capitalist governments of the world are determined to crush Soviet Russia because it is a government of the working class!

But the class-conscious working class of Europe is standing by Soviet Russia!

British, French, Italian, German and Austrian workers are refusing to load munitions and move trains carrying war supplies against Soviet Russia!

THROW DOWN YOUR TOOLS! CALL A GENERAL STRIKE!

SHOW THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT YOUR POWER!

SHOW YOUR CLASS SOLIDARITY!

STAND BY SOVIET RUSSIA!

Down with all the capitalist governments of the world!

Down with the capitalist government of the United States!

Long live the Communist workers and peasants of Poland!

Long live Soviet Russia!

Long live the Communist International!

THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY
OF AMERICA.

Owing to the thorough and systematic measures adopted by the Federal Government, as well as the authorities of several states, the United Communist Party has been unable to carry on its organization in a public manner as formerly. It has now adopted the system of organization which was developed by revolutionary organizations in Russia during the Czarist regime. The method now followed is the appointment by the Central Executive Committee of an organizer and a secretary for a group of ten persons. These organizers and secretaries are known only to the executive committee and are not known to other organizers and secretaries of groups. It is the duty of each organizer and secre-

tary to gather about them a group of ten persons who are instructed in the principles of the United Communist Party and who distribute its propaganda. These members do not know the other members of the party. The adoption of this system makes it difficult to follow the activities of the party, but at the same time renders the spread of propaganda difficult.

The violence of the program of the United Communist Party and the extravagance of the phrases used should not lead the public into the belief that the movement thus inaugurated may safely be ignored. It must be remembered that the United Communist Party represents approximately 60,000 members and has in addition many thousands of sympathizers and supporters.

Such an organization, while obviously unable to organize a revolution, is capable of proving a serious menace to industrial peace and may be able materially to affect production throughout the country.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

It should be noted that a small minority of the old Communist Party of America, headed by a few irreconcilable leaders, formerly members of the Central Executive Committee of that party, have continued an organization under the title of "Communist Party of America." At the time of writing, however, its influence is negligible as a revolutionary movement, although from time to time inflammatory hand bills are distributed, urging the workers to "get ready for armed revolutions to overthrow the capitalist government and create a workers' government — as your brothers did in Russia."

The following is a typical example of the propaganda thus distributed:

B. R. T. STRIKERS!

FELLOW-WORKERS!

Once again you carmen on the B. R. T. are out on strike.

Again you are facing the same forces that have slugged and betrayed you in the past.

You went out like men, despite the cowardly attempt of such traitors to labor as Shea, who threatened you with expulsion from the Amalgamated.

Did you notice that these sleek officers of the union, that you pay to protect your interests, are always on the side of the boss and the government, and against you?

What are you up against in this strike? Stop and think!

The capitalist state — the government of the United States, the government of New York, City and State.

The government is always against you — always on the side of the rich, the capitalist.

When you go out on strike — when you ask for a mere pittance to meet the increasing cost of living — the first representative of the capitalist state that you meet is the police. They ride on every scab car. They are ready to club you or shoot you.

Today you face this Capitalist Government in the shape of the United States District Court, represented by Judge Mayer and Receiver Garrison — former Secretary of War.

He has ordered you back to work. All the power of the government is behind that order. He has declared you outlaws. Many of you fought in France "to make the world safe for Democracy." Then you were heroes — now when you are fighting for yourselves and your own families — you are Bolsheviks, outlaws.

We, the Communists, are with you in your battle against your oppressors, the B. R. T., and the Capitalist State.

But, we want you to think!

In the Coal Strike, the Steel Strike, in Denver, in West Virginia, in every place where workers struck against the boss,— you meet the army, the militia, the police, the hired gunman. You are shot, clubbed, thrown into jail and driven back to the shop, the mill, the mine, the railroads, by the brutal forces of the Capitalist State.

The boss stays in his luxurious home — built by workers. The Capitalist Government,— the Mayors, Governors, Legislators, Congressmen and the President are always ready to do his dirty work — are always against you.

Every Capitalist newspaper is against you — always.

We, the Communist Party of America want you to think and act. We call upon you to stop begging and striking for crumbs. Repudiate your false labor leaders.

Broaden and deepen your strike.

Make it a political strike.

Get ready for armed revolution to overthrow the Capitalist Government and create a Workers Government — as your brothers did in Russia.

Stop asking merely for a little more wages.

Overthrow the dictatorship of the capitalist — the present Government of the United States — and through the Soviets and the Proletarian Dictatorship take possession of the B. R. T. and of every mill, mine, factory, railroad, field and farm in the U. S.

The Communist Party of America sounds the call for revolution — for the armed uprising of all the workers.

Against the hypocritical capitalist parliamentary republic — we stand for the Workers Soviet Republic. You are slaves today. You can be free only by fighting for freedom.

Down with our Industrial Kings and Kaisers.

Hail to the Soviets — the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

STRIKE — yes, but — STRIKE for political demands — STRIKE to overthrow the Capitalist State and abolish WAGE SLAVERY.

Issued by authority of the C. E. C. of the Communist Party of America. Local New York, Sept. 1920.

APPENDIX TO NOTE

Document 1.— Full Text of Letters of Zinoviev to the Central Committee of the American Communist Party and American Communist Labor Party..... 1902
2.— Full Text of Documents Taken from Currier, Representing the Third International, Outlining the Agreement for Unification of the American Communist Party and the American Communist Labor Party..... 1908

Document 1

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST LABOUR PARTY

Dear Comrades:

From the reports of comrades who arrived from America and who represent both tendencies of American communism, the Executive Committee of the Communist International has the opportunity of acquainting itself with the differences between the American comrades; differences which have led to an open split and to the formation of two communist parties. The question was submitted to the consideration of an extended session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International at which, beside the members of the E. C. there were also present representatives of both American parties as well as representatives from France, Switzerland, Hungary, Finland and Yugo-Slavia. Arising out of this meeting, the Executive Committee came to the following conclusion:

This split has rendered a heavy blow to the communist movement in America. It leads to the dispersion of revolutionary force, to a harmful parallelism, an absurd partition of practical work, senseless discussions and an unjustifiable loss of energy in interfractional quarrels. A concentration of American bourgeois forces has increased to an unprecedented extent, while the class struggle is becoming more acute every day and demands unprecedented sacrifices from the American proletariat. The world revolution is inexorably growing; great possibilities and brilliant perspectives are opening up before the American proletariat! This is not the time for division of communist forces.

In addition to this we must assert that the split has not been caused by any profound differences of opinion as regards programme. At bottom there are but certain disagreements on the question of tactics, principally questions of organisation.

Under such circumstances this split has not the slightest justification and should be liquidated at all costs. In so far as both parties stand on the platform of the Communist International — and of this we have not the slightest doubt — a united party is not only possible but is absolutely necessary, and the E. C. categorically insists on this being immediately brought about.

The necessity for immediate unification is imperatively dictated by the further fact that the two parties represent, as it were, varying sides of the communist movement in America. The American Communist Party is principally a foreign party embracing so-called "national" federations. The American Communist Labour Party chiefly represents American or English speaking elements. If the first is more developed theoretically and is more closely connected with the traditions of the revolutionary struggle of the Russian working class, it is on the other hand more isolated from the mass movement and mass organisations of the American workers who are gradually entering the broad path of the struggle between the classes. The second party which has not passed through a similar revolutionary school has received less training in the subtleties of Marxist theory and is in need of a certain intellectual guidance, nevertheless has the advantage that it may much more easily influence American labour — which is to play the most important part in the coming decisive battles of the class war. Thus both parties naturally supplement each other, and only by their unifaction is it possible to create in America an efficient Communist Party which must take the lead in the mass movement, and in the oncoming communist revolution.

With the aim of bringing about this unification, the Executive Committee of the Communist International proposes to both parties to immediately convene a joint Conference whose decisions shall be binding for both sections. We suggest that an organising bureau composed of an equal number of representatives of both parties should be set up for the purpose of preparing and convening the conference, and also for the coordination of the work of both parties. The platform of the Communist International and the resolutions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International should form the basis of unity. Apart from this the Executive Committee regards it necessary to point out the following to the American comrades: 1. The Communist Party should strive to unite in its ranks all those

elements which recognise the necessity for seizing power and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. It should be understood that this recognition should not be merely verbal or theoretical, but the recognition must be proved by the obligation being imposed upon every member of the party and every proletarian conscious of his class interests of taking part in the determined struggle to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and to establish the power of the working class. In the face of this great problem all disagreements on other questions, as the employment of parliamentary actions and other legal measures, on the application of one or another means of struggle, or the various forms of organisation, disappear. Disagreements of this character are inevitable in all countries where it is necessary to form a community party of various elements,— left socialists leaving the old parties, non-party people who have come over to the point of view of the inevitability of the class struggle, anarchists and syndicalists who recognise the necessity of seizing power and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat,— but to split over these differences, which in a period of revolution have only a secondary importance, is absolutely inadmissible. The only thing that the party must demand in the event of differences between organisations or individual comrades, is unconditional discipline, the absolute submission of the minority to the majority. Before the acceptance of any resolution it is essential that there should be possibilities for full and frank discussion of the question and freedom of criticism within the ranks of the party. But after an authoritative resolution of the party has been carried, all members are obliged to carry it out without reserve, including those who do not agree with it. On the one hand there must be the widest tolerance for differing opinions during the period of discussion. On the other hand the strictest discipline must be observed in carrying out the decisions of the party. These are the fundamental conditions without which the creation of a strong proletarian revolutionary party is impossible.

2. The complete break with the old socialist parties, the S. P. and the S. L. P. is naturally a condition for the creation of a communist party in America. But this by no means signifies that the communist party cannot accept individual comrades and whole organisations officially regarded as part of the old parties who have decisively come over to the point of view of consistent class war and proletarian dictatorship. The com-

munist party must be a mass organisation and not a close narrow circle. "Isolation from the non-communist elements" should be understood in the sense of separation from the hardened social-treacherous elements in the old parties, particularly from those leaders who have compromised themselves; but it must not be taken to mean self-isolation from and repelling those workers who were formerly members of the old parties but who have now broken with them. The doors of the communist party must be open wide for proletarians even if they have not mastered all subtleties of Marxist theory, but are sincerely loyal to the cause of proletarian revolution and are actually conducting a struggle against the domination of the bourgeoisie. The communist party will be for them the best school for communism.

3. The party must take part in the every day incidents of the class war. Up till now the American left wing socialists devoted most of their attention to agitation and propaganda and in this direction did important work. But confined in a more or less close circle of comrades all thinking alike, they, to a large extent stood aside from the every-day class struggle of the proletarian masses which is flowing in broad streams throughout the country; at any rate they did not play the leading part in the greater conflicts between capital and labour. It is particularly necessary to remember that the stage of verbal propaganda and agitation has been left behind, the time for decisive battles has arrived. Uniting in its ranks all the class conscious and most active elements of the working class, and developing the widest propaganda of communist ideas, the communist party must at the same time strive to become the leader in the proletarian class struggle in all its various aspects, from separate economic strikes, demonstrations, mass meetings and election campaigns, to general political strikes and armed insurrections of the proletariat. The most important task confronting the American communists at the present moment is to draw the wide proletarian masses into the path of the revolutionary class struggle.

4. Cooperating in hastening the process of dissolution of the A. F. of L. and other craft unions associated with it, the Party must strive to establish the closest connection with those working class economic organisations in which industrial unionist tendencies are being manifested (I. W. W. and "One Big Union," W. I. I. U.) as well as with separate unions breaking

away from the A. F. of L. The party must work in closest contact with these organisations, striving at the same time to unite them and to create a powerful centralised economic organisation of the proletariat imbued with class consciousness. Supporting the industrial unions in their everyday struggle for direct economic demands, the party must strive to deepen and widen the struggle and convert it into a struggle for the final revolutionary aims of the proletariat, for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the abolition of the capitalist system.

5. The party must support the formation of factory workers' committees in the factories alongside, with the party groups, which might serve on the one hand as a base for the every-day economic struggle and on the other hand as a school for the training of the advanced guard of labour in the management of industry in the event of the dictatorship of the proletariat being achieved. It is of course understood that these factory committees should work in closest contact with the industrial union organizations.

6. The Party must not represent a conglomeration of independent or semi-autonomous "national federations." The national federations played an important historical part in the American socialist movement, for many years conducting a systematic apposition in the old party and being largely instrumental in creating the Socialist Propaganda League and the Left Wing. But in the future, with the rapid intensification and widening of the class struggle, and the great complexity of problems confronting the proletariat of America, the foreign-born communists will only be able to carry out their task by entering into the closest possible relations with their brothers in the American Labour movement. Being in general better trained theoretically and being more closely bound to Russion revolutionary traditions, the members of the federations may in the future have a guiding influence in the American Communist movement; but this influence must be exercised not by means of strongly centralised Communist Party. The sudden and complete break-up of the historic form of organisation of the federations is certainly undesirable, as this might lead to the disintegration of the foreign-born movement, which has been the chief promulgator of Communist ideas in America. Moreover, the national federations, strictly as organisations of propaganda among their own countrymen, are still and will be for a long time necessary

in America. But at the same time the foreign-born workers must recognise the principle that in the sphere of political and economic activity these federations must be wholly subject to the leadership of the organs of the Party as a whole, and that the chief function of the national federations is to prepare the foreign-born workers to take their places in the English-speaking Communist movement.

7. During a period of social revolution, the employment of referendums should be reduced to a minimum. In any case questions requiring speedy decision under no circumstances can be submitted to a referendum. In the intervals between the Conferences the central committee of the Party must wield complete authority.

8. One of the most important practical tasks which imperatively confronts the Communist Party of America at the present moment is the establishment of a large daily political newspaper, which should be not only an organ of theoretical propaganda and training, but should be a leading organ in the political struggle giving information on all public events from the communists point of view, and putting forward the regular battle cries reflecting the every-day proletarian class struggle.

9. The Executive Committee urges the American Comrades immediately to establish an underground organisation even though it is possible for the Party to function legally. This underground organisation shall be for the purpose of carrying on direct revolutionary propaganda among the masses, and, in case of violent suppression of the legal Party organisation, of carrying on the work. It should be composed of trusted comrades, and kept entirely separate from the legal Party organisation. The fewer people who know about it the better. For the formation and control of this underground organisation, a small sub-committee of the National Executive Committee can be appointed. An underground printing plant and distribution machinery should be established.

We remain, Yours fraternally

President of the Executive Committee of the Communist International

Zinoviev.

Moscow, January 12, 1920.

Conform with the original.

(Signed) G. Aling.

Document 2

AGREEMENT FOR THE UNIFICATION OF THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST LABOUR PARTY.

1. For the purpose of uniting both Communist Parties of America, a Bureau of Unity is to be established. This Bureau is to be composed of six members, each Party sending three comrades.

2. The immediate task of the Unity Bureau is to call a convention to unite the two Parties. The basis of representation in this convention to be alike for both Parties, and to be based on the number of members of both Parties in good standing on January 1st, 1920. Until the realisation of the complete unity, the Bureau corordinates and directs the work of both Parties, organises demonstrations, issuing joint publications and distributes material of both Parties.

3. At the convention the Party accepts the name: THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

4. The convention is to be the supreme organ of the Party.

5. The convention elects a Central Committee which is the supreme organ of the Party during the intervals between the Conventions.

6. In case of necessity a Party Conference is to be called, the decisions of which become obligatory only upon their being confirmed by the Central Committee.

7. During the period of the struggle for power referendum is not considered advisable, and should be reduced to a minimum. Its complete abolition is most desirable.

8. National Federations, whose primary reason for existence is the necessity for propaganda work among the non-English-speaking masses in their own language, must of course be retained for this purpose. But these Federations must not have any independent legislative or administrative functions, except such as are delegated to them by the Party Convention, or the Central Committee of the Party to whose authority they must unqualifiedly submit. The function of the Federations must not be to maintain the foreign-born workers in isolated organisations, speaking their own language, but to bring the foreign-born workers as speedily as possible into the English-speaking movement. For this reason the Central Committee of the Party shall have the power to draft into the English-speak-

ing Party units such foreign-born workers, who are capable of taking an active part in the English-speaking movement.

9. Party dues must be paid into the Party treasury through the Local and State organisations, and not through the Federation Central Committees. Of course, all funds raised by the Federations for their own purpose, exclusive of due-stamps, shall be their own property, to be used in their own work.

10. All press and propaganda authorised and issued by the National Federations shall be subject to the control of the Party Central Committee.

11. Federations shall not have the right to expel or suspend their branches or members. Charges against members or branches in the Federations must be brought before the Central Committee of the local Party unit, which alone, subject to the Central Committee, has power to suspend or expel members and branches.

12. There must be only one Federation for each foreign language group in the Party. All members of the Party who cannot take part in the English-speaking branches must join their Federation. However, the Federation cannot refuse to accept any member or branch without the consent of the Central Committee or organs to which this power is delegated. Exclusion of a foreign-speaking member from the Federation means exclusion from the Party.

Moskow, January 12, 1920.

For the Communist Labour Party of America
International Delegate
For the Russian Federations: Russian, Lettish, Ukrainian, Polish, Lithuanian
Delegate to Soviet Russia

Conform with the original

[SEAL] (Signed) G. Aling.

NOTE ON SUB-SECTION II

ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

Note on Chapter II. Anarchist Communism..... 1913

[1911]

NOTE ON CHAPTER II

Anarchist Communism

Despite the effective work carried on by the prosecuting agencies of the Federal and State Governments, isolated anarchist groups continue to spread their propaganda in fairly substantial volume. A typical handbill circulated, in large numbers through the city of New York, just prior to the election of 1920, is appended here because it is a characteristic statement of anarchist principles which shows not only the cleverness of their arguments against government and organized labor, but also their lack of a well defined plan of putting into effect any revolutionary movement.

A careful reading of this handbill will show that in general, anarchist agitation is calculated to stimulate unrest but cannot become a guiding force in any revolutionary movement.

WHY YOU SHOULD NOT VOTE AT ALL!

The country, just now, is artificially ablaze with the coming elections. The politicians of the Democratic, Republican, Farmer-Labor and Socialist parties are shouting with all their cunning strength and ability to get you enthusiastic enough to vote for one of them.

Each of the parties' politicians not yet in power assures you that all you have to do is to give one of them the chance to become the ruling power, and all the evils of which we suffer will be eliminated, whereas the Democrats now in power appeal for the continuance of it.

So that all the issues of these parties really mean one thing, as far as they are concerned — a change of the personnel of the government officials.

But is this the real issue?

No! but we shall soon realize what it really is. If you happen to belong to a union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, you have probably heard your local's secretary read at a meeting during July, 1920, an appeal sent out to every local union, by Samuel Gompers, Frank Morrison and James O'Connell, which states:

"Regardless of whatever artificial issue politicians may seek

to inject into the present campaign, one of the great issues about which the masses of the American people are thinking most seriously is the cost of living. The cost of living is a wage issue.

"If there would be publicity for profits it would be possible to present such an array of figures as would stagger the imagination. But statistics are not necessary to prove that the cost of living is a paramount issue with the American people.

"They who scorned the people when the power was theirs to render justice to them should be driven from their places of authority by the votes of a betrayed electorate."

We believe it of the utmost importance for all the workers, organized or unorganized, affiliated with the A. F. L. or not, to discuss this statement cited above. It contains great truths, but also great lies, and worst of all, it forgets to tell the truths which are so well known to these three signers of the appeal.

It is true that the high cost of living is in reality a wage question — and this is the great cause of our suffering. But Messrs. Gompers, Morrison, and O'Connell, are not young men who had just arrived on the labor scene of America. They have lived in this country for scores of years. They have witnessed quite a few presidential elections.

Can they tell us, if there was, in any presidential election in the history of their activity any other real issue than the wage question, but that it was always intentionally suppressed and ignored by most of these politicians? If the cost of living was lower in 1896, in 1914, or in any other year in comparison to what it is to-day — were not the wages, at that time, comparatively lower and proportionally about the same as they are to-day?

Is this trio of labor, ignorant of the every day economics which show us, that the whole present system of society has been, and is based upon the exploitation by the few of the many?

Are they not aware of the facts, statistical facts by the government, that labor, which produces everything, has on an average, always received in wages one-fourth of the value that labor has produced?

Do they not know, then, that Capitalism in the form of manufacturers have always been and still receive the other three-fourths of the value, which we, the workers, produce?

The policy of this trio — is an old one, they always went begging at every election of this and that party to put "planks" in their platform for the "benefit" of labor, and we ask them to be honest and answer truly:

Was there any party that came into power with their help of "swinging the labor vote" towards that party — that *didn't* betray their promises?

Did they not find themselves at every election appealing to labor to turn out the elected traitors, only to put new ones in? We challenge this trio to prove to us workers, if the laboring masses of this country has ever received any *direct* or *indirect benefit* from any government as a whole or a part, that was in power, or is — unless — by the threat of our real direct action weapon — the General Strike. We forced them, or rather scared them into putting on their statute books, such laws as we have already enforced by our economical power as producers on the economical field! Can this trio or any labor politician deny this great truth? How did the Railwaymen get the eight hour day? By the Adamson law, or Supreme Court, or by their economical strength which forced the Supreme Court to declare "constitutional" that which the railwaymen themselves were just about to declare "constitutional" by the General Strike?

When this trio appeals to the workers to throw out the betrayers, we question their sincerity and honesty in doing so, for, none know it better than they do, that Governments exist for the purpose of helping capitalism to cleanse us workers of ¾ of our produced commodities, and no matter which of them gets in — things will continue as they always have been, or, if the Socialists get in, we shall have to give away *all of our* produced commodities to the State (Government). We have a particular right to question the honesty of Mr. Gompers when only on June, 1920, he said at the Montreal convention:

> *"There never has yet existed any government, no matter how idealistic, but that it soon became a power of tyranny."*

No greater truth has ever been uttered by him, but if he believes this to be the truth, then how can he as an honest man, go day in and day out, to beg and barter with Government officials, or ask Labor to participate in the election of any government official — when he considers every form of government, nothing else but what it actually is, a "Power of tyranny?"

Does not such action show a far worse hypocrisy and betrayal of Gompers and Co., who are supposed to be "our representatives" than of all the politicians of capitalism put together?

The politicians are in the pay and service of capitalism, so we cannot expect anything else from them, than to fool and betray us, as long as we allow them to do it.

But — what right has this trio of labor "officialdom" to betray us still more at every election by telling us to turn out the old traitors, only to *replace* them with new ones? How evident, then, that it is not ignorance, but plain dishonesty that prompted them.

We, as Anarchists, appeal to you, men and women of America, to stop, Reason and Think, about all this. It is not a question of a change of new traitors in place of the old; that is the "paramount issue" of this or any other election, neither is it a question of wages or the cost of living, that is the issue.

But — it is a question of the whole present system of society that is based on wages and profits, supported by the force of Government, which is the only real issue of which no political candidate has ever dared or will ever dare to speak!

We, the workers of the country, actually keep the life of the country going. Let us stop producing, and the life of the country stops. We, workers, have never gained nor ever will, a single beneficial thing by the participation of electing any "power of tyranny" — government officials.

The General Strike which has been the workers weapon hitherto — has now proved to be only of seeming value, since no actual benefits were ever really derived from it. For, no matter what gains we have achieved by our strikes, they were always brought down to no value, by the continued rise of Government taxations, and the increased cost of living. This should make us realize that something more essential must be done, if we are ever to materially change our conditions for the better.

The capitalist system is so well organized, that no matter whom you elect, or what we gain by strikes it amounts to nil. We remain in the same destitute condition as before.

The only way in which we can make an effective change is not by replacing old traitors with new ones, or by strikes, but by *eliminating both institutions that make way for traitors,— capitalism and governments!* These are the foundations of the present system that must be crushed, destroyed and annihilated forever!

It is a long, hard struggle, we know, but everything of real value in the history of mankind has ever been difficult to attain. Was the emancipation of the black slaves an easy task? Or was our freedom from English domination easily gained? For real Freedom everything is worth while.

When at your union meetings, A. F. L., I. W. W. or any other labor organization, discuss the ways and means, not of how to "elect" traitors, but of how to abolish our economic and political slavery.

We Anarchists propose, that the only way in which we can ever change our present system, is by Arising in a Social Revolution, and *overthrowing* the entire present state of society.

How shall we do it? First of all, stop participating in any elections of government officials. Refuse to pay any taxes to them, and through and with our united revolutionary action — we should go and take possession of all warehouses, food and clothing stores in the country. If we can supply, with our labor, all the food and clothing stores for capitalism and governments, we shall surely be able to run them for the use of all those who will participate in the new society, the Anarchist Commune Society, based on Equality, Freedom, mutual cooperation, and the pursuits of happiness that is the right of every human being.

Think about this workers! Let us all get ready for the great battle — the battle of the Social Revolution!

Meanwhile: Refuse to vote!
Refuse to pay taxes!
Refuse to listen to labor leaders.

Revolt instead of vote!

Issued by Anarchist Groups.

NOTES ON SUB-SECTION III

REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Note on Chapter I. Industrial Workers of the World..... 1921
VI, VII–VIII. Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Amalgamated Textile Workers of America and International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union plan One Big Union..... 1972

(For Key to Numbers see Page 1926)

Chart showing new organization plan of Industrial Workers of the World. (*One Big Union Monthly*, Oct. 1920.)

NOTE ON CHAPTER I
Industrial Workers of the World

ECONOMIC DIRECT ACTION

In the chapter of this report dealing with the I. W. W., the purpose was to show the real method by which the Industrial Workers of the World seek to form "The structure of the new society within the shell of the old." As was pointed out, the method sought to be employed is that advocated by other revolutionary bodies, namely, economic direct action, which involves the use of the coercive power of the general strike and sabotage to impose upon the majority the will of an organized and militant minority. The position of the I. W. W. with regard to method is clearly expressed in an article appearing in the October issue, 1920, of The One Big Union Monthly, entitled "Trying Out Economic Direct Action in Italy," from which we quote the following:

> "The Italian workers, though having expressed their sympathy with Soviet Russia and the program of the Third International, as outlined largely by the Russians, have chosen their own way of solving the social problem. That their efforts, so far, almost entirely agree with the I. W. W. program is, no doubt, more than blind chance. They, like we, are following the line of least resistance in determining their course, much as water and electricity and other forces of nature do. The Italian workers are choosing for their field of revolutionary activity the sphere where the workers are strongest, that is in the shop, disregarding doctrines which would steer them up against the machine guns that guard the government buildings and public places, at least for the present.
>
> That is what the last I. W. W. convention termed *Economic Direct Action.*
>
> "There are two messages of world importance which the Italian Industrial Revolution has already at this stage flashed to the workers of the world. They are
>
> "(1) That the job organization, the industrial union, is the organ by means of which the people shall take possession of the industries.

"(2) That the revolution should be made bloodless *if possible.* (Italics ours.)

"These two messages are inspiring and are these very days being indelibly engraved in the minds of hundreds of millions of people who read the news. It can not fail to have a tremendous influence on the world's workers. It will no doubt speed up the work of industrial organization throughout the world as nothing else can do, and the beautiful gospel of bloodless revolution is bound to enthuse even those big masses who have held back from carrying out the program of the political revolutionists."

The viewpoint of the organization is still more clearly defined by the closing paragraphs of the same article:

"We are not oversanguine in our hope that the Italian workers will be able to carry out the industrial occupation to a successful finish without the shedding of blood in the process. We dare hardly believe that the Italian Capitalist class and the Italian government will be able to control themselves and allow the change to take place without attacking the workers.

"But if they do make such an attack, the workers will be able to wash their hands of resulting events, as they have in good faith offered the world to make the change without shedding blood.

"All hail to our Italian Fellow Workers in revolution!

"Long live 'The Fourth Italy,' the Italy of Industrial Communism!"

In other words, the program of the I. W. W., openly advocated, contemplates the attempted seizure of industries without compensation to owners and hopes that it may accomplish this transformation without bloodshed or resistance on the part of the owners of the property. The implication is clear, however, that if there is resistance on their part that force is to be employed by the workers to retain or gain control of such properties. This program is similar to that of the highwayman who demands the purse of the traveler at the point of a revolver, and expresses the hope that the traveler will not resist the robbery so that it will not be necessary for him to make use of the weapon.

In view of the foregoing the following resolution adopted at the Twelfth Annual Convention of the I. W. W. in the year 1920 has real significance:

> "Resolved, that we always preach and practice our only weapon — economic direct action — in order to abolish the present system of exploitation." (See page 30 of the same issue.)

One of the clearest endorsements of violence to the revolutionary objector may be found in the November issue of the One Big Union Monthly, page 9. Here is reproduced a proclamation addressed to Italian workers by Maratesta in the Italian Anarchist paper, "Umanita Nova" (the New Humanity).

The translation of this proclamation follows:

> "Metal Workers:
>
> "Whatever your leaders may be deciding, do not abandon the factories, do not return the mills, do not deposit your arms. If today you leave the factories you will return tomorrow decimated after having passed under the yoke prepared for you by the employers.
>
> "Workers of all industries, arts and commerce; follow immediately the example of the metallurgical workers by occupying all establishments, warehouses, naval yards, bakeries and markets.
>
> "Peasants, occupy the land.
>
> "Sailors, occupy the ships.
>
> "Railwaymen, allow the trains to run only for the common cause.
>
> "Postal and Telegraph Workers, suppress the correspondence of the bourgeoisie.
>
> "An unforeseen possibility is in prospect through the occupation of the factories: that of accomplishing a great revolution without the shedding of blood, or the disorganization of national life.
>
> "Do not allow this opportunity to get away from you.
>
> "And you, Soldiers, our brothers, remember that the arms which the masters have given to defend privilege and to massacre the workers struggling for their emancipation, can also be used against the oppressors and for the triumph of the proletariat."

While this document hints at the possibility of accomplishing a great revolution without the shedding of blood, the closing paragraph, which is addressed to the soldiers, shows clearly that an armed revolt is not only approved, but urged. Our interest in this document is the editorial comment upon it by the official organ of the I. W. W., which says:

> "Read it carefully. *It is an immortal document.* It is the condensed program of the real world revolution."

It is the practice of our liberal journals, such as the "Nation," the "New Republic," the "Survey," and others, to depict the Industrial Workers of the World as a much misunderstood and much maligned union of workers, which have for their purpose solely the increasing of wages, lowering of hours of labor, and improving the working conditions. A typical example of this attitude may be found in an article entitled, "The I. W. W.," by Lewis S. Gannett, in the issue of the "Nation" for October 20, 1920, in which he says:

> "A legend has been built up about the I. W. W. The Department of Justice, Federal district attorneys and local prosecutors, the newspapers and the copper interests, have joined in spinning a veritable saga, about these men. They are pictured as cut-throat, pro-German, or, latterly, Bolshevik, desperadoes who burn harvest-fields, drive iron spikes into fine timber, and ruin the mill-saws, devise bomb plots, who obstructed the war, and sabotaged the manufacture of munitions — veritable supermen, with a superhuman power for evil, omnipresent and almost omnipotent. . . . They are a rollicking jovial lot; the only group in American labor which *sings*. . . . An I. W. W. union loaded every shell shipped from the Delaware river during the war."

The general tone of the article seeks to impress upon the reader that a grave injustice has been done to the I. W. W. in the courts of the United States and that they are an unjustly persecuted organization. The Committee would ignore such articles if they did not constitute almost the only source of information available to teachers and professors in colleges and universities with reference to the organizations. Such articles as the one above

quoted tell but half-truths. It is true that the Marine Transport Union No. 8, a member of the I. W. W., did load shells at the port of Philadelphia, and even went so far as to load munitions bound for Wrangel. What the "Nation" does not tell its readers is that the General Executive Board of the I. W. W. revoked the charter of this union and denounced it in the most scathing terms, in the following manner:

> "We consider that these misguided longshoremen have been guilty of a crime against the working class. They have betrayed the international labor movement by loading shrapnel shells consigned to the infamous Allied catspaw, Wrangel, for the purpose of drowning the Russian Revolution in a sea of blood."

That the reader may have the full statement issued by the General Executive Board, we append it at the close of this note.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

As we have indicated in the chapter of this report dealing with the activity of the Russian Soviet regime in the United States, Zinoviev, who is president of the Central Executive Committee of the Third Internationale, addressed a communication on behalf of that body to the I. W. W., urging that organization to join the Third Internationale in its program of world revolution. Excerpts from this appeal have been given in the chapter referred to, but for the purposes of study it is appended in full at the close of this note. As a result of this appeal the General Executive Board of the I. W. W. has sent out to its membership a referendum of four motions to determine whether or not the I. W. W. should affiliate with the Communist Internationale at Moscow, and if so, in what manner. These motions are as follows:

> "1. Moved by McClellan, Seconded by Mashlykin, That we endorse the Third Intenational. Motion lost.
>
> "2. Moved by Brown, Seconded by Sullivan, That we do not endorse the Third International officially, and that we notify the Third International that our position makes it impossible to endorse same as it is outlined in the Zinovieff appeal to the I. W. W., and that we are in favor of an Economic Industrial International. Motion carried.
>
> "3. Moved by Lessig, Seconded by Nordquist, That we

endorse the Third International with reservation, as follows: That we do not take any part whatsoever in parliamentary action and that we reserve the right to develop our own tactics according to conditions prevailing. Motion carried.

"4. Moved by McClellan, Seconded by Mashlykin, That the three above propositions be submitted to the membership for a referendum vote. Motion carried."

The vote on this referendum has not been taken. It is, therefore, impossible to determine in what manner the I. W. W. has affiliated with the Third International.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD. ORGANIZATION

Since the preparation of the chapter in the report on the Industrial Workers of the World, a new chart has been prepared which will give the reader a clearer understanding of the system upon which the organization is based. (See illustration.) A description of this chart is found in the One Big Union Monthly for October, 1920. On page 33 we find the following:

"CHART OF INDUSTRIAL COMMUNISM

"(Pertains to the article 'Solving the Social Problem through Economic Direct Action,' pages 30–36.)

"This chart is *Industrial Communism* reduced to its simplest form. It provides for all organs of production, distribution and administration.

"For the sake of convenience we shall consider the chart as a wheel consisting of *Hub, Spokes, Rim* and *Tire.*

"The *Rim,* depicted with short, radial lines close together is made up of the *Shop or Job Branches* which are the foundation of *Industrial Communism.* This is the big masses of the people organized in branches in each locality for the carrying on of production and distribution.

"The *Spokes* are the Industrial Unions and the Industrial Departments, both of them organs of production and distribution.

"The *Hub* depicted with a black ring 'Departmental Administration' and a center or axle, corresponding to the General Administration, here indicated with the well known I. W. W. label.

"Another ring outside the Departmental ring could conveniently have been added to indicate 'Industrial Union Administration,' and the hub would have been more complete.

"Other improvements may suggest themselves and are solicited.

"Finishing off the structure of the wheel of production and distribution is the iron *Tire*, so to speak, of Central Councils for local and regional *Administration*. This tire holds the structure of production and distribution together and serves as a means of contact between all the job branches direct while at the same time organically connected with the General Administration.

"An indicated on the chart both the Central Councils and the Industrial Union and Departmental and General administration are built up by means of a system of *Industrial Representation*, inasmuch as all officials or servants are elected from and by the Shop and Job Branches.

"Please note that this plan leaves no room for a political party which specializes in governing and ruling other people.

"All power rests with the people organized in branches of the Industrial Unions.

"From production and distribution standpoint this means *Industrial Communism*.

"From administration standpoint it means *Industrial Democracy*.

"*Such is the program of the I. W. W.*"

On page 36 is found the following:

"INDUSTRIAL UNIONS RE-NUMBERED BY GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD.

"Old Numbers Discarded to Make Way for Up to Date Decimal System. Members are Urged to Study the Chart Carefully.

"A systematic revision of the Industrial Union numbers has been needed for a long time. It has been generally recognized that the present system of numbering was long ago outgrown. No matter how perfect the One Big Union plan of organization might be it will always be imperfect if the numbers of the various Industrial Unions are meaningless. An efficient organization requires efficient order and arrangement in its industrial groupings as well as in its

fundamental plan. The last convention decided to rectify the old system and the present General Executive Board, carried out these instructions. The changes will go into effect as soon as the General Office can issue formal instructions to the various Industrial Unions.

"Numbers that have been issued to the various Unions run from 8 to 1500. These numbers, while they have served their purpose in the past are at present arbitrary and meaningless. First of all it is easy to misconstrue the I. W. W. One Big Union Chart unless a scientific system of numbering is used. For instance: No. 620, Boot and Shoe Workers' Industrial Union is a misnomer. There should be a Leather Workers' Industrial Union charter for a branch organization. The same thing applies to 470, Rubber Workers Industrial Union, which should by right be a branch of the Chemical Workers Industrial Union.

"Numbers, in these days, are used to convey the idea of relationship. All big business concerns have their departments keyed with certain numbers to help simplify the intricacies of business management and control. In the I. W. W., however, the number '400' has been spread over three separate and distinct Departments — not to mention industries: 400, Agriculture, 450, Mining and 470 and 480 in Manufacture. This is hopelessly misleading and confusing.

"The Decimal system, by Melwill Dewey, is used largely by big corporations in organizing the various units of their business. It is also used in every library in the land. It is so simple that a child can understand it at a glance. This system permits of ten classes, ten sections and ten divisions. But since there are only six logical divisions for the Departments of modern industry we need only six of the decimals for our Industrial Departments. The Industrial Unions follow in their natural order — each one being branches off from its Department. The number will show the exact relationship at a glance. In due time it is possible to number the branches in the same manner. In this way each number MEANS SOMETHING — it shows the Department the Industrial Union, and, if necessary the Branch. The confusion of the old system of numbering is done away with and Delegates are no longer in doubt as to just how to make out cards for new members. We are indebted to

Fellow Worker Robert Russel of Minneapolis for this adaptation of the Decimal System to fit the needs of the I. W. W.

"Members are urged to study the chart carefully and to be guided by it in the future. A list of the Industrial Unions as they appear in the light of this scientific system of numbering appears below:

"List of Industrial Unions to be used for the information of delegates in lining up new members:

"*Department of Agriculture* — 100

"Agricultural Workers Industrial Union No. 110.

"Lumber Workers Industrial Union No. 120.

"Fishermen's Industrial Union No. 130.

"Floricultural and Horticultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 140.

"*Department of Mining* — 200

"Metal Mine Workers Industrial Union No. 210.

"Coal Miners and Coke Oven Workers Industrial Union No. 220.

"Oil, Gas and Petroleum Workers Industrial Union No. 230.

"*Department of Construction* — 300

"Railroad, Road, Canal, Tunnel and Bridge Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 310.

"Ship Builders Industrial Union No. 320.

"House and Building Construction Workers Industrial Union No. 330.

"*Department of Manufacture and General Production* - - 400

"Textile and Clothing Workers Industrial Union No. 410.

"Woodworkers Industrial Union No. 420.

"Chemical Workers Industrial Union No. 430.

"Metal and Machinery Workers Industrial Union No. 440.

"Printing and Publishing House Workers Industrial Union No. 450.

"Foodstuff Workers Industrial Union No. 460.

"Leather Workers Industrial Union No. 470.

"Glass and Pottery Workers Industrial Union No. 480.

"*Department of Transportation* — 500

"Marine Transportation Workers Industrial Union No. 510.

"Railroad Workers Industrial Union No. 520.

"Telegraph, Telephone and Wireless Workers Industrial Union No. 530.

"Municipal Transportation Workers Industrial Union No. 540.

"Aerial Navigation Workers Industrial Union No. 550.

"*Department of Public Service* — 600

"Health and Sanitation Workers Industrial Union No. 610.

"Park and Highway Maintenance Workers Industrial Union No. 620.

"Educational Workers Industrial Union No. 630.

"General Distribution Workers Industrial Union No. 640.

"Public Utility Workers Industrial Union No. 650.

"Amusement Workers Industrial Union No. 660.

"Initiating new members be sure and place members in the Industrial Union to which they belong."

APPENDIX TO NOTE

Document 1.—"Statement on Philadelphia Marine Transport Workers 1931
2.—"The Communist International to the I. W. W., an Appeal to the Executive Committee of the Third International at Moscow"..... 1933
3.—Preamble and Constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World..... 1947

Document I

STATEMENT ON PHILADELPHIA MARINE TRANSPORT WORKERS

On August 11, 1920 the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World learned, for the first time of the treasonable action of the Philadelphia branch M. T. W. No. 8. This situation is the result of circumstances over which the General Executive Board had no control.

This branch was immediately expelled from membership and their charter revoked.

We consider that these misguided longshoremen have been guilty of a crime against the working class. They have betrayed the international labor movement by loading shrapnel shells consigned to the infamous Allied catspaw, Wrangel, for the purpose of drowning the Russian revolution in a sea of blood.

Such action is diametrically opposed to every principle of working class honor that the I. W. W. has stood for, fought for and bled for from its inception.

The I. W. W. views the accomplishments of the Soviet government of Russia with breathless interest and intense admiration.

Workers who load munitions of war at the behest of any capitalist government to help defeat any working class revolution are guilty of high treason to their class.

The I. W. W. has stood for unqualified industrial solidarity to defeat such ignoble ends and it stands for it now. The organization would rather face death and dismemberment than stand the disgrace of having its members render any assistance in keeping its workers enslaved to the Moloch of capitalism.

The I. W. W. has always expelled members who were not true to the basic principles of the world revolution. We would expel members for aiding in the overthrow of a working class government in Poland as readily as for aiding in the overthrow of the working class government of Russia. We look forward joyfully to the day when the proletariat of Poland will cast into oblivion the imperialistic fakirs who now dominate the nation.

[1931]

The I. W. W. has proved by deeds that it is willing and eager at all costs to fight and sacrifice for the cause of international solidarity. It still keeps the faith.

The organization was designed to make it impossible for one group of workers to be used against another group in the great struggle of the classes. We do not want and will not tolerate in our membership men who can stoop so low as to aid and abet any capitalist government or any other national or international section of the common enemy in keeping the working class in slavery.

We look with horror and disgust upon the action of the Philadelphia longshoremen in loading high explosives on ships for the purpose of butchering our brave fellow workers in Russia who have established the first working class government in the world.

The I. W. W. has stood the brunt of the fury of master class hatred in America. More of our members have been imprisoned, murdered and brutalized than all other revolutionary organizations combined. The reason is that we stand and have always stood for the use of militant direct action to overthrow the dictatorship of the capitalist class.

The I. W. W. wishes to keep its fair name untarnished in the eyes of the world's proletariat.

We call upon the membership of our organization to use their utmost power to assist the Soviet government of Russia in fighting the world's battle against capitalism.

We pledge ourselves and our organization to help overthrow capitalism and everything that stands for capitalism.

We appeal to the working class in general and the United Communist Party in particular to take a stand in industry and help build up a revolutionary organization that will make forever impossible repetition of the dastardly action of the Philadelphia longshoremen.

The I. W. W. holds out the clean hand of brotherhood to the revolutionary workers of the world.

Signed by General Executive Board of the I. W. W.

Thomas Whitehead,
Gen. Sec'y-Treas.
August Walquist,
Patrick McClellan,
P. F. Mashlykin,
George Speed,
Chairman, G. E. B.

Document II

The Communist International to the I. W. W.

An Appeal of the Executive Committee of the Third International at Moscow

Comrades and Fellow Workers:

The Executive Committee of the Communist International in session at Moscow, the heart of the Russian Revolution, greets the revolutionary American proletariat in the ranks of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Capitalism, ruined by the World War, unable any longer to contain within itself the tremendous forces it has created is breaking down.

The hour of the working class has struck. The Social Revolution has begun, and here, on the Russian plain, the first vanguard battle is being fought.

History does not ask whether we like it or not, whether the workers are ready or not. Here is the opportunity. Take it — and the world will belong to the workers; leave it — there may not be another for generations.

Now is no time to talk of "building the new society within the shell of the old." The old society is cracking its shell. The workers must establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, which alone can build the new society.

An article in the ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY, your official organ, asks, "Why should we follow the Bolsheviks?" According to the writer, all that the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia has done is "to give the Russian people the vote."

This is, of course, untrue. The Bolshevik Revolution has taken the factories, mills, mines, land and financial institutions out of the hands of the capitalists and transferred them to the WHOLE WORKING CLASS.

We understand, and share with you, your disgust for the principles and tactics of the "yellow" Socialist politicians, who, all over the world, have discredited the very name of Socialism. Our aim is the same as yours — a commonwealth without State, without Government, without classes, in which the workers shall administer the means of production and distribution for the common benefit of all.

We address this letter to you, fellow-workers of the I. W. W., in recognition of your long and heroic services in the class war,

of which you may have borne the brunt in your own country, so that you may clearly understand our Communist principles and program.

We appeal to you, as revolutionists, to rally to the Communist International, born in the dawn of the World Social Revolution.

We call you to take the place to which your courage and revolutionary experience entitles you, in the front ranks of the proletarian Red Army fighting under the banner of Communism.

Communism and the I. W. W.

The American Capitalist class is revealing itself in its true colors.

The constantly rising cost of living, the growing unemployment, the savage repression of all efforts of the workers to better their condition, the deportation and imprisonment of "Bolsheviks," the series of anti-strike laws, "criminal syndicalist" laws, "red flag" laws, and laws against propaganda advocating the "forcible overthrow of government and the unlawful destruction of property" — all these measures can have but one meaning for every intelligent worker.

BUT NOW THE CAPITALISTS OF THE WORLD — THE AMERICAN CAPITALISTS AS WELL AS THOSE OF FRANCE, ITALY, ENGLAND, GERMANY, ETC., ARE PLANNING TO REDUCE THE WORKERS ONCE FOR ALL TO ABSOLUTE AND HOPELESS SERFDOM.

Either this, or the Dictatorship of the Working Class — there is no other alternative. And the workers must choose now.

Capitalism is making desperate efforts to reconstruct its shattered world. The workers must seize by force the power of the State, and reconstruct society in their own interests.

The Coming Slave State

Before the American Civil War, the Negro slaves of the South were bound to the land. The industrial capitalists of the North, who needed a floating population to operate their factories, declared slavery to be an outrage, and abolished it by force. Now the industrial capitalists are attempting to bind the workers to the factories.

In every country, during the world war, it was practically forbidden for the workers to strike, or even to stop work. You will remember the "Work or Fight" laws in your own country.

And now that the war is over, what has happened? The cost

of living has gone up and up, while the capitalists have actually tried to reduce wages. And when the workers, faced by starvation, are forced to strike, the whole power of the State is mobilized to drive them back to the machines. When the railway shopmen walked out, the United States Marshal of California threatened to bring in Federal troops to force them to work. When the Railroad Brotherhoods demanded higher wages or the nationalization of the railways, the President of the United States menaced them with the full armed power of the Government. When the United Mine Workers laid down their tools thousands of soldiers occupied the mines, and the Federal Court issued the most sweeping injunction in history, forbidding the Union leaders from sending out the strike order or in any way assisting in conducting the strike, and forcibly preventing the payment of the strike-benefits. And finally, the Attorney-General of the United States declared officially that the Government would not permit strikes in "industries necessary to the community."

Judge Gary, head of the Steel Trust, can refuse the demand of the President of the United States to meet a committee of his workers. But when the steelworkers dare to go on strike for a living wage and the elementary right to join a Union, they are called Bolsheviks and shot down in the streets by the Pennsylvania Cossacks.

And you, fellow-workers of the I. W. W., with your bitter memories of Everett, of Tulsa, of Wheatland, of Centralia, in which your comrades were butchered; with — your thousands in prison — you who nevertheless must do the "dirty work" in the harvest-fields, on the docks, in the forests — you must see plainly the process by which the capitalists, by means — of their weapon, the State, are trying to inaugurate the Slave Society.

Everywhere the capitalist cry: "More production! More production!" In other words, the workers must do more work for less wages, so that their blood and sweat may be turned into gold, to pay the war-debts of the ruined capitalist world.

In order to accomplish this the workers must no longer have the right to leave their jobs; they must be forbidden to organize so that they may be able to wring concessions from the bosses, or profit by capitalist competition. At all costs the Labor Movement must be halted, and broken.

To save the old system of exploitation, the capitalists must unite, and chain the workers to the machines of industry.

Or the Social Revolution

Will the capitalists be able to do this?

They will, unless the workers declare war on the whole capitalist system, overthrow the capitalist governments, and set up a government of the working class, which shall destroy the institution of capitalist private property and make all wealth the property of all the workers in common.

This is what the Russian workers have done, and this is the ONLY WAY for the workers of other countries to free themselves from industrial slavery, and to make over the world so that the worker shall get ALL HE PRODUCES and nobody shall be able to make money out of the labor of other men.

But unless the workers of other countries rise against their own capitalists, the Russian Revolution cannot last. The capitalists of the entire world, realizing the example of the danger of Soviet Russia, have united to crush it. The Allies have quickly forgotten their hatred for Germany, and have invited the German capitalists to join them in the common cause.

And the workers of other countries are beginning to understand, in Italy, Germany, France and England the tide of Revolution is rising. In America, too, even the conservative members of the A. F. of L. are realizing that strikes for higher wages and better conditions don't mean anything, because the cost of living is always higher and higher. They have proposed all sorts of remedies, reforms, such as the Plum Plan, nationalization of mines, etc. They have founded a so-called "Labor Party," which works for municipal and government ownership of industry, more democratic electoral machinery, etc.

But these reforms would not solve the problem, even if they could be achieved. SO LONG AS THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM EXISTS, THE SAME MEN WILL BE MAKING MONEY OUT OF THE LABOR OF OTHERS. ALL REFORMS OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF SOCIETY SIMPLY FOOL THE WORKER INTO BELIEVING THAT HE ISN'T BEING ROBBED AS MUCH AS HE WAS BEFORE.

The Social Revolution has begun, and the first battle is on in Russia. It will not wait for the workers to experiment with reforms. The capitalists have already destroyed the Hungarian Soviet Republic. If they can dominate and break the labor movement in the other countries then will follow an industrial Slave State.

BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE, the class-conscious workers of the world must prepare to meet the shock of the capitalist assault, to attack and destroy capitalism, and root it out of the world.

The Capitalist State

The war and its aftermath have revealed, with startling clearness, the real function of the capitalist State — with its legislatures, courts of justice, police, armies and bureaucrats.

The State is USED to defend and strengthen the power of the capitalists, and to oppress the workers. This is particularly true in the United States, whose constitution was framed by the great merchants, speculators, and land-owners, with the deliberate purpose of protecting their class interests against the majority of the people.

AT THE PRESENT TIME THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES IS OPENLY ACTING AS THE WEAPON OF THE CAPITALISTS AGAINST THE WORKERS.

The I. W. W. should realize this more clearly than any other body of workers, for it has been savagely persecuted by the Government — its leaders imprisoned, its papers suppressed, its members deported, jailed on false charges, refused bail, tortured, its headquarters closed, and its propaganda illegal in many States.

Any worker can see this fact with his own eyes. All the people vote for Governors, Mayors, Judges and Sheriffs; but in time of strike the Governor calls in the militia to protect the scabs, the Mayor orders the police to beat up and arrest the pickets, the Judge imprisons the workers for "rioting," "disturbing the peace," and the sheriff hires thugs as deputies to break the strike.

Capitalist society all together presents a solid front against the worker. The priest tells the worker to be contented; the press curses him for a "Bolshevik"; the policeman arrests him; the court sentences him to jail; the Sheriff seizes his furniture for debt, and the Poor-House takes his wife and children.

In order to destroy Capitalism, the workers must first wrest the State power out of the hands of the capitalist class. They must not only SEIZE this power, but ABOLISH THE OLD CAPITALIST APPARATUS ENTIRELY.

For the experience of Revolutions has shown that the workers cannot take hold of the State machine and use it for their own purposes — such as the Yellow Socialist politicians propose to do.

The capitalist State is built to serve capitalism, and that is all it can do, no matter who is running it.

And in place of the capitalist State the workers must build their own WORKERS' STATE, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Many members of the I. W. W. do not agree with this. They are against "the State in general." They propose to overthrow the capitalist State, and to establish in its place immediately the Industrial Commonwealth.

The Communists are also opposed to the "State." They also wish to abolish it — to substitute for the government of men the administration of things.

But unfortunately this cannot be done immediately. The destruction of the capitalist State does not mean that capitalism automatically and immediately disappears. The capitalists still have arms, which must be taken away from them; they are still supported by hordes of loyal bureaucrats, managers, superintendents, foremen, and trained men of all sorts, who will sabotage industry — and these must be persuaded or compelled to serve the working class; they still have army officers who can betray the Revolution, preachers who can raise superstitious fears against it, teachers and orators who can misrepresent it to the ignorant, thugs who can be hired to discredit it by evil behavior, newspaper editors who can deceive the people with floods of lies, and "yellow" Socialists and Labor fakirs who prefer capitalist "democracy" to the Revolution. All these people must be sternly suppressed.

To break down the capitalist State, to crush capitalist resistance and disarm the capitalist class, to confiscate capitalist property and turn it over to the WHOLE WORKING CLASS IN COMMON — for all these tasks a government is necessary — a State, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, in which the workers, through their Soviets, can uproot the capitalist system with an iron hand.

This is exactly what exists in Soviet Russia to-day.

BUT THIS DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IS ONLY TEMPORARY.

We, Communists, also want to abolish the State. The State can only exist as long as there is class struggle. The function of the Proletarian Dictatorship is to abolish the capitalist class as a class; in fact, do away with all class divisions of every kind.

And when this condition is reached then the PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP, THE STATE, AUTOMATICALLY DISAPPEARS — to make way for an industrial administrative body which will be something like the General Executive Board of the I. W. W.

In a recent leaflet, Mary Marcy argues that, although the I. W. W. does not theoretically recognize the necessity for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, it will be forced to do so IN FACT at the time of the Revolution, in order to suppress the capitalist counter-revolution.

This is true, but unless the I. W. W. acknowledges beforehand the necessity of the Workers' State, and prepares for it, there will be confusion and weakness at a time when firmness and swift action are imperative.

The Workers' State

What will be the form of the Workers' State?

We have before us the example of the Russian Soviet Republic, whose structure, in view of the conflicting reports printed in other countries, it may be useful to describe briefly here.

The unit of government is the local Soviet, or Council of Workers, Red Army, and Peasants' Deputies.

The city Workers' Soviet is made up as follows: each factory elects one delegate for a certain number of workers, and each local union also elects delegates. These delegates are elected according to political parties — or, if the workers wish it, as individual candidates.

The Red Army delegates are chosen by military units.

For the peasants, each village has its local Soviet, which sends delegates to the Township Soviet, which in turn elects to the County Soviet, and this to the Provincial Soviet.

Nobody who employs labor for profit can vote.

Every six months the City and Provincial Soviets elect delegates to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which is the supreme governing body of the country. This Congress decides upon the policies which are to govern the country for six months, and then elects a Central Executive Committee of two hundred, which is to carry out these policies. The Congress also elects the Cabinet — the Council of People's Commissars, who are heads of government departments — or People's Commissariats.

The People's Commissars can be recalled at any time by the Central Executive Committee. The members of all Soviets can be recalled very easily, and at any time, by their constituents.

These Soviets are not only LEGISLATIVE bodies, but also EXECUTIVE organs. Unlike your Congress, they do not make the laws and leave them to the President to carry out, but the members carry out the laws themselves; and there is no Supreme Court to say whether or not these laws are "constitutional."

Between the All-Russian Congresses of Soviets the Central Executive Committee is the SUPREME POWER in Russia. It meets at least every two months, and in the meanwhile, the Council of People's Commissars directs the country, while the members of the Central Executive Committee go to work in the various government departments.

The Organization of Production and Distribution

In Russia the workers are organized in Industrial Unions, all the workers in each industry belonging to one union. For example, in a factory making metal products, even the carpenters and painters are members of the Metal Workers' Union. Each factory is a local union, and the Shop Committee elected by the Workers is its Executive Committee.

The All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the federated unions is elected by the annual Trade Union Convention. A Scale Committee elected by the convention fixes the wages of all categories of workers.

With very few exceptions, all important factories in Russia have been nationalized, and are now the property of all the workers in common. The business of the unions is, therefore, no longer to fight the capitalists, but to RUN INDUSTRY.

Hand in hand with the unions works the Department of Labor of the Soviet government, whose chief is the People's Commissar of Labor, elected by the Soviet Congress with the approval of the unions.

In charge of the economic life of the country is the elected Supreme Council of People's Economy, divided into departments, such as Metal Department, Chemical Department, etc., each one headed by experts and workers, appointed, with the approval of the union by the Supreme Council of People's Economy.

In each factory production is carried on by a committee consisting of three members: a representative of the Shop Committee of the unions, a representative of the Central Executive of the unions, and a representative of the Supreme Council of People's Economy.

Democratic Centralization

The unions are thus a branch of the government—and this government is the MOST HIGHLY CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT THAT EXISTS.

It is also the most democratic government in history. For all the organs of government are in constant touch with the working masses, and constantly sensitive to their will. Moreover, the local Soviets all over Russia have complete autonomy to manage their own local affairs, provided they carry out the national policies laid down by the Soviet Congress. Also, the Soviet government represents ONLY THE WORKERS, and cannot help but act in the workers' interests.

Many members of the I. W. W. are opposed to centralization, because they do not think it can be democratic. But where there are great masses of people, it is impossible to register the will of individuals; only the will of majorities can be registered, and in Soviet Russia the government is administered only for the common good of the working class.

The private property of the capitalist class, in order to become the SOCIAL property of the workers, cannot be turned over to individuals or groups of individuals. It must become the property of all in common, and a centralized authority is necessary to accomplish this change.

The industries, too, which supply the needs of all the people, are not the concern only of the workers in each industry, but of ALL IN COMMON, and must be administered for the benefit of all. Moreover, modern industry is so complicated and interdependent that in order to operate most economically and with the greatest production it must be subject to one general scheme, and one central management.

The Revolution must be defended against the formidable assaults of the combined forces of capitalism. Vast armies must be raised, drilled, equipped and directed. This means centralization. Soviet Russia has for two years almost alone fought off the massed attacks of the capitalist world. How could the Red Army, more than two million strong, have been formed without central directing authority?

The capitalist class has a strongly centralized organization, which permits its full strength to be hurried against the scattered and divided sections of the working class. The class war is war. To overthrow capitalism, the workers must be a military force,

with its General Staff — but this General Staff elected and controlled by the workers.

In time of strike every worker knows that there must be a Strike Committee — a centralized organ to conduct the strike, whose orders must be obeyed — although this committee is elected and controlled by the rank and file. SOVIET RUSSIA IS ON STRIKE AGAINST THE WHOLE CAPITALIST WORLD. THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IS A GENERAL STRIKE AGAINST THE WHOLE CAPITALIST SYSTEM. THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IS THE STRIKE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

Probably the coming proletarian revolutions in America and other countries will develop new forms of organization. The Bolsheviki do not pretend that they have said the final word in the Social Revolution. But the experience of two years of Workers government in Russia is naturally of the greatest importance, and should be closely studied by the workers of other countries.

Politics

The word "politics" is to many members of the I. W. W. like a red flag to a bull — or a capitalist. Politics, to them, means simply politicians — usually "yellow" Socialist candidates trying to catch votes to elect them to some comfortable office where they can comfortably forget all about the workers.

These "anti-political" fellow-workers oppose the Communist because they call themselves a "political party," and sometimes take part in political campaigns.

This is using the word "politics" in too narrow a sense. One of the principles upon which the I. W. W. was founded is expressed in the saying of Karl Marx, "EVERY CLASS STRUGGLE IS A POLITICAL STRUGGLE." That is to say, every struggle of the workers against the capitalists is a struggle of the workers for the POLITICAL power — the State power.

This is using the word "politics" in too narrow a use the word "politics."

The "yellow" Socialists believe that they can gradually gain this political power by using the political machinery of the capitalist State to win reforms, and when they have elected a majority of the members of Congress and the Legislatures, and the President, Governors, Mayors and Sheriffs, they can proceed to use the State power to legislate capitalism peacefully out, and the Industrial Commonwealth in.

This leads the "yellow" Socialists to preach all sorts of reforms of the capitalist system, draws to their ranks small capitalists and political adventurers of all kinds, and finally causes them to make deals and compromises with the capitalist class.

The I. W. W. do not believe in this, and NEITHER DO THE COMMUNISTS.

We, Communists, do not think that it is possible to capture the State power by using political machinery of the capitalist State. The State being the particular weapon of the capitalist class, its machinery is naturally constructed so as to defend and strengthen the power of capitalism. Capitalist control of all agencies molding public opinion — press, schools, churches and labor fakirs, capitalist control of the workers' political conduct through control of their means of living make it extremely improbable that the workers under the present capitalist "democracy" could ever legally elect a government devoted to their interests.

And at this time when the capitalist class the world over is launching a desperate campaign of repression against all conscious working class organizations, it is unthinkable.

But even if it were possible for the workers to win the State power by means of the political machinery, the capitalist State could never be used to introduce the Industrial Commonwealth. The real source of capitalist power lies in CAPITALIST OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION. The capitalist State exists for the purpose of protecting and extending this ownership and control — it cannot therefore be used to destroy it.

So far the Communists and the I. W. W. are in accord. The capitalist State must be attacked by DIRECT ACTION. This, in the correct meaning of the word, is also POLITICAL action, for it has a POLITICAL aim — the seizure of State power.

The I. W. W. proposes to attain this end by the General Strike. The Communists go farther. History indicates clearly that the General Strike is not enough. The capitalists have arms — and the experience with White Guards in Russia, Finland and Germany proves that they have sufficient organization and training to use these arms against the workers. Moreover, the capitalists possess stores of food, which enable them to hold out longer than the workers, always on the the verge of actual want.

The Communists also advocate the General Strike, but they add that it must turn into ARMED INSURRECTION. Both the General Strike and the insurrection are forms of POLITICAL ACTION.

If this is so, if the Communists do not believe in capturing the State power by means of the ballot box, why do the Communist Parties participate in elections, and nominate candidates for office?

The question of whether or not Communists should participate in elections is of secondary importance. Some Communist organizations do others do not. But those who DO act on the political field, do so only for PROPAGANDA. Political campaigns give an opportunity for revolutionists to speak to the working class, pointing out the class character of the State and THEIR class interests as workers. They enable them to show the futility of reforms, to demonstrate the real interests which dominate the capitalist — and "yellow" Socialist — political parties, and to point out why the entire capitalist system must be overthrown.

Communists elected to Congress or the Legislatures have as their function to make propaganda; to ceaselessly expose the real nature of the capitalist State, to obstruct the operations of capitalist government and show their class character, to explain the futility of all capitalist reform measures, etc. In the halls of the legislative assembly, against the sounding-board of the Nation, the Communist can show up capitalist brutality and call the workers to revolt.

Karl Liebknecht showed what a Communist in the Parliament can do. His words, spoken in the German Reichstag, were heard around the world.

Others in Russia, in Sweden (Hoglund) and in other countries have done the same thing.

The most common objection to electing candidates to capitalist legislatures, is that, no matter how good revolutionists they are, they will invariably be corrupted by their environment, and will betray the workers.

This belief is born of long experience, chiefly with Socialist politicians and Labor Fakers. But we, Communists, say that a REALLY REVOLUTIONARY PARTY WILL ELECT REAL REVOLUTIONISTS, AND WILL KNOW HOW TO KEEP THEM UNDER ITS CONTROL.

Many members of the I. W. W. are bitterly opposed to making ANY use of legislatures and other Government institutions for purposes of propaganda. But the I. W. W. as an organization has often used them. In the Lawrence Strike of 1912 the I. W. W. made good use EVEN OF VICTOR BERGER, THE SOCIALIST

congressman, who advertised the strikes and the I. W. W. on the floor of the House of Representatives. William D. Haywood, Vincent St. John, and many other I. W. W. leaders voluntarily testified before the Industrial Relations Commission of the United States Government, using this method to make propaganda for their organization. But the most striking example of using the political machinery of the State for purposes of propaganda occurred in 1918, when the Federal Court in Chicago was turned into a three-months-long I. W. W. agitation meeting – extremely valuable for us – by 100 I. W. W. leaders on trial there.

These are all cases of using the political machinery of the capitalist State to make revolutionary propaganda among the masses. This method of propaganda should be used as circumstances dictate — as should parliamentarian action. No weapon should be totally condemned.

The special and particular business of the I. W. W. is to train the workers for the seizure and management of industry. The special function of the Communist political party is to train the workers for the capture of political power, and the administration of the Proletarian Dictatorship. All workers should at the same time be members of the revolutionary industrial union of their industry, and of the political party which advocates Communism.

The Social Revolution and the Future Society

The aim of the I. W. W. is "to build the new society within the shell of the old." This means, to organize the workers so thoroughly that at a given time the capitalist system will be burst asunder, and the Industrial Commonwealth, fully developed, shall take its place.

Such an act requires the organization, and discipline, of the great majority of the workers. Before the war there was reason to believe that this might be feasible — although in the fourteen years of its history the I. W. W. had been able to organize comparatively only a small fraction of the American workers.

But at the present time such a plan is utopian. Capitalism is breaking down, the Social Revolution is upon us and history will not wait until the majority of the workers are organized 100 per cent according to the plan of the I. W. W., or any other organization.

There is no longer before us the prospect of normal industrial development which would alone allow the carrying out of such a plan. The War has hurled the peoples of the world into the great Cataclysm, and they must plan for IMMEDIATE ACTION — not for the working out of schemes which would take years to accomplish.

The new society is not to be built, as we thought, within the shell of the capitalist system. We cannot wait for that. THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IS HERE. And when the workers have overthrown capitalism and have crushed all attempts to re-establish it, then, at their leisure, through their Soviet State, they can build the new society in freedom.

In the face of the Social Revolution, what is the immediate important work of the Industrial Workers of the World?

They, as the most important organization based on revolutionary unionism in America, should take the initiative in trying to establish a basis for the uniting in one organization of all Unions which have a class-conscious revolutionary character, of all workers who accept the class struggle — such as the W. I. I. U., the One Big Union, and certain insurgent Unions in the A. F. of L. This is no time to quibble about a name or minor questions of organization. The essential task is to draw together all workers capable of revolutionary mass action in time of crisis.

They, as revolutionists, should not repel the attempts of the American Communists to come to an agreement with them for common revolutionary action. The political party and the economic organization must go forward shoulder to shoulder toward the common goal — the abolition of capitalism by means of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the formation of Soviets, and the disappearance of classes and the State.

The Communist International holds out to the I. W. W. the hand of brotherhood.

January, 1920.

President of the Central Executive Committee,

G. Zinoviev.

Document 3

"An Injury to One Is an Injury to All."

PREAMBLE AND CONSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Organized July 7, 1905

General Administration: 1001 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

As adopted, 1905, and amended by conventions and ratified by referendum votes, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1916.

I. W. W. PREAMBLE

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Knowing, therefore, that such an organization is absolutely necessary for our emancipation, we unite under the following constitution:

CONSTITUTION

Article 1

Name and Structure

Section 1. This organization shall be known as THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

Section 2. The Industrial Workers of the World shall be composed of actual wage workers brought together in an organization embodying Industrial Departments, Industrial Unions and Industrial Unions with Branches, Industrial Councils, General Recruiting Union and Recruiting Unions.

(a) Individual members, those actual wage-workers in isolated or unorganized localities, who desire to attach themselves to the Industrial Workers of the World shall become members of the General Recruting Union until such time as an Industrial Union or Branch of an Industrial Union shall be organized. Officers and employees of the General Office and Organizers under pay shall be members of the General Recruiting Union.

The Secretaries of Recruiting Unions shall be empowered to initiate all wage-workers of any industry in their locality where an Industrial Union does not exist. Applications of all accepted members eligible for membership in existing Industrial Unions shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the General Recruiting Union, who shall transfer them to their proper Industrial Union.

The Recruiting Union shall retain from each initiation fee the sum of ONE DOLLAR ($1.00) and from each due-stamp sold the sum of Twenty-five Cents (or any other sum that may be agreed upon) of each member sent in to an Industrial Union. Due-Books, Due-Stamps and Constitutions to be supplied by the Industrial Unions.

(b) Recruiting Unions shall be composed of wage-workers in whose respective industry there does not exist during their membership an Industrial Union or Branch of their respective Industrial Union.

(c) Industrial Unions shall be composed of all the actual wage-workers in a given industry, welded together in trade or shop branches or as the particular requirements of said industry may render necessary.

Whenever charters are issued for Branches of an Industrial Union, the Branches must, upon being chartered, form the Central Committee, or Executive Committee, of the Industrial Union. This Central Committee, or Executive Committee, of the Industrial Union shall maintain connection between the Industrial Union and all its Branches and the General Headquarters, Industrial Union or the Department Headquarters to which they belong.

All moneys collected by the Branches for dues and supplies must be paid in to the Secretary of the Industrial Union, and all bills for expenses of carrying on the work of the Industrial Union shall be paid from the treasury of the Industrial Union. Funds raised by the Branches in any manner outside of the regular income of the organization for dues, assessments and supplies can remain in the treasury of the Branch which handles the raising of such funds.

The Central Committee, or Executive Committee, of the Industrial Union shall be composed as follows: Each Branch of an Industrial Union shall be entitled to two delegates for the first fifty members or less, and one additional delegate for each 100 additional members or major fraction thereof; provided, however, that this basis for representation may be changed to suit industrial conditions. Each Delegate shall have one vote in the Central Committee, or Executive Committee.

The officers of the Central Committee, or Executive Committee, of an Industrial Union shall be as follows: Chairman, Financial Secretary and Treasurer, and three Trustees, who shall hold office for a term of six months, or until their successors are elected and installed into office.

The Chairman, Financial Secretary-Treasurer and Trustees of the Central Committee, or Executive Committee, shall be elected by the Central Committee, or Executive Committee, of the Industrial Union from the delegates to the Central Committee, or Executive Committee.

The Central Committee, or Executive Committee, of the Industrial Union shall meet at least once every month, and shall hold at least one general membership meeting every three months, or on demand of any of the Branches, or when called for by a majority of the delegates.

(d) An Industrial Department shall be made up of Industrial Unions of closely kindred industries appropriate for representation in the departmental administration, and assigned thereto by the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World.

(e) Industrial District Councils for the purpose of establishing general solidarity in a given district may be organized, and shall be composed of delegates from not less than five Induustrial or Recruiting Unions, and shall maintain communication between said district and General Headquarters.

(f) Industrial Unions and Recruiting Unions within the district defined in the charter of a district council shall be required to maintain affiliation with said council.

(g) Industrial District Councils shall employ such organizers as may be deemed necessary, subject to the approval of the General Executive Board of the I. W. W.

(h) Industrial District Councils shall hear all appeals on charges from members of Industrial Unions directly affiliated with the General Organization within their jurisdiction, and their decisions shall be binding in such matters unless appealed from to the General Executive Board or to the Convention..

(i) All charters of Unions within the district defined by an Industrial District Council charter shall be first approved by said Council before application for charter is made to the G. E. B.; but no charter of a Union shall be revoked by a District Council.

Section 3. An Industrial Department shall consist of two or more Industrial Unions aggregating a membership of not less than 20,000 members. The Departments shall have general supervision over the affairs of the Industrial Unions composing same, provided that all matters concerning the entire membership of the I. W. W. shall be settled by a referendum.

Section 4. The Departments shall be designated as follows:

Department of Agricultural, Land, Fisheries, and Water Products.

Department of Mining.

Department of Transportation and Communication.

Department of Manufacturing and General Production.
Department of Construction.
Department of Public Service.

Section 5. The financial and industrial affairs of each Industrial Department shall be conducted by an Executive Board of not less than seven (7) nor more than twenty-one (21), selected and elected by the general membership of said Industrial Department, provide that the Executive Board and general membership of the said Industrial Department shall at all times be subordinate to the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World, subject to appeal, and provided the expense of such referendum shall be borne by the Industrial Departments, or Industrial Union or Unions, involved.

Article II

Officers—Selections and Duties Thereof

Section 1. The General Officers of the I. W. W. shall be a General Secretary-Treasurer and a General Executive Board, composed of the above named officer and one member of each Industrial Department. A provisional General Executive Board, consisting of the above named and seven additional members, shall be maintained until such time as the department organizations are formed. The General Secretary shall have voice but no vote in the affairs of the General Executive Board.

Section 2. The General Secretary-Treasurer must be a member of the organization in continuous good standing for at least two years. The General Secretary-Treasurer shall be nominated from the floor of the convention, and the three (3) candidates for the office receiving the greater number of votes in the Convention shall be submitted to the general membership of the organization for election.

Section 3. The Provisional members of the General Executive Board shall be nominated from the general membership by the delegates on the floor of the Convention, and the three (3) candidates for each respective office receiving the highest number of votes in the Convention shall be submitted to the general membership of the organization through a referendum vote for election. Provided, however, that not more than three members of an Industrial Union shall go on the ballot, and that no more than one member of an Industrial Union shall be elected on the General Executive Board.

Duties of the General Secretary-Treasurer

Section 4. The duties of the General Secretary-Treasurer shall be to take charge of all books, papers and effects of the office. He shall be nominated and elected as provided for in Article II, Section 2, and shall hold office until his successor is duly elected, qualified and installed, except in case he shall resign or be removed from office, when his place shall be temporarily filled by the General Executive Board. He shall furnish a copy of all proceedings to each Union regardless of their connection, if any, with any of the Departments of the Industrial Workers of the World.

He shall conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; he shall be custodian of the Seal of the Organization, and shall attach the same to all official documents over his official signature; he shall provide such stationery and office supplies as are necessary for the conducting of affairs of the Organization; he shall act as Secretary at all meetings of the General Executive Board and all conventions and furnish the Committee on Credentials at each convention a statement of the financial standing of each Industrial Department, Industrial Union, Industrial Council and General Recruiting Union. He shall have a voice but no vote in the governing bodies of the Organization.

The General Secretary-Treasurer shall close his accounts for the fiscal year on the last day of the month preceding the Convention. He shall make a monthly financial report to the General Executive Board, and to the general membership, and he shall make a complete itemized report of the financial and other affairs of his office to each annual convention.

He shall prepare and sign all charters issued by the General Executive Board. He shall receive all moneys for charters, dues, assessments and supplies from Industrial Departments, Industrial Unions, Industrial Councils and the General Recruiting Union; he shall receipt for same and care for and deposit all moneys as instructed to do by the General Executive Board in some solvent bank, or banks, which shall be drawn out only to pay indebtedness arising out of the due conducting of the business of the organization, and then only after bill shall have been first duly presented by the creditor, when in payment thereof a check shall be drawn and signed by him.

For the honest and faithful discharge of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum or sums as may be fixed by the conven-

tion or General Executive Board, the bond so given to be approved by the General Executive Board and kept in their custody.

He shall devote his entire time to the affairs of the Organization, and shall at all times be under the supervision of the Executive Board and shall receive for his services four dollars per day, which shall be paid out of the funds of the Organization in the same manner as is provided for in the payment of other bills and indebtedness.

He shall, with the approval of the General Executive Board, employ such assistance as is necessary to conduct the affairs of his office. Remuneration for such employes shall be fixed by the General Executive Board and paid as other bills and indebtedness, as hereinbefore provided for; he shall convene the General Executive Board as hereinafter provided.

Article III

Duties of the General Executive Board

Section 1. The General Executive Board shall be composed of the General Secretary-Treasurer and one member from each Industrial Department, as provided for in Article II, Section 1. The General Secretary-Treasurer shall be elected as provided for in Article II, Section 2, except in case of vacancy, when they shall be elected as provided for in Article II, Section 3. The other members of the General Executive Board shall be elected by their respective Industrial Departments.

Section 2. The General Executive Board shall have general supervision of the entire affairs of the organization between conventions, and watch vigilantly over the interests throughout its jurisdiction. They shall be assisted by the officers and members of all organizations subordinate to the Industrial Workers of the World. They shall appoint such organizers as the conditions of the organization may justify.

(a) The General Executive Board shall not appoint or cause to be appointed any delegate or organizer without first notifying the Union (if any) where the organizer or delegate is about to operate.

Section 3. The General Executive Board shall not appoint as an organizer of the I. W. W. any one who is employed as organizer for any political party.

All organizers shall at all times work under the instruction of the General Secretary-Treasurer. All organizers, while in the employ of the Industrial Workers of the World, shall report to the General Secretary-Treasurer in writing on blanks provided for that purpose at least once each week. They shall receive as compensation for their services twenty-one dollars per week and legitimate expenses.

All organizers under pay must furnish the Secretary of the Industrial Union in the locality in which he is working an exact duplicate of the report that he sends in to the General Headquarters.

Section 4. The decision of the General Executive Board on all matters pertaining to the organization or any subordinate part thereof shall be binding, subject to an appeal to the next convention, or to the entire membership of the Organization; provided that, in case a referendum vote of the membership is demanded by any subordinate part of the Organization, the expense of submitting the matter to the referendum shall be borne by the Organization taking the appeal, except wherein the decision of the General Executive Board shall be reversed by a vote of the membership; then the expense shall be borne by the general organization.

Section 5. The General Executive Board shall have full power to issue charters to Industrial Departments, Industrial Unions, Industrial Union Branches, Industrial Councils and Recruting Unions, as provided for in Article I, Section 2. They shall also have power to charter and classify unions or organizations not herein provided for.

Section 6. In case the members of any subordinate organization of the Industrial Workers of the World are involved in strike, regularly ordered by the Organization or General Executive Board, or involved in a lockout, if in the opinion of the General Executive Board it becomes necessary to call out any other union, or unions, or organization, they shall have full power to do so.

Agreements

Any agreement entered into between the members of any Union, or organization, and their employers, as a final settlement of any difficulty or trouble which may occur between them, shall not be considered valid or binding until the same shall have the approval of the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World.

No Union of the General Organization, Industrial Department, or Industrial Union of the I. W. W. shall enter into any contract with an individual or corporation of employers binding the members to any of the following conditions:

(a) Any agreement wherein any specified length of time is mentioned for the continuance of the said agreement.

(b) Any agreement wherein the membership is bound to give notice before making demands affecting hours, wages or shop conditions.

(c) Any agreement wherein it is specified that the members shall work only for employers who belong to an association of the employers.

(d) Any agreement that proposes to regulate the selling price of the product they are employed in making.

(e) No Industrial Union or any part of the Industrial Workers of the World shall enter into any agreement with any Labor Organization.

Section 7. (a) The Provisional General Executive Board shall meet only on call of the General Secretary-Treasurer or vote of the General Executive Board.

(b) The books of the General Secretary-Treasurer shall be audited twice within the fiscal year, the first time being audited by the General Executive Board members at their semi-annual meeting, and the second time by a committee of three (3), elected one from the Western Industrial Unions, one from the Middle States Industrial Unions, and one from the Eastern Industrial Unions. The General Secretary-Treasurer shall publish the Auditing Committee's report along with monthly report, and he shall give the names of the auditors, together with their card numbers and the numbers of the Industrial Unions of which they are members.

Section 8. The General Executive Board shall, by a two-thirds vote, have power to levy a special assessment when subordinate parts of the Organization are involved in strikes and the condition of the treasury makes such action necessary; but no special assessment shall exceed 50 cents per member in any one month, nor more than six (6) such assessments in any one year, unless the same shall have been approved by a referendum vote of the entire membership.

Section 9. The General Executive Board shall have full power and authority over the official organ and guide its policy.

The Editor shall be nominated and elected in the same manner as the General Secretary-Treasurer and shall receive such compensation as in the judgment of the General Executive Board is just and proper.

Section 10. The members of the General Executive Board shall have power to visit any subordinate body of the I. W. W. and have full authority to examine and audit all accounts of said subordinate bodies, and also to compel the use of the universal system of bookkeeping as adopted by the convention of the I. W. W. from time to time.

Section 11. All business conducted by the General Organization in localities other than where headquarters are located that involve the handling of finances, shall be audited as follows: The General Organization shall appoint an auditor or auditors and the Unions of the locality shall elect an auditing committee to work with the auditor or auditors from the General Organization.

Section 12. Charges Against General Officers — Charges against any of the General Officers shall be filed in writing with the G. E. B. or the General Convention, at the option of the person filing charges.

If the charges are filed before the G. E. B. they shall at once have a copy of the charges sent to the accused, together with a notice of the date of the hearing of the charges. Charges filed before the General Convention must be sent to the General Secretary at least sixty days prior to the date of the convening of the convention.

On receipt of the charges the General Secretary will forward a copy of the same to the accused and notice to appear at the convention for trial.

Any decision of the G. E. B. on charges tried by them shall be subject to appeal to the next General Convention and from the General Convention to the general membership. The decision of the General Convention on charges can be appealed from to the general membership.

The cost of appealing to the general membership shall be borne by the party taking the appeal. If the vote on appeal results in favor of the party taking the appeal then the General Organization shall refund the cost of the appeal.

Article IV

Conventions

Section 1. The annual convention of the Industrial Workers of the World shall be held on the third Monday of November each year in the city where the General Headquarters is located.

Section 2. The General Executive Board shall draw up a list of delegates against whom no contest has been filed at the general office. The General Secretary-Treasurer shall call the convention to order and read the aforesaid list. The delegates on the said list shall proceed to form a temporary organization by electing a temporary Chairman and a Committee on Credentials.

Section 3. Delegates to the annual convention shall be as hereinafter provided for. The General Secretary-Treasurer and other members of the General Executive Board shall be delegates-at-large with one vote each, but shall not be accredited delegates nor carry the vote of any union or organization. No delegate shall cast more than one vote when voting on seating of a contested delegate or delegates.

Section 4. Industrial Departments shall have two delegates for the first 10,000 of its members, and an additional delegate for each additional 5,000 members or major portion thereof.

Section 5. Unions, chartered directly by the Industrial Workers of the World shall have one delegate for 200 members or less and one additional delegate for each additional 200 or major fraction thereof.

Section 6. When two or more delegates are representing the General Recruiting Union, any Industrial Union or Industrial Department in the convention, the vote of their respective organization shall be equally divided between such delegates.

Section 7. Representation in the convention shall be based on the national dues paid to the General Organization for the last six months of each fiscal year, and each union and organization entitled to representation in the convention shall be entitled to one vote for the first fifty (50) of its members and one additional vote for each additional fifty (50) of its members, or major fraction thereof.

Section 8. On or before the 10th day of September of each year the General Secretary-Treasurer shall send to each Union and Industrial Department credentials in duplicate for the number of delegates they are entitled to in the convention, based on the dues for the last six months.

Section 9. The Unions and Industrial Departments shall properly fill out the blank credentials received from the General Secretary-Treasurer and return one copy to the general office not later than November 1. The other copy shall be presented by the delegates to the Committee on Credentials when the convention assembles.

Section 10. Delegates to the convention from the General Recruiting Union and Industrial Unions or Departments shall be in continuous good standing in the general organizations at least one year and in their local union at least ninety days prior to the nomination and election of delegates.

Section 11. The expenses of delegates attending annual conventions shall be borne by their respective unions except mileage, which shall be paid by the General Organization out of a fund raised as hereinafter provided.

On or before February 28th of each year the General Secretary-Treasurer shall issue a special voluntary assessment stamp at 25 cents to all Departments, Industrial Unions and General Recruiting Union. The secretaries of all Departments, Industrial Unions and the General Recruiting Union shall dispose of these voluntary assessments stamps, and remit all moneys so collected to the General Secretary-Treasurer at the end of each month.

Section 12. Two or more Unions in the same locality, with a total membership of 500 or less, may jointly send a delegate to the convention, and the vote of said delegate shall be based on the representation hereinbefore provided for, provided said delegate is a member in good standing of one of the unions so sending him.

Section 13. No union shall be admitted to representation unless it has been duly chartered three months before the assembling of the convention, and is otherwise in good standing.

No Industrial Department, Industrial Union or General Recruiting Union that is indebted to the official organ or Publishing Bureau controlled by the General Organization shall be entitled to representation in the General Convention.

Section 14. No union shall be entitled to representation at any convention that has not paid tax on at least twenty members for the six months prior to the convention.

Section 15. The convention of the Industrial Workers of the World is the legislative body of the organization, and its enactments are of legal force when sustained by a referendum vote of

the membership touching any and all amendments to the organic law which the convention may adopt. As to such amendments, they shall be submitted to a referendum vote by the General Executive Board within thirty days after the adjournment of the convention. The vote shall close thirty days after the date of the call for the referendum.

Article V

The Label

Section 1. There shall be a Universal Label for the entire Organization. It shall be of a crimson color and always the same in design. The use of the Universal Label shall never be delegated to employers, but shall be vested entirely in our Organization. Except on stickers, circulars and literature proclaiming the merits of the Industrial Workers of the World, and emanating from the general offices of the Industrial Workers of the World, the Universal Label shall be printed only as evidence of work done by I. W. W. members.

When the label is so printed it shall be done by the authority of our Organization, without the intervention of any employer.

Whenever the Universal Label is placed upon a commodity as evidence of work done by Industrial Workers, it shall be accompanied by an inscription underneath the label stating what the work is that Industrial Workers have done, giving the name of the Industrial Department to which they belong and the number or numbers of their Unions; and the Universal Label shall never be printed as evidence of work performed without this inscription.

Article VI

Revenue of the Organization

Section 1. The revenue of the Organization shall be derived as follows: Charter fees for Industrial Departments shall be $25.00. Charter fees for Industrial Unions, Branches of Industrial Unions, Industrial Councils and Recruiting Unions shall be $10.00.

Section 2. Industrial Departments shall pay as dues into the General Treasury at the rate of five (5) cents per month per member. Industrial and Recruiting Unions shall pay at the rate of fifteen (15) cents per month per member. Industrial

Branches shall purchase all due-stamps and other supplies from the headquarters of their Industrial Union, but shall fill out the quarterly report blanks and forward same regularly to the General Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 3. The initiation fee for members of Unions shall not exceed $5.00. The regular dues of Unions directly united with the General Organization shall not be less than 50 cents nor more than $1.00 per month, together with such assessments as may be levied, as provided for in Article III, Section 8, provided no part of the initiation fee or dues above mentioned shall be used as a sick or death benefit, but shall be held in the treasury as a general fund to defray the legitimate expenses of the Union.

Section 4. Industrial Departments and Industrial Unions shall charge for initiation fee an amount not exceeding $5.00.

Section 5. All Industrial Departments subordinate to the Industrial Workers of the World, shall collect from the membership of their Organization a per capita tax at the rate of not more than 25 cents per month, provided that no part of the above mentioned moneys shall be used for sick, accident or death fund, but shall be held in the treasury of the Industrial Departments for the purpose of paying the legitimate expenses of maintaining the organizations.

Article VII

Membership, Etc.

Section 1. None but actual wage workers shall be members of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Section 2. A majority vote cast shall rule in the General Organization and its subordinate parts, except as otherwise provided for in this Constitution.

Section 3. No member of the Industrial Workers of the World shall be an officer of a pure and simple trade union.

Section 4. No one employed in an industry which is organized is eligible for membership in a Recruiting Union, and no member of a Recruiting Union can remain a member of the same after an industrial union of the industry in which he works has been organized.

Section 5. The General Executive Board, or not less than ten Unions in at least three industries, may initiate a referendum on any subject.

(a) Any Union in good standing with the General Office may institute or initiate a call for a referendum to be submitted to the General Office at once with reasons and arguments for same.

(b) Upon the receipt of the initiative call for a referendum the General Office shall publish same with arguments for and against and must submit it to all Unions and Industrial Departments for seconds within thirty days.

(c) Before any referendum shall be submitted the call for the same must be seconded by at least ten Unions in good standing in at least three different industries.

(d) All seconds from Unions must be in the General Office within forty-five days from the date the call is submitted to the Unions for seconds. Should sufficient seconds not be received at the General Office within forty-five days the call for referendum shall be null and void.

(e) After sufficient seconds are received the General Office must submit the motion for referendum vote within fifteen days. Tabulated returns of the vote of the Unions must be returned to the General Office within sixty days from the date the referendum is submitted to the Unions.

(f) The returns of the referendum vote shall remain in the headquarters in sealed envelopes until the election committee as provided for in Paragraph g, meets. Such committee shall meet not later than ninety days from the date the referendum is submitted to the Unions. The General Secretary-Treasurer shall notify the Unions or body initiating referendum of date set for committee meeting.

(g) The election committee to canvass the vote on referendum shall be composed as follows:

Four members of at least one year's standing in the Organization, and in good standing, shall be elected by the Industrial Unions in the city in which General Headquarters are located, to act as an election committee. They shall have charge of all elections and referendums. In reporting through the monthly bulletins the results of referendums and elections the General Secretary-Treasurer shall give the names of the Election Committee, together with their card numbers and the number of the Industrial Unions of which they are members.

(h) The Union or body initiating the referendum shall pay the expenses of its own delegate on election committee unless the referendum is carried, in which event the expenses shall be paid

by the General Organization as provided for in the Constitution under the "Officers' Salaries."

Referendums initiated to change dates for any action or to defer action or postpone dates already set, must have sufficient endorsements to be operative and to allow the vote to be sent out at least sixty days prior to date which referendum seeks to change.

Referendum returns from Unions or Departments can not exceed the paid up membership of the Union or Department for the three months previous to the vote on the referendum in question.

Section 6. As soon as there are two or more Industrial Unions in closely kindred industries, with an aggregate membership of not less than 20,000, the General Executive Board shall immediately proceed to call a convention of these Industrial Unions and to organize them as an Industrial Department of the I. W. W.

Section 7. All unions, departments and individual members must procure supplies, such as membership books, official buttons, labels, badges and stamps, from the General Secretary-Treasurer, all of which shall be of uniform design.

Section 8. There shall be a free interchange of cards between all organizations subordinate to the Industrial Workers of the World, and any Union or Industrial Department shall accept, in lieu of initiation fee, the paid up membership card of any recognized labor union or organization.

Whenever an applicant wishes to retain his membership in another labor union said applicant shall be required to pay an initiation fee.

Section 9. All departments and other subordinate organizations of the Industrial Workers of the World shall use the official Industrial Workers of the World stamps in membership books. All stamps shall be paid for as provided in Article VI, Section 2, and no member shall be considered in good standing who fails to pay dues and assessments inside of sixty days.

Section 10. Editors of papers not controlled by the I. W. W. shall not be eligible to membership in the I. W. W.

Section 11. No member of the I. W. W. shall represent the organization before a body of wage earners without first having been authorized by the General Executive Board or a subordinate part of the I. W. W.

Section 12. No Organizer of the I. W. W. while on the platform for this Organization shall advocate any political party or political party platform.

Section 13. All Organizers in the employ of the General Organization must be members of the General Recruiting Union during the term of their employment.

Section 14. The General Organization, Industrial Departments, Industrial Unions and Recruiting Unions shall be prohibited from employing or reinstating expelled members, unless as provided for in Article VI of the By-Laws of the Industrial Workers of the World Constitution, until such expelled members shall have been reinstated and placed in good standing by the union from which they were expelled.

Section 15. All persons hired by the I. W. W. shall be members of the I. W. W. for at least 90 days wherever possible.

Article VIII

Defense Fund

Section 1. The dues received by the General Organization shall be divided as follows: Ten per cent of all dues received shall be placed in a defense fund. The remaining 90 per cent. shall be placed in the general fund.

Section 2. A Union shall be entitled to assistance from the General Organization in cases of strike only when the General Organization has allowed or endorsed the said strike.

Article IX

Pledges for Officers, Etc.

Section 1. All officers in the I. W. W., when being installed into office shall be required to give the following pledge:

> "Having been entrusted by my fellow wage workers with the position I am about to assume, I do solemnly pledge my word and honor that I will obey the constitution, rules and regulations of the Industrial Workers of the World, and that, keeping always in view its fundamental principles and final aims, I will to the best of my ability perform the task assigned to me. I believe in and understand the two sentences: 'The Working Class and the Employing Class have nothing in common,' and 'Labor is entitled to all it produces.'"

Section 2. Obligation to new members shall be printed on the application blanks.

Section 3. No general officer of the Organization or parts thereof, or any salaried organizer, shall be permitted to accept any office in any political organization, nor shall they be allowed to accept any nomination for any political office except permission be granted by a referendum vote of the entire Organization.

Article X

Amendments

Section 1. Proposed amendments to the Constitution shall be in the hands of the General Secretary and printed in the official publication at least two months before the assembling of the convention.

Section 2. All proposed amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws shall clearly state the Article, Section and Paragraph to which the amendment applies. New articles and sections shall be so stated. Each clause to be amended shall be on a separate sheet.

Article XI

Charters

Section 1. The number of signers required on application for charter shall not be less than twenty.

Section 2. Any Union or Department of the I. W. W. that fails to pay its per capita tax for a period of ninety days shall be considered defunct, and all property, books, moneys and effects shall be surrendered, to the General Office of the I. W. W. to be held in trust for a period of one year pending the reorganization of such Union or Department. At the end of that period the funds and property shall become the property of the General Organization.

Section 3. The charter of a Union shall not be surrendered so long as ten members who agree to abide by the rules and regulations of the General Organization object thereto, nor shall the funds of any organization be divided among its membership.

Article XII

All parts of the Constitution conflicting with amendments ratified by a referendum vote are thereby declared null and void.

BY-LAWS

ARTICLE I

Membership Eligibility

Section 1. No working man or woman shall be excluded from membership in Unions because of creed or color.

Section 2. Unions shall define the eligibility of their membership, not conflicting with the provisions of this Constitution.

Section 3. Candidates who do not appear for initiation or present satisfactory reasons within thirty days after being notified of their election to membership shall forfeit their initiation fee.

ARTICLE II

Officers

Section 1. The officers of each Industrial Department shall be governed by such Industrial Department.

Section 2. Officers of Unions paying tax directly to the Industrial Workers of the World shall comprise the following: Chairman, Recording and Corresponding Secretary, Financial Secretary-Treasurer, Conductor, Warden and a board of at least three Trustees.

ARTICLE III

Election of Officers

Section 1. Officers of Unions shall be elected semi-annually, and shall be nominated at two regular meetings immediately preceding December 1 and June 1. Election shall take place the last regular meetings of December and June.

Section 2. Officers-elect shall be installed at the first regular meeting in January and July. Immediately after installation the Corresponding Secretary shall furnish the Secretary-Treasurer of the Industrial Workers of the World with a complete list of all local officers, with their post office addresses or street numbers, for the purpose of compiling and revising a directory of all unions.

Section 3. At the semi-annual election it shall be the duty of the Recording and Corresponding Secretary to furnish ballots in sufficient numbers for the purpose of election, said ballots to contain the names of all candiates to be voted for at said election.

Section 4. When an election is held for any office the presiding officer shall act as judge, and shall appoint two members to serve

as tellers. The Recording Secretary shall keep a register of all votes cast. Only members in good standing may vote.

Article IV

Section 1. The officers-elect who have duly qualified shall be installed at the first regular meetings of January and July of each year by the Chairman. If any officer-elect, unless prevented by sickness or unavoidable occurrences, does not comply with the above provisions, such office shall be declared vacant.

Section 2. After officers are regularly elected, qualified and installed they shall continue in office until their successors are regularly elected, qualified and installed.

Article V

Duties of Officers

Section 1. The Chairman shall preside at all meetings of the Union, preserve order therein and enforce the laws, rules and regulations of the Union; decide all questions of order, subject to appeal to the Union; act as judge of election and declare the result to the Union. All committees shall be elected from the floor. He shall, with the Financial Secretary-Treasurer, sign all checks or warrants drawn on the local treasury after accounts have been approved by a majority vote. He shall be entitled to vote at the election of officers, and in the event of a tie vote shall have the deciding vote. He shall see that all officers of the Union attend strictly to their duties. He shall see that all moneys are placed to the credit of the Union in a bank, or properly safeguarded, as designated by the Union. He may, for good reasons, call a special meeting of the Union at any time, and he shall call a special meeting upon a written request of one-tenth of the number of members in good standing. He shall, at the expiration of his term of office, turn over to his successor all property and effects entrusted to his keeping.

Section 2. The Recording and Corresponding Secretary shall keep a record of the minutes of the Union, and shall at all times have his books ready for investigation by the Trustees or other authorized persons.

Section 3. The Financial Secretary-Treasurer shall execute to the General Secretary-Treasurer a bond to be approved by him in such sum or sums as the General Secretary-Treasurer shall

designate. It shall be the duty of the Financial Secretary-Treasurer to keep accurate accounts between the Union and the Industrial Workers of the World, and between the Union and its members. He shall receive all initiation fees, dues, fines and assessments, and for all dues and assessments collected by him he must place a separate stamp in the membership book for each month's dues or assessments paid, and shall cancel same with a dating stamp showing date of month and year when payments are made. He shall deposit all money belonging to the Union in some bank or other institution designated by the Union. He shall at all times have his books ready for inspection by the Trustees or a committee appointed for that purpose. He shall give a full report monthly to his Union and to the General Secretary-Treasurer. At the expiration of his term of office he shall turn over to his successor all the books, papers and property of the Union.

Section 4. In cases where Unions have a Treasurer, or where there are no banks, a Financial Secretary and a Treasurer may be elected, provided both officers are bonded as provided in Section 3.

Section 5. It shall be the duty of the Conductor to examine every person's book at meetings and see that they are correct and paid up, and shall report every member who is delinquent to the Chairman.

Section 6. It shall be the duty of the Warden to take charge of the door and see that no one but members in good standing enter except by order of the Chairman.

Section 7. The Board of Trustees shall hold in trust all bonds, securities and property of the Union, examine all books and accounts of the Financial Secretary-Treasurer once every three months and report their findings at the next meeting of the Union. Should any of the Trustees leave or retire from office between elections, the Chairman shall see that their places are kept filled, and that all property kept in their care is turned over to their successors.

Article VI

Charges — Procedure

Section 1. Whenever any member of the Industrial Workers of the World violates any of the principles or rules of the Organization, he shall be proceeded against in the following manner:

Charges shall be filed against the member in writing setting forth the facts in the offense with which the member is charged The charges shall be read before the Union at the next regular meeting after the same have been filed.

Upon the reading of the charges the Union shall appoint or elect a Trial Committee of five members from the floor of the meeting. The Trial Committee shall furnish the accused with a copy of the charges and a notice of the date set for the hearing of the same. Copy of the charges and notice of trial shall be sent by registered mail if mailed. If delivered in person they must be delivered in the presence of witnesses and an acknowledgment secured from the accused that he has received a copy of the charges and notice of the date of trial.

The Trial Committee shall keep a complete record of the evidence pro and con of the trial. The Trial Committee shall report their findings to the next regular meeting after the conclusion of the trial, together with a record of the trial, and the Union shall affirm or reject the findings of the committee.

Either party involved may take an appeal from the decision of the Union within 60 days from the date of the meeting passing on the report of the Trial Committee, by filing a notice of appeal with the Secretary of the Union in writing.

The Secretary of the Union shall immediately forward the appeal, together with all the evidence of the case, to the General Secretary-Treasurer, who shall submit the same to the General Executive Board, unless the Union to which the accused belongs is a Branch of an Industrial Union. In this case the appeal shall be submitted to the Secretary of the Industrial Union or by him to the Executive Committee of the Industrial Union for their action.

Either party can take an appeal from the action of the Executive Board to the Convention and General Convention, and from the Convention to the general membership, if they so desire.

The expense, if any, in appeals on charges shall be borne by the party taking the appeal, unless the charges are dismissed. In which case the expense shall be borne by the respective organizations to which the charges are transmitted on appeal.

In the event that a member of one Union desires to prefer charges against a member belonging to another Union, charges shall be disposed of in the following manner: The member preferring the charges shall present the same in writing before the

Union of which he is a member, and the Secretary of that Union shall transmit a copy of the charges to the Secretary of the Union to which the accused belongs. Thereupon that Union shall proceed as hereinbefore provided.

Article VII

Section 1. Each Union shall be provided with a Seal by the General Secretary-Treasurer, which shall bear the number of the Union, and all official papers from the Union must bear an imprint of this Seal, and none will be legal without such impression.

Article VIII

Fees, Dues, Delinquency

Section 1. The initiation fees, and other fees, dues and assessments may be determined by Unions, but shall not conflict with the General Constitution.

Section 2. Monthly dues are payable on the first day of each month. Members who do not pay dues or assessments for sixty days shall be in bad standing. Members in bad standing are not entitled to benefits of any kind from the Union, nor from the Industrial Workers of the World.

Section 3. Members who become delinquent for dues and assessments for sixty days or more shall not again be entitled to any benefits until thirty days after such dues and assessments shall have been paid.

Article IX

Withdrawal Cards

Section 1. On application, withdrawal cards may be granted to members in good standing whose dues and assessments are paid, provided said member has ceased to be a wage worker.

Article X

Transfers

Section 1. Members wishing to be transferred from one Union to another shall show their card to the Secretary of the Union of which he wishes to become a member, and upon paying all dues and assessments the Secretary shall receipt for same, and shall immediately send for the transfer.

Section 2. When a Union to which a member transfers collects for delinquent dues and assessments, none shall be remitted to the Union to which the member formerly belonged, but the same shall be retained by the Union making the collection.

Article XI

Meetings

Section 1. All Unions shall hold at least one regular meeting each month, and as many additional meetings as the Union may decide upon.

Section 2. Recording and Corresponding Secretaries shall advise the General Secretary-Treasurer immediately of changes by Unions in time and place of meetings, so that the official directory of the Industrial Workers of the World may be corrected at all times.

Article XII

Section 1. Unions shall have power to enact such laws for their government as they may deem necessary, provided they do not conflict with the Constitution and By-Laws of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Article XIII

Disbandment

Section 1. A Union shall not surrender its charter if ten members who agree to abide by the rules and regulations of the general Organization object thereto.

Section 2. Upon a Union surrendering its charter, the General Secretary-Treasurer shall appoint a representative of the Industrial Workers of the World to take charge of the charter, supplies, property and funds of said Union. Members or Officers of said Unions refusing to deliver charter, supplies, property or funds of Unions surrendering their charters to the authorized representatives of the Industrial Workers of the World shall be expelled from the Organization and prosecuted.

Article XIV

Quorum

Section 1. Not less than seven members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business of a Union.

Resolutions

Political Parties and Discipline

"Whereas, The primary object of the Industrial Workers of the World is to unite the workers on the industrial battlefield; and

"Whereas, Organization in any sense implies discipline through the subordination of parts to the whole and of the individual member to the body of which he is a part; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That to the end of promoting industrial unity and of securing necessary discipline within the Organization, the I. W. W. refuses all alliances, direct or indirect, with existing political parties or anti-political sects, and disclaims responsibility for any individual opinion or act which may be at variance with the purposes herein expressed."

Order of Business

1. Opening and Calling Meeting to Order.
2. Roll Call of Officers.
3. Reading of Minutes.
4. Reading of Applications for Membership.
5. Initiation of Applicants.
6. Reports of Committees, Standing and Special.
7. Reports of Delegates and Officers.
8. Reading of Communications and Bills.
9. Monthly Report of Financial Secretary.
10. Reading of the Receipts and Expenses since the Last Meeting by the Financial Secretary.
11. Unfinished Business.
12. New Business.
13. Nominations, Elections and Installation.
14. Good and Welfare.
15. Adjournment.

NOTE ON CHAPTERS VI, VII AND VIII

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Amalgamated Textile Workers of America and International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Plan One Big Union

The plan of organizing "The One Big Union" for the needle trades was brought up at the second session of the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America on May 11, 1920, and A. J. Muste, General Secretary of the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America, accompanied by a Committee, appeared before the Convention. The Committee came for the purpose of urging a merger between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Amalgamated Textile Workers. Sidney Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Workers, is reported to have strongly urged "One Big Union" idea and an interesting report was filed recommending the formation of an industrial union involving all those engaged in the needle industry. This report was signed by Sidney Hillman, Joseph Schlossberg, August Bellanca, Hyman Lumberg, Alex Kohen, Samuel Levin, Lazarus Mariovitz, A. D. Marimmpetri and Frank Rosenblum. The report says in part:

"The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America have always stood for one international organization for all the workers, for all the workers in what is commonly known as the needle trades. We are more firmly committed to this principle now than ever before, as the necessity of this type of unionism is becoming more compelling every day.

"The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which is now meeting in convention at Chicago, has before it a proposition from its General Executive Board for the formation of alliance or federation of all the organizations in the needle trades. That does not go as far as we wish. Our ideal is one organization for all branches of men's and women's wear in the same sense as the Amalgamated is one organization for the workers in all branches of men's clothing.

"We do not, of course, presume to impose our views upon others. If the proposition for a federation of needle trades organizations means a step in the direction of our goal, it is encouraging, and to that extent a victory for the principle of one international organization.

"The most hopeful element in this situation is the fact that the organizations which may be affected have always been and are to-day in most friendly relations. There are strong fraternal bonds between the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Fur Workers' Union, Cap Workers' Union, Amalgamated Textile Workers and our organization. No one will hail the progress towards one organization with greater joy than the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America."

With respect to the cooperative movement the report says:

"There is a great and grateful field for organized labor in cooperation. The existing machinery of the industrial organization may be utilized to get the cooperative work started. If we enter the cooperative field with the determination to make it a complement of the industrial and political labor movement, it will bring greater strength to organized labor in addition to the economic advantages for the individual members."

The report that deals with the subject of education follows:

"All members must be instructed in the great problems of the day, as our welfare depends upon the proper solution of them. The labor movement is honeycombed with traitors and beset with many dangers. We must know how to guard ourselves and not permit the enemies to lead us into their traps. We must learn the proper use of the labor movement terminology and the differences between mere phrases and action.

"This is a particularly serious matter to-day when the enemies of the labor movement are recklessly twisting terms and phrases into the most vicious meaning. Workers are imprisoned for using language which had been considered perfectly harmless but a short time ago.

"The labor movement must defend all of its rights, whatever the cost and sacrifices. If legitimate working class action should bring punishment at the hands of the powers that be, it must be accepted as incidental to the struggle of the people for their rights and liberty. From such action the labor movement must not shrink, come what may.

"But it must carefully examine the high sounding phrases, which often come from the mouths of provocators. The labor movement, as people's movement, is endangered the moment its enemies succeed in placing it outside the pale of law; to guard against the dangers lurking in 'strong language' to-day we must have sound education."

While the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America were acting favorably upon the proposition of the organization of One Big Union in the needle industries, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union also meeting in annual convention in Chicago, was considering the same question. In the report given in the New York *Call,* issue of May 12, 1920, we find:

"Amid a great show of enthusiasm and by an overwhelming vote, in two instances unanimous, the convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union this afternoon adopted proposals for the federation of the entire American needle industry affiliated with an international organization of tailors' and workers' ownership and control of shops and stores in the industry.

"Thus the wave of revolutionizing the needle industry as far as the International was concerned reaches its crest to-day. . . . H. Lefkovits, Chairman of the Committee on Relations with National and International Garment Workers' Unions, rose to report that his committee had found the recommendations of the General Executive Board of the International favoring One Big Union of all the unions in the needle industry a very worthy proposition.

"The following resolution was adopted by the convention:

> "'Whereas, it is a fact that the strength of the workers depends upon their solidarity and coordination of action; and
>
> "'Whereas, at present we may expect a period of great strife and struggle in all of the industries, especially in the needle industry; and
>
> "'Whereas, the interests of all of the workers in the needle trades industry in the United States and Canada are similar and identical and it will be possible to carry on much more efficient organization work if they will be united into one central body,
>
> "'Be It Therefore, Resolved, that this convention instructs the general Executive Board to call a Conference of all of the National and International Unions of the needle trade industries in the United States and Canada, without regard to their affiliation, for the purpose of forming the alliance for offensive and defensive purposes.'"

It was determined that the organizations to be invited to join the alliance would include the Amalgamated Clothing Workers

of America, United Garment Workers' Unions, United Cloth Hat and Cap Workers of North America, the Journeymen Tailors, and several other similar organizations.

The question of international relationship or affiliations was then taken up and the following resolution was adopted by the convention:

"1. That the I. L. G. W. U. reaffiliate with the International Tailors' Secretariat.

"2. That two delegates be sent to the International Tailors' Conference in Copenhagen, to be held next September. The delegates with the President of the Internationale and one other to be elected by the Convention.

"3. That the General Executive Board be empowered to give moral and financial aid to foreign needle groups upon reports from their delegates to Copenhagen.

"4. That delegates be authorized to inform the Copenhagen Congress that any member in good standing in foreign needle groups will be welcomed to the American organization upon immigration to this country."

The action of these organizations is significant of the trend of the movement to organize industrial unions. The close relationship between these unions and the Socialist Party of America renders their action still more interesting because it is a carrying out of the plans of that organization which were adopted at the St. Louis Convention in 1917, which says in part:

"The Socialist Party urges all labor organizations which have not already done so to throw their doors wide open to the workers of their respective trades and industries, abolish all onerous conditions of membership and artificial restrictions with the view that their organizations be eventually developed into industrial as well as militant, class conscious and revolutionary unions with the development of the industry."

NOTES ON SUB-SECTION IV

SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA IN EDUCATED CIRCLES

Note on Chapter VIII. American Civil Liberties Union 1979
IX. People's Freedom Union and the Federated Press 1990

NOTE ON CHAPTER VIII

American Civil Liberties Union

Anyone who has read Part I of this report will be convinced that there are a large number of groups in this country engaged in an effort to undermine our institutions, to weaken property rights and to set up in place of government by the majority, a government controlled by a militant minority of the workers.

Officers of both Federal and State governments have recognized that many of the activities of agitators standing for these principles constituted a violation of the existing laws, with the result that numerous prosecutions have been had throughout the United States, resulting in convictions and prison sentences. Many aliens who engaged in revolutionary agitation have been deported. The action of these Federal and State officials has been loudly condemned by organized groups of liberals who, by reason of their access to the public prints, have created a widespread sentiment in favor of free speech, so-called. At the present time these advocates of free speech have consolidated their energies in an organization known as the "American Civil Liberties Union."

With the purpose of ascertaining the precise scope of the activities of this organization the associate counsel of this Committee invited Mr. Roger N. Baldwin, one of its directors, to make a statement setting forth the purposes of the Union, as well as the scope of its activities. This statement is here given in full:

"The American Civil Liberties Union was organized on January 12, 1920, being a reorganization of the National Civil Liberties Bureau. The reorganization was effected in order to deal with the new aspects of the 'civil liberties' since the Armistice, particularly the many state laws and local ordinances restricting the Constitutional guarantees of free speech and free assemblage.

"The reorganization included, first, the formation of a national committee of approximately sixty persons from various states of the Union and from various walks of life; second, a change in name to indicate that the character of the organization had changed from a bureau of legal service to a propaganda organiza-

tion in the interest of civil liberty; and third, with a program of increased activity directed primarily to dramatizing issues of civil liberty in the industrial conflict.

"The method followed since the reorganization has been to test the constitutionality of local ordinances and state laws which are assumed to be in conflict with constitutional guarantees.

"Because of the nature of the attacks on the assumed rights of individuals and organization the work is organized chiefly in cooperation with labor unions and radical political groups.

"In addition to this work, the organization is active in opposing legislative proposals affecting civil rights and in seeking the repeal of laws already enacted restricting those rights.

"In addition, efforts are undertaken to secure the release of persons in prison for offenses involving solely the expression of opinion in speech or print.

"Expression of opinion, as we define it, includes any language unaccompanied by an overt act — that is, an act which in itself is a violation of the criminal law.

"Language that is part of an overt or criminal act is part of the act itself and has nothing to do with the issue of free speech; but the language unaccompanied by such an act, even if the logical consequences of it lead others to the commission of the act, is legitimately within our conception of free speech. For instance, the advocacy of murder, unaccompanied by any act, is within the legitimate scope of free speech.

"There are some of our Committee who dissent from this view which I have expressed here, believing that the line should be drawn at a point this side of the view of extreme free speech advocates. The view I have set forth, however, is, I believe, the view of those who believe in free speech without reservations, as do the great majority of our Committee. However, we are meeting a practical situation in which these more or less theoretical distinctions do not arise. I would say on behalf of the entire committee that all of them disbelieve the legal theory of constructive intent, and that all of them believe in the right of persons to advocate 'the overthrow of government by force and violence,' while all the members of the committee totally disbelieve in any such doctrine themselves."

At the close of this Note we print in full two leaflets which are widely distributed by the American Civil Liberties Union which will also be helpful to define their attitude. In reading these documents and the foregoing statement it is well to recall the pas-

sage from the letter of Roger N. Baldwin which is quoted in a preceding chapter, in which he says:

"We want to, also, look like patriots in everything we do. We want to get a lot of good flags, talk a good deal about the Constitution and what our forefathers wanted to make of this country and to show that we are the fellows that really stand for the spirit of our institutions."

This was Baldwin's advice to Louis P. Lochner, in reference to the methods to be employed in carrying out the propaganda of the People's Council which was organized to imitate in this country the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils of Russia. If we analyze the position taken by the American Civil Liberties Union we will find that what is sought is not freedom of speech, freedom of press or freedom of assemblage, but license. In other words, they see no crime in the advocacy of crime, provided the advice of the agitator is not carried into effect.

According to the statement of Roger N. Baldwin which has been given above, the members of the Committee of this Union believe that persons have the right to advocate the overthrow of our government by force and violence and that it is an abridgment of civil liberties to hold them to account. Apparently, from Mr. Baldwin's statement, if the advice of the agitator is followed then both the agitator and those who execute his plans are criminals. The Statement of Civil Liberty issued by these unions, which is appended as Document I, to this note, says:

"There should be no control whatever in advance over what any person desires to say . . . There should be no prosecutions for the mere expression of opinion on matters of public concern, however radical, however violent. Laws purporting to prevent the advocacy of the 'overthrow of the government by force or violence' are all violations of the right of free speech. The expression of all opinions, however obnoxious, should be tolerated."

An examination, however, of the propaganda and agitation which has been carried on in favor of the forceful overthrow of this government shows that it does not consist of a mere expression of opinion, but invariably advocates measures for its effectuation. In other words, the representatives of revolutionary Socialists, Communists, Anarchists and other groups, state that by doing certain acts this government may be overthrown and in each instance the agitator urges his hearers or his readers to commit those acts. It is a well-settled principle of law that any reason-

able man is responsible for the logical and reasonable consequences of his acts and utterances.

While the Constitution of the State of New York guarantees the right of free speech it also contains the warning that the citizen may exercise it "being responsible for the abuse of that right." The effect of the activities of the American Civil Liberties Union is to create in the minds of the ill-informed people the impression that it is un-American to interfere with the activities of those who seek to destroy American institutions. They seek to influence legislators and executives to repeal or veto any act calculated to protect the State or the Federal government from the attacks of agitators.

In a chapter in Part II of this report this Committee deals with the subject of free speech in its legal aspects. There the decisions of the courts of last resort have been analyzed. These define the law of the United States and of the various States as it now exists.

It is interesting to note that the anxiety of the American Civil Liberties Union is shown only where the abuse of free speech is called in question because of attacks upon property or government. The Committee does not find anything in their literature which seeks to prevent a man from being punished because of libel or slander or because of licentious or immoral speech or writing. These utterances or writings are penalized under our institutions because they are deemed to be abuses of the right of free speech and that they will tend either to destroy the reputation of an individual or they will tend to corrupt public morals. If the principles set forth in the "Statement of Civil Liberty" which has been referred to were carried into effect, libel, slander and immoral or lewd writings and speech could not be punished. This Committee feels that it is the duty of the State to protect the orderly and peaceful administration of public affairs under our Constitutional form of Government quite as much as to protect the reputation of the individual's or public's morals. The American Civil Liberties Union, in the last analysis, is a supporter of all subversive movements, and its propaganda is detrimental to the interests of the State. It attempts not only to protect crime but to encourage attacks upon our institutions in every form. Many of the members of its Committee are undoubtedly sincere in their convictions, but the consequences of their activity is injurious to the public interest.

APPENDIX TO NOTE

Document I.—"The Challenge. Leaflet issued by American Civil Liberties Union 1983
II.—"Civil Liberty. A Statement defining the position of the American Civil Liberties Union on the issues in the United States to-day"..... 1985

DOCUMENT I

The Challenge

The struggle for freedom to-day centers in the fight of labor for increasing control of industry. Everywhere that struggle involves the issues of free speech, free press and peaceful assemblage. Everywhere the powers of organized business challenge the right of workers to organize, unionize, strike and picket. The hysterical attacks on "red" propaganda, on radical opinion of all sorts, are in substance a single masked attack on the growing revolt of labor and the farmers against industrial tyranny.

The hysteria aroused by the war, with its machinery for crushing dissenting opinion, is now directed against the advocates of industrial freedom. States vie with one another in the passage of laws against "criminal syndicalism," "criminal anarchy" and "sedition." Even cities enact such laws. A wholesale campaign is one to deny the right to strike, by compulsory arbitration and by injunction. The nation-wide open-shop crusade is a colossal attempt to destroy all organization of labor.

Patrioteering societies, vigilantes, "citizens' committees," strike-breaking State Constabularies and the hired gunmen of private corporations contend with the Attorney-General and zealous local prosecutors in demonstrating their own brands of "law and order." Meetings of workers and farmers are prohibited and broken up, speakers are mobbed and prosecuted. Picketing is made unlawful or prohibited by injunction in a score of states, and hundreds of cities. Searches are instituted without thought of warrant. Scores of persons are arrested without warrant and held in prohibitive bail for months without trial. Teachers suspected of liberal or radical views are dismissed from schools and colleges. Hundreds of aliens are held for deportation simply for membership in a political or industrial organization. The right of duly elected representatives to sit in a state legislature is denied, solely because of their opinions. Legislation pretend-

ing to be aimed only at the overthrow of the government by "force and violence," as a matter of fact is construed to punish the advocacy of political and economical change by any method.

Our Service

This menace to American tradition and the ideals of liberty can be met only by uniting those forces which will fight for orderly progress through freedom of opinion. The reaction to long-continued suppression is violent revolution. This organization is dedicated to the principle of progress by orderly methods. We hold no brief for any particular cause. We are not identified with any "ism." We fight for all those whose liberties are at stake.

We are attempting to meet the present crisis:

(1) By sending free speech organizers and speakers into areas of conflict to dramatize the issue of civil liberty, and where necessary, to fight them out in the courts.

(2) By opposing all legislation restricting freedom of speech, press and assemblage and by endeavoring to secure amnesty for political and industrial prisoners.

(3) By securing nation-wide publicity on all important civil liberty issues.

(4) By organizing legal defense throughout the country.

(5) By organizing a campaign to offset the "terrorism" in our schools.

We have a national press clipping service that brings the information about the case. We seek to get in touch at once with every person or group attacked. We recommend local counsel, and endeavor to secure financial aid and publicity. From district organization offices, we can get speakers, investigators and lawyers out on short notice wherever serious trouble arises.

We welcome the co-operation of correspondents, attorneys, speakers, writers and investigators anywhere in the United States. Any citizen willing to help in the publicity campaigns by writing letters to newspapers or public officials is urged to enlist. Any person will be put on the mailing list for all publications for $1.00 a year.

The Union is supported solely by voluntary contributions. Any contributions, monthly or annual, are warmly appreciated.

Document II

Civil Liberty

A statement defining the position of the American Civil Liberties Union on the issues in the United States to-day.

We stand on the general principle that all thought on matters of public concern should be freely expressed at all times and under all circumstances, without interference. Orderly social progress is promoted by unrestricted freedom of opinion. The punishment of mere opinion, without overt act, is never in the interest of orderly progress. Suppression of opinion makes for violence and bloodshed.

The principle of freedom of spech, press and assemblage, embodied in our constitutional law, must be reasserted in its application to American conditions to-day. That application must deal with various methods of repressing new ideas and democratic movements. The following paragraphs cover the most significant of the tactics of repression in the United States to-day.

1. Free Speech

There should be no control whatever in advance over what any person desires to say. The right to meet and to speak freely without permit should be unquestioned. No restrictions ostensibly, but not really, in the interest of traffic should serve to prohibit meetings in public places. The fullest freedom of speech should be encouraged by setting aside special places in streets or parks and in the use of public buildings, free of charge, for public meetings of any sort.

There should be no prosecutions for the mere expression of opinion on matters of public concern, however radical, however violent. Laws purporting to prevent the advocacy of the "overthrow of the government by force or violence" are all violations of the right of free speech. The expression of all opinions, however obnoxious, should be tolerated.

2. Free Press

There should be no censorship over the mails by the post office or any other agency at any time or in any way. Privacy of communication should be sacred. Printed matter should never be subject to a political censorship. The granting or revoking of

second class mailing privileges should have nothing whatever to do with a paper's opinion and policies.

If libelous, fraudulent, or other illegal matter is being circulated, it should be seized by proper warrant through the prosecuting authorities, not by the post-office department. The business of the post-office department is to carry the mails, not to investigate crime or to act as censors.

There should be no control over the distribution of literature at meetings on hand to hand in public or private places. No system of licenses for distribution should be tolerated.

3. Freedom of Assemblage

Meetings in public places, parades and processions should be freely permitted, the only reasonable regulation being the advance notification to the police of time and place. No discretion should be given the police of time and place. No discretion should be given to police to prohibit parades or processions, but merely to alter routes in accordance with the imperative demands of traffic in crowded cities. There should be no laws or regulations prohibiting the display of red flags or other political emblems.

The right of assemblage is involved in the right to picket in time of strike. Peaceful picketing, therefore, should not be prohibited, regulated by injunction, by order of court or by police edict. It is the business of the police in places where picketing is conducted merely to keep traffic free and to handle specific violations of law against persons upon complaint.

4. The Right to Strike

The right of workers to organize in organizations of their own choosing, and to strike should never be infringed by law.

Compulsory arbitration is to be condemned not only because it destroys the workers' right to strike, but because it lays emphasis on one set of obligations alone, those of workers to society.

5. Law Enforcement

The practice of deputizing privately paid police as public officers should be opposed everywhere. So should the attempt of private company employees to police the streets or property other than that of the company.

The efforts of private associations to take into their own hands the enforcement of law should be opposed at every point. Public

officials, employees of private corporations, and leaders of mobs, who interfere with the exercise of the constitutionally established rights of free speech and free assembly, should be vigorously proceeded against.

6. Search and Seizure

It is the custom of certain federal, state and city officials, particularly in cases involving civil liberty, to make arrests without warrant, to enter upon private property, and to seize papers and literature without legal process. Such practices should be contested. Officials so violating constitutional guarantees should be proceeded against.

7. The Right to a Fair Trial

Every person charged with an offense should have the fullest opportunity for a fair trial, for securing counsel and bail in a reasonable sum. In the case of a poor person, special aid should be organized to secure a fair trial, and when necessary, an appeal. The legal profession should be alert to defend cases involving civil liberty. The resolutions of various associations of lawyers against taking cases of radicals are wholly against the traditions of American liberty.

8. Immigration, Deportation and Passports

No person should be refused admission to the United States on the ground of holding objectionable opinions. The present restrictions against radicals of various beliefs is wholly opposed to our tradition of political asylum.

No alien should be deported merely for the expression of opinion or for membership in a radical or revolutionary organization. This is as un-American a practice as the prosecution of citizens for expression of opinion.

The attempts to revoke naturalization papers in order to declare a citizen an alien subject to deportation is a perversion of the law intended to cover only cases of fraud.

Citizenship papers should not be refused to any alien because of the expression of radical views, or activities in the cause of labor.

The granting of passports to or from the United States should not be dependent merely upon the opinions of citizens or membership in radical or labor organizations.

9. Liberty in Education

The attempts to maintain a uniform orthodox opinion among teachers should be opposed by fighting the cases of dismissal for radical views. The attempts of educational authorities to inject into public school and college instruction propaganda in the interest of any particular theory of society to the exclusion of others should be opposed.

How to Get Civil Liberty

We realize that these standards of civil liberty cannot be attained as abstract principles or as constitutional guarantees. Economic and political power are necessary to assert and maintain all "rights." In the midst of any conflict they are not granted by the side holding the economic and political power, except as they may be forced by the strength of the opposition.

Today the organized movements of labor and of the farmers are fighting the big fight for civil liberty throughout the United States as part of their campaign for increased control in industry. Publicity, demonstrations, political activities and legal aid are being organized nationally and locally. Only by such an aggressive policy of insistence can rights be secured and maintained. The union of organized labor, the farmers, radical and liberal movements is the most effective means to this. That union is everywhere spontaneously taking place.

It is that union of forces which the American Civil Liberties Union serves. The practical work of free speech demonstrations, publicity and legal defense is done primarily in the struggles of the organized labor and farmers' movements. Throughout the United States we are in constant need of speakers, writers, investigators, lawyers and correspondents who will volunteer their help.

It should be the policy of all organizations interested in civil liberty to

(1) Defend every attack on the rights here set forth by legal aid, publicity and letters of protest to editors and officials.

(2) Proceed against every public officer violating those rights.

(3) Test every ordinance or state law in conflict with constitutional guarantees of civil liberty.

(4) Organize protests, demonstrations and publicity on every significant issue.

Individuals can help in the many services suggested here.

Help for freedom of opinion can also be rendered through organizing open forums, radical book shops and lecture courses, and in the development of the papers controlled by labor and the farmers.

Those desiring to enlist, write to the Civil Liberties Union. Membership is open to any citizen at one dollar a year. The American Civil Liberties Union needs every dollar it can get to spread this gospel, and make its fight effective.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION,
138 West 13th Street, New York City

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NOTE ON CHAPTER IX

People's Freedom Union and the Federated Press

A statement made by Roger N. Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, to the Associate Counsel of this Committee is here given in order that the reader may have an understanding of both the origin of the People's Freedom Union and its subsequent history. It will be noted that this organization has merged with the American Civil Liberties Union which now carries on the work for which it was formed. Mr. Baldwin's statement follows:

"The Peoples Freedom Union was the outgrowth of the movements known as the Peoples Council and the Bureau of Legal Advice, and was an amalgamation effected to meet the after-war situation in certain aspects of radical propaganda. It was frankly a propaganda organization. The legal services which had characterized the Bureau of Legal Advice (of which Charles Recht was Counsel) were given up.

The organization devoted itself chiefly to, first, amnesty for political prisoners, chiefly conscientious objectors and, second, to propaganda meetings directed against intervention in Russia and in Mexico.

The general field of activity was divided by an informal understanding, so that the Peoples Freedom Union handled the active propaganda in these matters, and the National Civil Liberties Bureau the legal work in and out of courts.

The Peoples Freedom Union was also responsible for what was known as the Peoples Press — a publishing agency located at 138 West 13th Street — which published various leaflets and pamphlets on amnesty, pacifism and Russian and Mexican affairs.

The active workers in the Peoples Freedom Union were Fannie M. Witherspoon, formerly Executive Secretary of the Bureau of Legal Advice;

Frank Stephens, who had been Secretary of the Peoples Council following its period of active work under Louis P. Lochner and Scott Nearing.

The Peoples Freedom Union, both because of financial difficulties and internal difficulties, practically abandoned its work in January, 1920, and rented its quarters to the American Civil Liberties Union and other tenants, including The Liberator. They maintained one room in the premises for a few months thereafter, cleaning up their affairs. Such of their activities as have been continued are in the hands of the American Civil Liberties Union.

FEDERATED PRESS

After leaving the active direction of the Peoples Council, Mr. Louis B. Lochner undertook the formation of an international labor news service, which has for its purpose the spreading of news relating to the revolutionary progress in foreign countries and in general a propaganda nature. Mr. Roger N. Baldwin gave the following statement concerning this matter to the associate counsel of this Committee:

"There was organized some time in 1918, largely through the activity of Scott Nearing, a small press association known as the International Labor News Service, with headquarters at 7 East 15th Street.

"The active management of the news service was in the hands of Louis P. Lochner, who had resigned as Secretary of the Peoples Council to undertake that work, among other activities.

"The International Labor News Service gradually expanded, and in December, 1919, became the Federated Press, which took over its organization.

"The Federated Press is now a news agency serving something over one hundred papers, most of which are organs either of the Non-Partisan League or of labor organizations. The headquarters of the Federated Press is 156 West Washington Street, Chicago, in the Chicago Federation of Labor Building. (Mr. Lochner is there now.)

"The Federated Press has international connections with, and cable news service from England, Scandinavia, France and Australia. Its news service deals primarily with the activity of the labor movement and with revolutionary progress."

The activity and purpose of this organization has recently been brought forcibly to the attention of the public through the deportation from England of E. J. Costello by the British authorities. Mr. Costello was engaged in establishing connections for the

Federated Press with the revolutionary organizations of European countries. As might have been expected the radical and liberal press of this country were greatly shocked that an American citizen should be deported from Great Britain, and immediately protest meetings were held. We herewith give a report of a meeting of protest held at the Civics Club on November 7, 1920, which is of interest because Mr. Costello was one of the speakers and it contains information tending to show the purpose and objects of the press service:

Civic Club

14 West 12th Street, New York City

On Sunday, November 7, following the usual Sunday afternoon tea at the Civic Club, several brief talks were given, under the chairmanship of Rabbi L. Magnes. The general subject was the Federated Press.

Dr. Magnes spoke at some length on the inadequacy of the capitalist press, saying that it was "A damnable thing" and "an instrument of the devil." He said that it suppresses and distorts news and that is "assassinates character." The worker cannot get real news through the capitalist press. For instance, foreign news is dealt out by Secretary Colby as suits him, suppressing and distorting, and disseminating to those newspaper correspondents whom he happens to want to have in his lobby.

Dr. Magnes prefaced his introduction of the first speaker by saying that he had heard that the Civic Club was made up of some respectable people and some disrespectable ones, and not knowing which element he was addressing, he would be careful about his own remarks, but would "crack the ice gently so that the others can fall through if they want to." He then introduced Mr. William Hard, one of the news writers for the Federated Press.

William Hard said, in part:

"I have been a journalist for about nineteen years. I was with the Chicago Tribune in 1903 and 1904, and while there I thought I was an honest man, and worked for the capitalist press in what I thought was an honest manner. I will give you an example of the honesty. Just before a local election, a big business man came to the publisher and said that he believed in the pulling power of the advertising in the Chicago Tribune, and that he always told his advertising man to throw all the advertising possible their way. Incidentally, he said, there is a young fellow running for alderman

in my ward. He is a worthy young fellow and I hope you can do something to get him elected. The publisher, Mr. Hard said, could be independent when he wanted to, so he turned to Mr. Hard and ask him if there were any other candidate running in that ward that they could possibly write an editorial for. And they did write an editorial for another candidate.

Mr. Hard said that it is absolutely necessary to have a labor press to give the workman real knowledge of what is going on; for if the capitalist press want to get news of a strike, they send a reporter to see the man who is busting the strike, whereas the Federated Press send someone to see one of the "labor skates."

He said that after the American Revolution, the minds of the people were fresh as to the raids that had been made upon them and their private papers by officers of the Crown, and therefore they were all for liberty; but since then it has been necessary periodically to revive liberty and it falls to the lot of the oppressed and restricted to do the reviving. It is the workers who have been held down recently and therefore it will be necessary for them to revive liberty, and the best way for them to do it is through their own press.

Mr. E. J. Costello was the next speaker. His remarks, in substance were as follows:

"The Federated Press has been the outgrowth of a meeting of about 42 editors in Chicago in November, 1919. We realized that there were about 500 labor papers in the United States needing a service, and that an international news service was necessary to give the workers of all lands an opportunity to know what was going on elsewhere, and America seemed the only country that had the facilities and the money to establish such a bureau. By January first we had eight papers subscribing to the service, and by July first we had over a hundred. Early in July the Russian News Service asked for labor news of America, and it was therefore decided that I should go to Europe to make arrangements for agencies there.

"I went first to London, where I talked with Lansbury of the London Herald, and Tracy, the British Labor man. I also talked with Krassin of the Soviet Bureau, and he referred me to Litvinov in Christiania. I went immediately to Christiania only to find, to my great disappointment, that I was three days late, for he had just signed a contract for three months with the United Press. Apparently one branch of the Soviet Government service did not

know what the others were doing, for Litvinov had never heard of the Federated Press, although Krassin had been greatly interested in it.

"Having failed with Litvinov, I went immediately to Copenhagen, where I got in touch with the Right and the Left Wing Socialists and the Communist Party, but there were not enough papers in Denmark to make it worth while establishing an agency there, but they all said they would be agreeable to working with the German papers if we should establish an agency there. So I went on to Berlin.

"In Berlin I was very successful—more so than I had expected. I saw Edward Bernstein who is there called "the grand old man of the Socialist party." I also saw Stauffer, Daumig, Hilferding, and Sanford Griffith, whom I put in charge of the Berlin agency. There are now about fifty papers in Berlin getting the service.

"I then went to Amsterdam, where I saw Kumer, Kober and Weinkoop, and to Antwerp where I saw Eckelier, and then on to Brussels. This resulted in arrangements whereby Belgium and Holland are to be organized.

"Then I went back to England, where the task of organizing was most difficult. I was well received at the customs when I crossed from Ostend to Dover. My papers were received without question and I was hastened on my way. In London I saw Tracy of the Second International again and made arrangements with the Herald, so that now every correspondent of the Herald is a staff correspondent of the Federated Press. We are now getting service from all the principal countries of Europe direct, except from Moscow, and we get our Moscow news from the London Herald, which is not altogether satisfactory.

"When in Christiania on September 23d, I had purchased return passage from England to America to sail from Southampton on October 23d, and just two days before that, my rooms in London were raided and all my papers taken and I was put under arrest with a deportation warrant, but allowed my personal freedom. I went to see Sir Basil Constam, who is the head of Scotland Yard, and who is very much like our own Mitchell Palmer. I was told that I could not see Sir Basil, as he was too busy, but that I might see his secretary. I was ushered into the presence of a very mannish looking woman, and I asked her if she were Sir Basil. She told me she was his secretary. I said I would like to knew why I was being deported, and she said she would make a

memorandum of the request for Sir Basil. She said she was very sorry, but she could give me no information. I went to the American Consulate, where a Mr. Williams was very courteous to me, but could do nothing. He said that he was forbidden to communicate with the Home Office direct, but that he might communicate with the Foreign Office and through them get to the Home Office. But I got no information before leaving England and I have not to this day.

"I had to give up first-class accommodations which I had purchased to travel from London to Southampton, as the British do not allow their officials to ride first class, so I had to go in the third-class compartment with my custodian. He came to the pier with me and stood at the end of it and waved goodbye to me as the ship sailed away.

"When I got back on Friday (November 5) I immediately went down to Washington to see Secretary Colby and to ask him if he knew why I was deported. He was very nice to me and told me that he knew nothing about deportation practice in Great Britain, and for all he knew they could have taken me out and strung me up, but he said he would make inquiries, and in the meantime, I might talk with Mr. Nielson, the counsel. Mr. Nielson recited all the deportation laws since the time of Adam, but threw no light on the matter. He said if I cared to make a statement of the case, something might be done about it, and then he told me something which he said I must keep in confidence. I am sorry I cannot tell it, because it was the most interesting part of the whole story.

"To me the queer part of the whole thing is that the British apparently took such a sudden notion to deport me. If they had been following me, they would have known that I had purchased my return passage on September 23rd. Apparently they were not looking for me when I returned to England, for the officials did not hold me up at all. At Scotland Yard they did not know I had seen Krassin, Kamineff and Litvinov until I told them so. What harm there could have been in that I do not know. Once when I went to see Krassin, there were six other newspaper men waiting in his ante-room to see him and as I came out, one of them — a London Times reporter — went in.

"As far as I am concerned personally, I do not care why they deported me, and I do not care that they have fixed it so that I cannot go back to England as long as the deportation warrant

is on the books, except as far as the work of the Federated Press is concerned."

In response to a question, Mr. Costello said that the Avanti papers in Italy furnish news to the labor press of Italy.

Lincoln Steffens was then called upon for a talk. His remarks were so involved and rangy and indefinite that it was difficult to follow him at all. Two things stood out, however. First, he said that so many nations are living today by what they consider a moral code; but that in all his observations he had found that Nature does not know anything about morality. This did not seem to be apropos of anything except that he was trying to prove that present unrest is due to differences in cultural standards — that it is a "Kulturkampf."

The second point that stood out was that the children of Russia are extremely well fed — that they get from public authorities all the milk, fresh eggs and butter they can hold. This is not philanthropy, but is for the purpose of raising up a new generation of Communists. The old fellows realize that in spite of themselves they have certain old-fashioned convictions and that it will be necessary to train a new generation of real communists. They got the idea, Mr. Steffens said, from the story of how Moses led the children of Israel up to the Land of Promise and then did not let them, but had them wander about in the wilderness for forty years, so that the old ones would all die out and a new generation would be raised appropriately to live in the Land of Promise.

We append a copy of a leaflet issued by the Federated Press which will give further data regarding its purposes and objects.

THE FEDERATED PRESS

A Rising Power

There is a new force rising in the world — a co-operative press association which gathers news from all countries, interprets it from the working-class point of view, and distributes it to many newspapers in America and overseas.

This association is known as the Federated Press. In operation only since January, 1920, it has grown prodigiously.

For years people in many quarters have felt the need of a comprehensive international news service which would accurately portray the industrial, political and social happenings of the

world. Failure by the existing agencies to present many situations in their true light and very often, failure to present them at all, was widely acknowledged.

How it is Organized

On November 25, 1919, thirty-two editors of workingclass publications met in Chicago and formed the Federated Press, a co-operative association for gathering and disseminating news. The editors represented the trades union, Socialist, Nonpartisan League, and other liberal and progressive groups, and they agreed to a new policy free from the dictation of any faction. The purpose set by these editors was to create a news agency with an international scope which should report objectively all matters of interest to the workers everywhere.

When the Federated press got into action in January, 1920, with seven newspapers in its membership, it faced a titanic task — the building up of a world press service for labor.

Its Membership and Staff

After less than a year of development, the Federated Press has built up a membership in the United States and Canada of more than a hundred papers, and a membership in Europe of double that number. Millions of workers in Russia, Scandinavia, Australia, New Zealand, Holland, Belgium, Germany and England are drawn close to those of North America through the daily exchange of cable and mail news.

News bureaus are now maintained by the Federated Press in Chicago, New York, Washington, London, Berlin, Paris, Vienna, Rome, Ottawa, Mexico City, Sydney, and Auckland (N. Z.), and correspondents have been placed in the centers of industrial activity and other strategic news spots. Daily mail news reports issued from these points, are supplemented by wire, cable and wireless service and by features, special articles, news cuts and cartoons. The aggregate weekly output averages 60,000 words.

Staff correspondents and writers include Paul Hanna, Laurence Todd, William Hard, Scott Nearing, Frederick C. Howe, William G. Roylance, Anna Louise Strong and Carl Sandberg, in America; George Lansbury, E. D. Morel, W. N. Ewer, Frederick Kuh and M. Phillips Price in Europe; and W. Francis Ahern and J. D. Robertson in Australasia.

E. J. Costello, long with the Associated Press, and former news editor of the old Chicago Herald, is managing editor of the Federated Press, while Louis P. Lochner, former editor of the International Labor News Service, is general news editor.

What the Future Holds

To-morrow holds for the Federated press the possibility of becoming the central news supplying agency of the working class press of the world. In order properly to develop the American field of news, the labor newspapers of every community must be strengthened so that they may form powerful and watchful gatherers of the facts. A greater proportion of the daily report must be sent by wire instead of by mail. Bureaus must be added in certain industrial centers.

Plans now being worked out for international news gathering go farther than the establishment of foreign correspondents to serve only American papers. Rather, the plan is to have any Federated Press correspondent anywhere serve the working-class press of the world. This will be made possible by having a world-wide membership, which will constitute the first international association of newspapers ever formed. At a conference to be held in Europe early in the spring of 1921, which will be attended by labor editors from the chief countries of Europe and from various American cities such an association is expected to be formed.

In addition to the present daily cable exchange between Europe and the United States, and wireless reports from Russia, it is hoped that within a few months cable connections may be established with Federated Press members in Australia, India and South America.

Two Kinds of Service

There are two branches of service — one to newspapers and one to individuals. Only the editors of working-class publications who have been voted in by the executive board may become members, and in that capacity they have voting power to determine the policies of the organization. Assessments for costs of the service are based on the circulation of the member-paper.

Members of the Federated Press include the New York Call, the New York Jewish Daily Times, the Chicago News Majority, the Butte Daily Bulletin, the Milwaukee Leader, the Minnesota Daily Star, the Seattle Union Record, the Oklahoma Leader, the

Manitowoc (Wis.) Times, the Fargo Courier-News, the New Northwest of Missoula (Mont.), the Northwest Square Deal of Aberdeen (S. D.)., the Pocatello (Idaho) Herald; the Finnish dailies — Industrialisti in Duluth, Tyomies in Superior, Wis., and Toveri in Astoria, Oregon — the Daily Free Russia in Chicago, the Daily Naujienos (Lithuanian) in Chicago, the San Francisco Rank and File, Chicago Socialist, and the One Big Union Monthly in Winnipeg.

For the benefit of writers, lecturers, teachers, students of economics, research departments and all who require a dependable record of industrial history the Federated Press furnishes an individual news service comprising from 42,000 to 50,000 words a week. This is a unique, comprehensive and compact record of events shown in their real meaning.

This service is sold at $20 a year; or $6 for three months.

THE FEDERATED PRESS

Editorial and General Offices: 156 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

Business Offices: 31 Union Square, New York City.

Note on Chapters 6, 7 and 8 of Sub-Section 3—Section II, Part I.

In that part of this report dealing with revolutionary industrial unionism the Committee briefly stated that the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union were numbered among those labor organizations which were based upon the "One Big Union" idea which had for their ultimate object the seizure and control of industry. This fact is further emphasized by the action taken at the annual convention of these bodies held on May 11th, 1920, subsequent to the filing of this report.

NOTES ON SUB-SECTION V

PROPAGANDA

Note on Chapter I. Newspapers and Periodicals..... 2003
V. Propaganda Among Negroes..... 2007

NOTE ON CHAPTER I

Newspapers and Periodicals

In the chapter of this report dealing with newspapers and periodicals, a large number of radical and revolutionary papers were noted as well as newspapers, showing sympathy for the radical and revolutionary cause. Within the limit of that chapter it was, of course, impossible to quote from all of these publications, many of which are even more extreme than those quoted. For the purpose of visualizing the volume of propaganda of this nature which is carried on in this state, we deem it wise to tabulate these publications, showing those published in New York City, New York State, and those published outside of the State which have a circulation here.

It is extremely difficult to keep such a tabulation up to date for the reason that many of the newspapers discontinue from time to time, but reappear under new names, many are being circulated clandestinely, particularly those representing the anarchist and communist groups, making it impossible to ascertain their present circulation and even difficult to make any reasonable estimate of these figures.

The following tables are as accurate as possible for the date of publication of this report. Where figures are definitely given for circulation they have been ascertained by investigation conducted by the Committee through the Attorney-General's office of this State. Where the figures are indicated as estimated the Committee has been extremely conservative in its estimate and they are based upon records in the possession of the Committee giving the numerical strength of the party which they represent. Without question the circulation is larger than that estimated.

TABLE I

Revolutionary and Subversive Periodicals Published in New York City

NAME OF PUBLICATION	Language	Group represented	Published	Circulation
Advance	English	A. C. W. A. (Socialist)	Weekly	25,000
Anarchist Soviet Bulletin	English	Anarchist	Irregular	*2,000
Arbetaren	Swedish	Social Labor	Weekly	*2,500
Arbitrator, The	English	Radical	Monthly	Nominal.
Aurora	Italian	Anarchists	Irregular	Unknown.
Bos del Pueblo	Ladino	Socialists	Weekly	*2,000
Challenge, The	Negro	Radical	Weekly	6,000
Commonwealth, The	English	Socialist	Monthly	7,000
Communist, The	English	Communist	Weekly	*2,000
Crisis, The	Negro	Radical	Monthly	104,000
Crusader, The	Negro	Radical	Monthly	4,000
Darbas	Lithuanian	Socialist	Fortn ghtly	3,000
Elore	Hungary	Communist	Daily	12,000
Emancipator, The	Negro	Socialist	Weekly	10,000
Fellow Worker, The	English	I. W. W.	Fortnightly	12,000
Fortschrit	Yiddish	Socialist (A. C. W. A.)	Weekly	20,000
Forward, The	Yiddish	Socialist	Daily	161,000
Fre e Arbeite Stimme	Yiddish	Socialist	Weekly	12,000
Free Voice, The	German and English	Socialist	Monthly	4,000
Fur Worker, The	English	Social. and Labor	Monthly	8.000
Giust zia (Justice)	Italian	Soc. and Labor.	Monthly	*5,000
Good Morning	English	Socialist	Weekly	*5,000
Hotel Messenger	Negro	Socialist		*2,500
Hotel Worker, The	English	Socialist	Weekly	15,000
Inconoclasta	Italian	Anarchist	Irregular	Unknown.
Il Lavoro	Italian	Socialist (A. C. W. A.)	Weekly	13,000
Il Nuova Vassillo	Italian	Anarchist	Unknown	Unknown.
Industrial Arbeiter Schtime	Yiddish	I. W. W.		*5,000
Industrial Democracy	Polish	Socialist	Fortnightly	2,000
Industrial Democracy	Bohemian	Socialist (A. W. C. A)	Fortnightly	2,000
Justice	English	Soc. and Labor.	Weekly	*20,000
Klassenkampf	Yiddish	I. W. W.	Weekly	5,000
Laisve	Lithuanian	Socialist	Daily	7,600
Liberator	English	Socialist	Monthly	50,000
Libertiore, Il	Italian	Anarchist	Irregular	Unknown.
La Parola del Medico	Italian	Revolutionary		3,000
Il Martello (The Hammer)	Italian	Extreme Radical		2,500
Medical Critic and Guide	English	Radical	Monthly	30,000
Messenger, The	Negro	Socialist	Monthly	33,000
Marxian, The	English	Socialist	Weekly	Nominal.
Metal Worker, The	English	Socialist		12,000
Narodnaya Gazetta	Russian	Socialist		*5,000
Naye Welt	Yiddish	Socialist	Weekly	6,000
Negro World, The	Negro	Radical	Daily	30,000
New York Call, The	English	Socialist	Daily	31,000
New Yorker Volkszeitung	German	Communist	Daily	11,000
Obrana	Bohemian	Socialist	Weekly	2,500
Proletariat, Il	Italian	Anarchist		Unknown.
Pravada	Russian	Communist		3,000
Rabochi-i-Kristianin	Russian	Communist	Daily	4,000
Rabouchy Golos	Russian	Socialist	Fortnightly	1,500
Rebel Worker, The (Now Fellow Worker)				
Refrettario, Il	Italian	Anarchist		2,000
Robitnyk (The Worker)	Ukrainian	Socialist		5,000
Robotnik Polski	Polish	Socialist	Weekly	4,000
Russky Golos	Russian	Socialist	Daily	20,000
Socialist Review	English	Socialist	Monthly	*4,000
Soviet Russia	English	Communist	Weekly	20,000
Tie Vapauteen (Road to Freedom)	Finnish	I. W. W.	Monthly	5,000
Volonta	Italian	Anarchist		Unknown.
Voice of the Worker	Greek	Socialist	Fortnightly	2,500

* Estimated.

TABLE I —*Concluded*

Revolutionary Periodicals Published in New York City — Concluded

NAME OF PUBLICATION	Language	Group represented	Published	Circulation
Weekly Industrial Worker, The	English	W. I. I. U.	Weekly	*2,500
Weekly People, The	English	Soc.-Labor	Weekly	7,000
Young Socialist Magazine	English	Socialist	Monthly	*1,500
Zukunft, Die	Jewish	Socialist	Monthly	65,000
Total				841,600

TABLE II

Liberal Papers Published in New York City Having Endorsement of Revolutionary Groups (*See p.* 1146.)

NAME OF PUBLICATION	Language	Group represented	Published	Circulation
Freeman, The	English	Liberal	Weekly	8,100
Nation, The	English	Liberal	Weekly	35,000
New Republic	English	Liberal	Weekly	37,000
Pearson's Magazine	English	Radical	Monthly	61,000
Survey, The	English	Liberal	Fortnightly	16,500
World Tomorrow, The	English	Radical	Weekly	7,500
Young Democracy	English	Radical and Liberal	Fortnightly	3,000
Total				168,100

TABLE III

Revolutionary and Subversive Publications Printed in New York City Which Have Discontinued in the Past Year.

NAME OF PUBLICATION	Language	Group Represented	Published	Circulation
Class Struggle, The	English	Com. and Labor Party	Monthly	5,000
Communist, The	English	Communist	Weekly	16,000
Dial, The	English	Liberal	Fortnightly	10,000
Dormani	Italian	Anarchist	Irregular	1,500
Intercollegiate Socialist	English	Socialist	Monthly	4,000
Khlieb-y-Volya	Russian	Anarchist	Weekly	4,500
Luokkataistelu	Finnish	Anarchist	Monthly	5,000
Novy-Mir	Russian	Communist	Daily	*20,000
Radical Review	English	Soc. Lab. Party	Quarterly	2,000
Revolutionary Age	English	Lft. Wing Socialist	Weekly	16,000
Socialist, The	English	Socialist	Weekly	5,000
Voice in the Wilderness	English	Socialist	Monthly	6,500
Voice of Labor	English	Communist and Labor Party	Fortnightly	5,000
Workers' Herald	English	Ukr. Fed. of Com	Weekly	12,000
Workers' World	English	Socialist	Weekly	5,000
Total				117,500

*Estimated.

TABLE IV

Socialist Publications in New York State Outside of New York City

NAME OF PUBLICATION	Language	Where published	Published	Circulation
Citizen	English	Schenectady	Weekly	2,400
Hard Times	English	Syracuse	Monthly	*2,000
New Age	English	Buffalo	Daily	12,000
Social preparation for Kingdom of God	English	Utica	Quarterly	2,500
Total				18,900

* Estimated.

TABLE V

Revolutionary and Subversive Publications Printed Outside of New York City, but Circulating Freely in This City

NAME OF PUBLICATION	Language	Where published	Group represented	Published	Circulation in New York city
A Felszabadulas (Emancipation)	Hungarian	Chicago	I. W. W	Weekly	*800
Ahjo (The Forge)	Finnish	Duluth, Minn	I. W. W	Monthly	*500
Eye Opener	English		Socialist	Weekly	*12,000
First of May Magazine	English		W. I. I. U	Annual	*3,000
Freedom	Anarchist	New Brunswick, N. J	Anarchist	Monthly	*2,000
Gaa Paa	Norwegian	Minneapolis, Minn	Socialist	Weekly	*100
Gales Magazine	English		Communist	Monthly	*500
Golos Truzenika (Voice of Laborer)	Russian	Chicago	I. W. W	Tri-weekly	*1,500
Industrialisti	Finnish	Duluth	I. W. W	Daily	*500
Industrial Union News	English		W. I. I. U	Weekly	*3,500
Jedna Velka Unie (One Big Union)	Czecho-Slovak	Chicago	I. W. W	Monthly	*250
Kova	Lithuanian	Philadelphia, Pa.	Socialist	Weekly	*250
La Parola Proletaria	Italian	Chicago	Socialist		*250
Melting Pot, The	English	St. Louis	Communist	Monthly	*1,000
Modern School, The	English		Anarchist	Monthly	*500
Muncitorul (The Worker)*	Roumanian	Chicago	I. W. W	Fortnightly	*150
New Justice	English	Los Angeles	Socialist	Monthly	Nominal.
New Majority, The	English	Chicago	Radical		1,000
New Solidarity, The	English	Chicago	I. W. W		1,500
One Big Union Monthly	English		I. W. W	Monthly	*6,000
Proletaras	Lithuanian	Chicago	I. W. W	Monthly	2,000
Proletarian, The	English	Detroit	Communist		*250
Proletario, Il Nuovo	Italian	Chicago	I. W. W	Weekly	1,000
Rabotnicheska Mysl (Workers' Thought)	Bulgar	Chicago	I. W. W	Weekly	*100
Raivaaja	Finnish	Fitchburg	Socialist		*1,000
Solidaridad La Nueva	Spanish	Chicago	I. W. W	Monthly	*500
Strahdneeks (Worker)	Lettish	Boston	Communist	Bi-Weekly	250
Textile Worker, The	English	Paterson	I. W. W	Monthly	*500
Toiler, The	English		Communist	Weekly	*1,500
Truth, The	English		Communist	Weekly	*1,000
Union News	English	Jamestown	W. I. I. U	Weekly	*2,000
Zarija (The Ember)	Lithuanian	Chicago	Socialist	Weekly	*500
Total					44,100
Combined total (omitting Table III)					1,072,700

* Estimated.

NOTE ON CHAPTER V
Propaganda Among Negroes

PROPAGANDA AMONG NEGROES

The interest taken by the Socialist Party of America in the utilization of discontent among negroes for furthering the Socialist movement in their ranks has been well illustrated in the chapter dealing with propaganda among negroes. That the party now intends to take a more intensive interest in this phase of their propaganda is illustrated by the action taken with respect to the propaganda among negroes at the National Convention of the Socialist Party held May 7th–14th, 1920, as reported in the June 1st Bulletin, the official organ of the Socialist Party of America, from which we quote the following:

"PROPAGANDA AMONG NEGROES

"In view of the fact that the last national convention approved a report recommending special literature pertaining to the status of the negro and placing two or more negro organizers in the field, and for some reason these recommendations were not carried out, we urge that these recommendations be not pigeonholed but put into effect as soon as practicable; and that the National Office push the sale among locals and branches of copies of the monthly mazazine, 'The Messenger,' and of the weekly paper, 'The Emancipator,' calling their attention to the fact that these negro periodicals can be procured at such prices as will make their sale profitable. As supplementary to this report we recommend to the National Office for its instruction and guidance the memorandum prepared by Comrades Chandler Owen, W. A. Domingo, and Thomas E. A. Potter, which is appended hereto.

"FINANCE

"We recommend that the National Office be instructed to issue 'Socialist Cooperative Liberty Bonds' in three issues of $100,000 each; the first issue to be raised by July 1, 1920, the second by September 1, 1920, and the last and 'Victory' issue by November 1, 1920; that such bonds be in denominations of $10 and $50 each, and redeemable five years after

the establishment of the Cooperative Commonwealth; that the bonds be made payable by subscribers on the installment plan if preferred; and that each state be given its quota to sell.

"We recommend that an arrangement be made with the larger locals to hold at least one big meeting each year for the benefit of the National Office. All local expenses to be met by the Local and entire collection turned over to the National Office which shall furnish the speaker.

"We further recommend that the comrades in every locality be urged to put on special entertainments, dances, encampments, bazaars, etc., and that 10 per cent of the net profits derived therefrom be sent to the National Office.

"Respectfully submitted,

"Committee on Organization Propaganda and Finance."

The report of the State Convention, appearing in the New York Call for July 5, 1920, page 2, indicates that provision was made to provide for agitation among negroes following the plans adopted by the National Convention.

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